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THE WORKS OF JOHN MILTON

THE WORKS OF JOHN MILTON



VOLUME XVIII

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1938

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1938

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EDITED BY THOMAS OLLIVE MABBOTT

AND J. MILTON FRENCH

WITH TRANSLATIONS BY NELSON GLENN McCREA

AND OTHERS

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EDITORS' PREFATORY NOTE

IN FULFILLMENT of the promise made in the Preface to the first volume of the Columbia edition of Milton, the present and final volume should not only include all the known works of Milton, considered authentic by the editors, that have not appeared in previous volumes, but should also deal with doubtful, apocryphal, and lost pieces.

We have considered as works of Milton everything involving original composition, collaboration, or translation on the part of the poet. For completeness we have also collected all surviving texts including direct or indirect statements of our author, both legal documents and records of his conversations, written down by his contemporaries or preserved by tradition. And lest anything be supposed overlooked, we have recorded all the documents signed by the poet and referred to all the books now definitely known to have been presented, corrected, or owned by Milton. Lost works are recorded by title.

In previous volumes practically everything (save a few items recorded in the notes on the State Papers) has been the indubitable work of Milton. In this volume the problem of authenticity constantly arises. Following the precedent of editors of ancient texts, we have thought of works ascribed to Milton as falling into four arbitrary but convenient groups. First are the indubitably authentic works; second are works "doubtfully accepted" by the editors as authentic. In the case of Milton, most of the items in the second class are very generally accepted, and it seems best to reprint them with the surely authen-

tic work in the text, though such doubts as have arisen are recorded in the notes. In the case of some of the ascribed poems the eminence of the scholars who ascribed them may excuse greater liberality than is shown elsewhere.

In a third class are comprised writings "doubtfully rejected." We believe most of these are not Milton's, but admit there is a chance they may be. While relegating them to the notes, we have there quoted them in full. The fourth class, usually called apocryphal, comprises items which we regard as having little chance of being the poet's work, as well as writings which can be definitely proved unauthentic. These (even forgeries and "literary ghosts") are all referred to in the notes but are not reprinted, except in a few cases of unusual interest.

We have tried to record in the notes the first publication of every item and its first appearance in book form. We have perforce discussed briefly all that is now known of the lost works and what has been said of authenticity of the doubtful items. In regard to authenticity, two peculiar elements have been constantly considered. We are convinced that Edward Phillips made an extremely careful record of his uncle's works, and believe that absence of any work of considerable size printed during Milton's life from his list is *prima facie* evidence against its authenticity. But this does not apply to official documents, marginal notes, and other writings of very small bulk, nor to compilations not intended by Milton for the press. Again, Milton's blindness and his use of amanuenses during the period of semi-blindness that preceded it raise the question of what constitutes an autograph. If a document is in his own hand, it

may be considered his unless it can be shown to be a copy, and we may assume Milton rarely copied anything in his later years. But while many of his amanuenses can be identified, it is known that he used the hands of such friends and pupils as he could command, and documents of his time in hands not identified must be considered without prejudice on account of the handwriting if other evidence commend them. What he wrote through amanuenses after his blindness was legally autographic, and this word has been generally avoided in our notes. Finally, while the editors have considered every item carefully, we regard some as still indeterminate. We have been more concerned to include all that may be Milton's than anxious to exclude what may not be. Inclusion in the text, however, is not meant to indicate absolute ascription to Milton of items that are described in our notes as open to some doubt.

The work is a complete collaboration, and both editors are equally responsible for all texts and opinions. Some of the new material was discovered by us individually, but even in this respect the major part of the work has been done by us together. The amount of certainly authentic material now first printed or collected is fairly large. Most important is probably the brief new essay with which the volume opens, but we hope the many new marginal notes, the letter from Milton to his brother, and the document that links Milton and Cyriack Skinner will please all students and admirers of Milton.

Since the earlier volumes of the edition were issued, some new information has become accessible on the texts there printed. When this seems necessary to the completeness of the

edition, it is included in the section of Addenda. Two conspectuses have also been compiled; one of Milton's correspondence and another of the verse passages in his prose works, since material of these classes is scattered in this edition.

In our work we have placed ourselves under a great debt to many scholars, librarians, collectors, and booksellers, here and abroad. Usually our debt is recorded in individual notes below. But special thanks are due for special services and should be recorded here.

Professor Nelson Glenn McCrea has not only translated most of the writings in foreign tongues; he has practically collaborated with us in editing them. Sections of the work have been contributed by Dr. Hermann Lübbling, Professor Harris Fletcher, Professor W. R. Parker, and Professor J. H. Hanford, while Professor Maurice Kelley has presented us with his notes on five of Milton's books. Our search for obscure items would have been less successful had it not been for the kind offices of Dr. R. S. Forsythe, Professor Leslie Hotson, Professor J. Q. Adams, and Professor W. C. Abbott. Mr. Melvin Loos has been peculiarly helpful in countless technical problems that have confronted us.

Practically all the great libraries of this country and England (and some on the continent) have been consulted directly or by letter. Private collectors and other owners who have made their manuscript treasures available include Mr. W. W. Vaughan; Mr. Lucius Wilmerding; Miss Surridge; the Marquis of Crewe; Messrs. Oliver and Roger Barrett; Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach (who gave access to many items of the first im-

portance); Mr. George Bates; Mr. J. E. Johnson; Mr. G. H. Last; Mr. Bernard Halliday; Messrs. Maggs; and Mr. John T. Loomis. It is pleasant to record that no owner who could be located refused the use of a document or book for this edition of the Works of John Milton.

T. O. M.

J. M. F.

New York and Cambridge

June 15, 1938

THE UNCOLLECTED WRITINGS
OF JOHN MILTON

Proposalls

OF CERTAINE EXPEDIENTS FOR THE PREVENT- ING OF A CIVILL WAR NOW FEARD, & THE SETTLING OF A FIRME GOVERNMENT BY J. M.

- First to lay before them in power the scorne we are to for-
reigne nations by these our continuall changes; and the danger
we are in, not only from the common enemy at home, but from
two potent Kingdomes abroad Spaine & France by most cer-
taine intelligence, designing with joynt forces a speedy inva-
sion of this Iland. Whose united power we should have much
adoe to resist, though all united & settled among our selves;
but in this distracted anarchy without confederates & such con-
dition as none will treat with us, wee cannot hope to withstand.
- 10 2^{dly} that the present committee of safety do go on with all
vigour & watchfulnesse to provide for the publick safety both
at home & from abroad, & hasten as much as may be the settling
of som firme & durable government.
- 15 3^{dly} in regard that no government is like to continue unlesse
founded upon the publick authority & consent of the people
which is the parliament the only probable way in all appear-
ance can be, & the only prevention of this civill war now at
point to ensue, that the parliament be again treated with to sitt
on these following conditions.
- 20 That they begin 1st with an Act of oblivion for what is past
between them & the Army.

2^{dly} that the main conditions of their agreement be full liberty of conscience to all who professe their faith & worship by the scriptures only, & against single government by any one person in cheif & house of Lords.

- 5 3^{dly} that a former Act of their owne be reinforced, whereby they sitt indissolubly, & that they & all henceforth to be chosen into the parlament do retaine their places during life, unlesse by particular faults they deserve removall. for although Magistracies be annuall in most commonwealths yet the place of
- 10 Senator hath bin alwayes during life both in Rome, Venice, & elsewhere: the Senate being the basis & foundation of government; which cannot be moveable without great danger to the whole building, & especially in this common wealth & in our condition not without just fear of novelties & commotions
- 15 upon every change of parliament.

- 4^{ly} that the parlament having thus resolved, do confirm the continuance of this Army, & all the cheif officers thereof in their places also during life, together with successive advancement, as superior places shalbe vacant; which must needs content them who are not unreasonable, & remove ambition the
- 20 common cause of disturbance. & they may the more willingly from the highest to the lowest souldier of them take an oath of obedience to the supreme authority, unlesse that fall off from the two main principles above nam'd, Liberty of conscience, &
- 25 the other against a single person & house of Lords.

5. because the name of parlament is a Norman or French word, a monument of our Ancient Servitude, commonly held to consist necessarily of 3. Estates. King, Lords, & commons;

- & the two latter to be called by the King to parlie with him about the great affairs of his realme, it might be very agreeable with our freedome to chang the name of parliament (especially now having outlived its honour by soe many dissolutions) into the name of a Grand or Supreme Councell: whose
5 power may be in a manner the same with that of parlaments, to make lawes, peace, war, league, & treatie with forreigne nations to raise taxes, coyne mony & the like which have bin formerly called regalities.
- 10 6. that the Elections of them who shall hereafter sit in this supreme councell may be of such as are certainly known to have besides their ability, the two qualifications above nam'd, & to the persisting in them shall take their oath, whither they be nominated by the grand Councell, & elected by the well
15 affected people, or nominated by those of the people & elected by the grand Councell. The people also, especially such as look to be entrusted with offices or places of advantage & elections in the Common wealth, should be enjoyned by oath to the same two principles.
- 20 7. that the number of those who are to be of the grand councell be so many as shalbe judged sufficient to carry on the great affaires committed to them, & in regard they are to sitt during life, & perhaps not without Salary, & lastly for the more honour & Majesty of so great a councell it may perhaps be thought
25 requisite, if there should be any among them, they who are generally knowne & judged insufficient or otherwise a disparagement that such be dismissed & worthier chosen in their roome, but this is not urged, lest it be misinterpreted.

8. that the supreme councell chuse out of their owne number & to them, if it be thought fit, some others also of eminent ability, to be a councell of State, with the same power which it had under the parlament, & to the same intents.

- 5 9. that both councells do deale as little as may be with the execution of lawes, but leave that to the severall appointed Magistrates; & both maintenance of Ministers & all matters Ecclesiasticall to the church in her severall congregations: by which meanes they shall rid their hands of much trouble &
10 businesse not appertaining to them, further then to defend religion from outward violence, which wilbe an undoubted cause of great peace & quietnesse among us, & of great ease & health to themselves, by many dayes of leasure & intermission from the toile of their constant sitting.
- 15 10. & lastly, that the administration of Civill Justice may be in the City or cheif towne of every county without appeal, Judges & all such officers by themselves chosen, whereby they shall have no cause to clamour against the supream Councell, nor can hope for more equall Justice in any other place. As for
20 those of severall Countyes who have causes & suites, there may be still a common Judicature, as ther is here, in the Capitall citty.

- Other particulars might be mentioned, as the reforming of som nationall lawes, the liberty to erect schools where all arts
25 & sciences may be taught in every citty & great towne, which may then be honoured with the name of citty whereby the land would become much more civilized; the just division of wast Commons, whereby the nation would become much

PROPOSALLS

7

more industrious, rich & populous: but those are of a second consideration; these now presented are the maine, & the most of them absolutely necessary; without which we are like to fall into evils & discords incurable, the speedy end whereof wilbe
5 utter ruine, which God of his mercy prevent!

SCRIPTUM

Parlamenti Reipublicæ

ANGLIÆ

De iis quæ ab hac Repub. cum Potestatibus Fœderatarum Belgii Provinciarum Generalibus, & quibus progressibus acta sunt; deque controversiis in præsentia exortis, quibus prædictæ Potestates occasionem præbuere.

Adjicitur & Responsum Parlamenti ad ternas chartulas à D^{no} Legatis Potestatum generalium Extraordinariis, ex occasione pugne navalis inter Anglorum & Belgarum classes confectæ.

Unde cum illius pugne, sicuti commissæ est, narratione. Postremò scripta illa in unum collata, quæ inter Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ & D^{nos} Adrianum Pauw, Legatum Fœderatarum Belgii Provinciarum Extraordinarium, cum de pace agerent, ultrociteroque reddita sunt.



LONDINI,

Typis Du-Gardianis, Anno Domini 1652.

A
DECLARATION
OF THE
Parliament of the Commonwealth
OF
ENGLAND,

Relating to the Affairs and Proceedings between this
Commonwealth and the States General of the United
Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, and the present Differ-
ences occasioned on the STATES' part.

And the ANSWER of the *Parliament* to Three PAPERS
from the Ambassadors Extraordinary of the *States General*,
upon occasion of the late Fight between the *Fleets*.

With a NARRATIVE of the late Engagement between
the English and Holland FLEET.

As also

A Collection of the Proceedings in the Treaty between the
Lord PAUW, Ambassador Extraordinary from the *States
General* of the United Provinces, and the Parliament
of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND.

Friday the Ninth of July, 1653.

Ordered by the Parliament, That no person whatsoever, with-
out particular License from the Parliament, do presume to
Print the Declaration (Entitled, A Declaration of the Parlia-
ment of the Commonwealth of England, Relating to the Affairs
and Proceedings between this Commonwealth and the States
General, &c.) Nor any the Papers therewith printed, other then
the Printer to the Parliament.

Hen: Scobell, Cleric. Parliament.

Printed by John Field, Printer to the Parliament of England, 1653.

Latin Documents by Milton in the Scriptum Parlamenti, 1652.

SCRIPTUM Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ, de iis quæ
ab hac Repub. cum Potestatibus Foederatarum Belgii
Provinciarum Generalibus, & quibus progressibus
acta sunt; deque controversiis in præsentia exortis,
quibus prædictæ Potestates occasionem præbuere.

SI quanta & quàm gravia Foederatarum Belgii Provinci-
arum Populus sub tyrannidis jugo, antequam divinâ
ope liberaretur, passus sit mala, & quibus rationibus
adductus, quo ardore animi ad libertatem aspiraverit, si de-
5 nique quàm amica atque perpetuâ ope, idque haud sine multo
sanguine atque opibus Anglorum, ejus saluti impensis, omni
tempore sublevatus ab hac gente atque adjutus sit, in memo-
riam redigatur, credibile vix erit, pro tot acceptis beneficiis,
quàm non amica huic Reipub. immo quàm non æqua red-
10 diderit.

Non est consilium jam nostrum res hujus Reipub. quo loco
tum essent, prolixè memorare, cùm tyrannico imperio op-
pressi, armis necessariò sumptis, vitam nostram atque fortunas
defendere coacti sumus; dum jus nostrum natale & libertatem
15 justissimam asserere in Parlamento, & stabilire conaremur, qua
in asserenda ac stabilienda tot editis planè miraculis Deus, tot

Milton's Contributions to the Declaration against the Dutch, 1652.

A DECLARATION of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, Relating to the Affairs and Proceedings between this Commonwealth and the States General of the United Provinces of the Low-Countries, and the present Differences occasioned on the States part.

IF the Sufferings of the People of the United Provinces under the heavy yoke of their Oppressions, before their Deliverance from the same by the Mercy of God be remembered, and the Principles and Spirit which then acted in them, and the ready and constant Help which they have had in all times from this Nation, and that with no small Expence of English Blood and Treasure, the Returns which they have made towards this Commonwealth will hardly be believed.

It is not intended to be very particular in mentioning the state of the Affairs of this Commonwealth as it stood when oppressed by a Tyrant, they were necessitated to flie to Arms for Defence of their Lives and Estates, because in Parliament they did but assert and desire the Setling of their Just and Native Liberties, wherein by so many Wonders, in so many signal

præliis insignibus, tam continenti per omnem Angliam, Scotiam atque Hiberniam, divinæ suæ providentiæ ductu, contemptissimæ eorum paucitati adesse atque opitulari dignatus est, qui in illa causa tam bona fidem suam atque constantiam
5 comprobârunt.

Nequo verò conatus ille serendæ inter nos discordiæ, quod anno illo memorabili 1648. accidit, omittendus est, neque magnus ille in nationem hanc apparatus belli anno millesimo sexcentesimo quinquagesimo tacendus, qui eas gerendi res,
10 quas in Scotia gessimus, necessitatem nobis attulit, quibus ob injurias priùs allatas satisfactio & futuræ pacis fides denegata est ab iis, qui judicatum hujus Reipub. Hostem ex Belgio venientem ad se receperant; ubi & perditissima illa in Anglorum gentem inita consilia erant; unde & hostes eorum permagna
15 suis rebus subsidia & palàm & secretò, cùm Principis Arausio- nensis, tum aliorum autoritate & potentiâ consecuti sunt; eo ipso tempore, cùm Princeps ille, ejúsque fautores, ut verisimile est, consilia agitent in illa Repub. tyrannidem occupandi, easque provincias in servitutem pristinam redigendi; quod eti-
20 am quin perficerent haud multum abfuit, tum præsertim, cùm is urbem Amsterdamum repentino impetu adortus est, quæ res & illic multò quàm apud nos magis notæ sunt, & scripti hujus proposito alienæ.

Sed nec crudelissimi illius Amboyniani facinoris in Anglos
25 perpetrati ullo modo grata recordatio est, ob quod facinus, atque alia haud longè dissimilia, nulla satisfactio, quamvis postulata sæpiùs, data hactenus omnino est.

Verùm Populi Anglicani erga Belgii fœderati populum, tam

Battels, by such a Series of Providence in *England, Ireland* and *Scotland*, the Lord was pleased to bless a poor handful, who approved themselves faithful to that Cause.

Neither is that Endeavor to divide them in the memorable
5 year of Forty eight, to be omitted; nor the great Preparations
made against this Nation in the year One thousand six hundred and fifty, which necessitated their Proceedings in *Scotland*, being refused Satisfaction for fore-past Wrongs; and denied Assurance of Peace from them, who had received the
10 Declared Enemy of this Commonwealth from the *United Provinces*, where that mischievous Contrivement was hatched against *England*, and from whence their Enemies had much open and secret Assistance by the Interest of the Prince of *Orange* and others, even at a time when that Prince and his
15 Adherents were contriving, as was most probable, to erect a Tyranny upon those Countreys, and to reduce them to their former Bondage, of which he missed but narrowly, especially in his Attempt upon *Amsterdam*; which things are better known there then here, and are not the purpose of this Declaration.
20

Neither is it pleasant to remember that cruel and bloody Business of *Amboyna* towards the English, for which no Satisfaction at all hath been given, though often demanded in that Case, and in others not unlike it.

25 But such was the Affection of this Nation towards the People

propensa voluntas erat, tantum libertatis confirmandæ studium, mutuique commercii, viriúmque ex eo augendarum, religionis verò Protestantium orthodoxæ potissimùm prolatandæ, quam & utrique profitentur, quæque hac mutuâ amicitia,
5 quantum humanitùs conjicere licet, maximè crevisset, quosdam etiam ex primoribus & populo earum Provinciarum usque adeò erga hanc causam benè animatos esse animadvertimus, quod & sua erga Pauperes in Hibernia Protestantes benignitate ampliter testati sunt, ut quamprimum in Anglia rerum status
10 firmitatis aliquid, Deo favente, habere videbatur, Parlamentum ad Ordines, Fœderatarum Provinciarum generales Oratorem mitteret, qui eum disertis verbis admittere recusârunt; quemadmodum & ipsi satîs nôrunt.

Rebus Anglorum majorem indies in modum omnipotentis
15 Dei nutu prosperè cedentibus, cùmque idem eorum judicium, idem animus erga suos illos vicinos esset, Parlâmentum denuo alium misit, suóque illic Oratori adjunxit, virum eo munere dignum, Dominum *Isaacum Dorislaum*, jurisprudentiæ Doctorem, qui eâ autoritate ac mandatis instructi erant, utî viderent, siqua honesta ratio mutuam utriusque Reipub. voluntatem inter se rectè intelligendi possit iniri. Verùm alter ex illis Oratoribus *Dorislaus*, cùm ad hoc munus publicè obeundum Hagam venisset, quo in oppido Potestates Generales suos ferè conventus peragere solent, eo in loco scelestissimè atque palàm
20 trucidatus est; de cujus nefaria cæde totus terrarum orbis proculdubio ità sentiet, ut depiaculo quàm maximè detestando contra omnium gentium, immo ipsius humanitatis jura perpetrato omnes homines sentire debent; in conquirendis autem

of the United Provinces, and to the Establishment of Liberty, and the Advantages of Traffique and Strength to both; but above all, to the Advancement of the True Protestant Religion which both profess, and which in humane probability would
5 receive the greatest Growth by their Friendship; and observing in some of the Governors and People of those Countreys an Affection to this Cause, and particularly expressed by them in their free Contribution for the poor Protestants in *Ireland*; that so soon as the Affairs here came by the Blessing of God to
10 any consistency, the Parliament did send a Resident to the States General, who expresly refused to receive him, as themselves very well know.

The Affairs here being yet further prospered by the Almighty, and the Affection and Judgement the same still in
15 respect of their Neighbors, the Parliament sent again, and joyned with their Resident there another worthy Person Dr. *Dorislaus*, who were instructed and enabled to see if by any good means a right Understanding might be had; but one of these Publique Ministers, Dr. *Dorislaus*, being come upon this
20 publique Imployment to the *Hague*, the place of Residence of the States General, was there most barbarously and openly Murthered; of whose Assassination the world will judge as of an Action most abhorred, against all Rules of National Intercourse, and even Humanity it self; and how little was done
25 there to Attache the Murtherers whilst the business was fresh,

& comprehendendis ejus interfectorebus, quàm nihil penè, & tùm maximè, cùm factum recens esset, & postea, actum sit, quamvis hinc sæpenumero postulatum, & ipsi haud nesciunt, & admoneri hìc debent.

- 5 Contrà, cùm Potestates illæ suos Legatos D D. Borele, Renzwo & Joachimum antehac in Angliam, recentium turbarum temporibus misissent, nobisque illi omnia officia sua prolixè detulissent, compertum est, eos cum hostibus clam agere, eorumque operâ hostes omnibus modis adjutos esse, contra eos
10 ad quos ipsos amicorum specie cum legatione venerant. Et hoc quidem, cum contumeliis insuper quas in Parlamentum ipsum jacere non dubitabant, Legatorum illorum negotium erat; quas ob res utcunque se ex jure gentium reddendæ rationi obnoxios fecissent, nullum tamen hinc vicissim aut factum aut
15 dictum asperius retulerunt; duntaxat ad primores eorum delatum est, quemadmodum se gesserint, & satisfactio uti daretur, postulatum; verùm nulla hactenus impertitur.

- Hæc cùm ità essent, postquam *DEO* visum erat turbulentis Anglorum rebus finem imponere, hostésque nullum totâ Angliâ præsidium tenerent, nullæ eorum copiæ reliquæ jam essent, sed pacata ubique omnia & composita cernerentur, cùm res item in Hibernia ex sententia procederent, ejusque Insulæ pleræque urbes atque oppida in potestate Parlamenti essent, cùm & in Scotia Anglorum res iisdem propè successibus non
25 carerent, multoque minùs caussæ esset cur quisquam à Parlamento ad potestates Fœderatarum Provinciarum Generales, petendi auxilii caussâ, proficisceretur, quamvis & nos & vicinos nostros ità aspexisse potuerimus, ut aliæ quæque Respub. con-

or hath been done since, though often called upon from hence, they well know, and must be here remembred.

On the other side, the States having formerly sent their Ambassadors, the Lords, *Borele*, *Renzwo* and *Joakimi* into Eng-
5 *land*, in the time of the late Troubles, pretending all good Offices, which proved to be a Correspondence with the Enemy, and a Means of Assisting them against those to whom they were sent; This, with Reproaches by them cast upon the Parliament, was the work of those Ambassadors; for which, how
10 lyable soever by the practice of Nations they left themselves, yet not the least Incivility was offered to them, but their De-meanor made known to their Superiors, and Reparation desired, but none vouchsafed.

After these Passages, when it had pleased God to put a full
15 End to the troublesom Affairs in *England*, not one Garrison upon the firm Land being in the Enemies hands, nor any Force on foot, but all reduced to Peace and Settlement, the Affairs of *Ireland* in a good condition, most of the Towns and Cities there in the Parliaments power, and their Affairs in *Scotland*
20 not unprosperous, when there was much less cause to apply to the States, for any need the Parliament had of their Assistance, or if they should have looked upon themselves and their Neighbors, as other States use to do; yet still retaining the former

sueverunt; eandem tamen sententiam atque iudicium retinui-
mus, utriusque nempe Reipub. quàm arctissimam societatem
ad stabiliendas Protestantium rationes quibus hostes eorum
tantopere insidiantur, necnon ad commune bonum & liberta-
5 tem permagnum esse momentum allaturam.

Parlamentum igitur ad Potestates Fœderatarum Provincia-
rum Generales legationem misit amplissimam, legatos iis man-
datis instructos, eaque potestate præditos, ut priores controver-
sias componere, fœdúsque firmissimum atque arctissimum
10 ferire conarentur, quatenus id quidem æquitati & rationi, hu-
jusque gentis dignitati consentaneum esset, & cum utriusque
Reipub. communi bono conjunctum. Immo affirmare possu-
mus, Legatos illos plena hinc mandata atque potestatem acce-
pisse ea proponendi, eaque cum prædictis Potestatibus transi-
15 gendi, quæ erga populum Fœderatarum Belgii Provinciarum
eundem hujus Reipub. animum, eandem atque in suos benevo-
lentiam declarâssent.

Quàm non sincerè, quàm non expeditè cum iis Legatis, de
quibus missi erant rebus gravissimis ageretur, unde factum est,
20 ut legatio illa nullius usûs reddita sit, quàm non incolumes,
nequid gravius dicatur, in illo munere sanctissimo fuerint,
quandiu in illis provinciis commorati sunt, quàm indigna in
eos, ínque famulos eorum, ídque impunè, sint commissa; in
quos denique sit hæc culpa meritò conferenda, plùs satìs mani-
25 festum est. Verùm cum hisce Potestatum prædictarum dila-
tionibus, minimèque propensis ad amicitiam animis factum es-
set, uti nullus ex illa Legatione fructus percipi potuerit, læsâ
etiam, in Legatis suis contumeliosè acceptis, hujus Reipub. dig-

Principles of Affection and Judgement of the great Concernment an Union between the two Commonwealths would be to the upholding of the Protestant Interest, so much designed upon by the Enemies thereof, and unto common good and
5 Liberty.

The Parliament did send a Solemn Embassy to the States General, the Ambassadors Enabled and Instructed to endeavour to Compose former Differences, and to effect a firm and strict Union, as far as might be consistent with Reason and
10 Justice, and the Honor of this Nation, and be for Mutual good; Nay, they can say, That those Ambassadors from hence were Impowered to make such Tenders unto, and Agreement with the States, as would have demonstrated the Affection of this Commonwealth to the Good of the people of the United Prov-
15 inces, the same as to themselves.

How unheartily and dilatorily they were dealt with in relation to their Errand, whereby the Embassy was rendred of no effect; how unsafe (to say no more) they were in their Persons during their aboad in the Netherlands, what Indignities were
20 offered to them and their Followers, and unpunished; and at whose Door the fault hereof doth lie, is too apparent. But these Endeavors for Friendship, by this delay and Aversness on the States part, becoming fruitless, the Honor of this Commonwealth in the Persons of their Ambassadors wounded, and their

nitate, suisque amicitiae studiis pro nihilo habitis, Legati domum revocantur.

Ex his, quae dicta sunt, intelligi potest, à parte hujus Reipub. quid actum fuerit ad firmissimum foedus & amicitiam cum
5 foederatis Provinciis consequendam quamque honestis atque integris rationibus Parlamentum adipisci eam studuerit; cumque eas interea difficultates in Scotia atque Hibernia exantlare pergeret, ad quas divina ipsa providentia vocare nos visa est, cumque eadem benignissimi *DEI* manus, quae perpetuo nos
10 adjuverat, Hibernicas res in eum deduxisset locum, ut quod illic gereretur, nihil penè reliquum fuerit, bellumque Scoticum ita nobis fortunasset, ut ea regio quodammodo relictis nobis esset, Scotorumque exercitus, ductu Caroli Stuarti, nuperi Regis filii, in Angliam ingressus, Vigorniae fusus fugatusque
15 esset, eorum plerisque captis aut interfectis praeter ipsum ducem, aliosque perpaucos, qui aegre ex eo praelio elapsi sunt; Tum demum, neque prius unquam Potestates praedictae Generales mittendam ad hanc Rempub. Legationem censuerunt, quae à nobis eo studio ac voluntate accepta est, quae testificari
20 possit in eadem nos sententiam atque iudicio de illarum Provinciarum amicitiam permansisse.

Dum procederent colloquia, cum optimum nobis visum esset moras inutiles amputare, & certi aliquid habere quod res reditura esset, & postulatis quibusdam perspicuis instaremus, de
25 iis etiam ad quae facile responderi potuerit, Legati semper ea declinare, deesse sibi potestatem causantes, quanquam inspecta eorum diplomata nihil iis deesse potestatis arguebant; tamen quod pleniora acciperent mandata, ad Primores suos scribendum sibi esse, quibus antequam rescribi posset, Provinciales

desires of Amity thus sleighted, the Ambassadors were recalled home.

By this appears what hath been done to procure a firm League and Amity with the United Provinces, and what honest
5 and sincere Endeavors have been on the Parliaments part to effect it, who in the mean time proceeding on to conflict with those Difficulties which Providence called them unto in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and the same gracious hand of God which had gone along with them, having brought their Affairs in
10 *Ireland* to so good a pass, as that little remained there to be done; and prospering the War in *Scotland* so, as that Countrey being in a maner quitted to them; and the Scottish Army under the Command of *Charls Stuart*, Son of the late King, marching into *England*, was totally defeated at *Worcester*, and al-
15 most all of them killed or taken, except himself and some few others hardly escaping.

Then and not before, the States General thought fit to send an Embassy to this Commonwealth, which was received with such willingness and Affection, as might testifie for them, they
20 stood fixed to their former Principles.

As the Treaty went on, having some reason to avoid Dila-
toriness and to desire Certainty, when Positive Demands were pressed to the States Ambassadors, they were evaded in things not of the hardest Resolution, with Allegations of want of
25 Power, though their Commission shewed no such Restraint: yet to obtain further Power, Returns must be made to their

Ordines esse convocandos, quæ quidem singula perexiguam nobis fidem faciebant, firmam aliquam pacem aut amicitiam eos ex animo voluisse.

Inter hæc etiam colloquia, cùm Legati eorum in discepta-
5 tionibus suis primò quidem nullâ re aliâ, quàm ratione & æqui-
tate niti velle præ se ferrent, Parlamentum certius fecere, Pri-
moribus suis in animo esse centum & quinquaginta naves ar-
mare, præter illas ex classe suâ quæ foris tum erant, hócque eo
consilio ab se fieri, ut & mare tutiùs navigaretur, útque com-
10 mercio Reique Navali Fœderatarum Provinciarum consulere-
tur, non utique ut Anglis ullo modo incommodarent.

Dixerintne hæc, ut Parlamentum suspensio animo tenerent,
aut ut quid illi denuntiarent, Generales ipsæ Potestates optimè
nôrunt, sicut & causas tantæ Classis extra Ordinem parandi,
15 cùm hostis eorum per hæc maria nullus appareret.

Ad hæc Parlamentum nihil respondebat, suæ tantummodo
justæ defensionis sedato animo prospiciebat, nè quis nos repentè
adoriretur: Neque tamen sententiam ullâ in parte mutavit,
quòd ad ea, quæ aut postulanda aut concedenda erant; cùm ad
20 honesti atque justis normam, ad salutem etiam utriusque Rei-
pub. suumque jus invicem utrique conservandum consilia sua
omnia direxerit, fœdusque hoc in medio positum ad felicem
exitum perducere etiam atque etiam cuperet. Neque ullâ in re,
quantum intelligere potuit, deesset, quâ studium suum testifi-
25 cari posset ejus fœderis perficiendi.

Interea Potestates fœderatarum Provinciarum illos navium
apparatus maturare non desinunt, locum, ubi omnes conveni-

Superiors; and before Answers could be had, the Provincial States must be Assembled, which gave small grounds of any real intendment of a firm Peace and Amity.

During the time of Treaty also, whilst at the first their Ambassadors Debates seemed to seek no better Props then of Ingenuity and Reason, the Ambassadors of the States acquainted the Parliament, that one hundred and fifty Ships of War were intended to be set out by their Superiors, besides those of their Navy then abroad; and all these pretended for more security of the Sea, and conservation of the Trade and Navigation of the United Provinces, but not to offend *England*.

Whether this were done to Amuse the Parliament or to Denounce against them, is to the States best known, and the Grounds of those extraordinary and great Preparations, when they had no Enemy at all in these Seas.

To these things the Parliament made no other Answer, but quietly intended a Provision for their own just Defence, in case any should Invade them. Nevertheless, not altering their Resolutions more or less as to the things to be insisted upon or granted, having made Justice and Honor, and a mutual Good, in preservation and saving of each Rights to other, the rule to steer their Actions by, who were most willing to come to a happy Close of this Treaty, and were not, to their knowledges, wanting in any thing which might testify their reality to finish the same.

In the mean time the States go on with their Preparations at Sea, appoint their several Rendezvouz of their Fleet tending to

ant atque unam classem conficiant, edicunt; sub eo præfecto, quem appellant Legatum Admirallum Trump. Quæ ejus consilia aut mandata fuerint & ex eo quo se modo ipse gessit, & ex quibusdam antea factis abundè liquebit. Et speciatim, cùm inter alias quædam eorum navis, quæ in navem quandam bellicam, cui præerat Capitaneus Young, inciderat, amicè admonita esset, ut honorem hujus nationis navibus præsidariis tribui solitum exhiberet, quem & altera quæ simul navigabat, exhibuerat, idque pro more non solùm salutationis cujusdam honorificæ, sed quod etiam testimonio est, Anglorum jus atque Dominium in hæc maria vicina indubitatum esse. Quod & omnes vicinæ repub. atque Principes agnoscunt, & nominatim ipsæ illæ Potestates, earúmque majores agnoverunt, ut monumenta fide dignissima, aliáque argumenta quæ rejici non possunt, quæque ad id confirmandum jam diu invaluit, consuetudinem taceamus. Navis tamen illius Præfectus hoc facere recusabat, sibique capitale hoc fore, si fecisset, affirmabat.

Has res subsequentum est facinus illud Admiralli *Trump*, cujus accurata narratio huc adjicitur, ex qua id hostiliter fuisse factum perspicitur contra vicinos atque socios amicitia ac fœdere conjunctos, qui id continuandi atque confirmandi sua studia toties, tamque vehementer testati sunt; fuisse etiam hoc facinus fœdere velatum, & inter ipsa de arctiore adhuc fœdere colloquia à semetipsis oblata; tanta cum injustitiâ atque arrogantia conjunctum, ut quod jus nobis tam indubitatum denegabat, id ipse usurparet, eamque adhuc injuriam iterando, nè ipse quidem lacesitus, hujus Reipub. naves suis in fretis, littoribus, ac stationibus quærens, hostilem in modum ultrò aggre-

a Conjunction of all into one, under the Command of him whom they call Lieutenant Admiral *Trump*; what his Intentions or Instructions were, his own Deportment and some precedent Actions will demonstrate.

- 5 Particularly, when amongst others, one of their Ships being met by a man of War under the Command of Captain *Yong*, was in a friendly maner summoned to give the usual Respect to the Ships of War of this Nation, which another of his Company had done before, and which hath been accustomed not
10 onely as a civility and respect, but a principal Testimony of the unquestionable Right of this Nation to the Dominion and Superiority of the adjacent Seas, acknowledged generally by all the Neighbor-States and Princes, and particularly by themselves and their Predecessors, besides many most authentique
15 Records and other undeniable Proofs, together with a constant Practice in Confirmation thereof: Yet he refused, affirming that if he did it, he should lose his Head.

Not long after this ensued that Action of *Trump*, the particulars whereof are set down in the *Narrative* herewith
20 Printed; by which that Hostile and injurious Act appears to have been done against Neighbors in Amity, who have so often and earnestly desired and testified their willingness to firm and continue the same: and this also vailed with, and in the midst of a Treaty of Peace offered by themselves.

- 25 Accompanied also with such Arrogancy & Injustice, not onely to the denying of so unquestionable a Right, but Usurping upon the same; and in prosecution of that Injury without

deretur, bellique initium faceret, virisque & navibus nostris
perniciem moliretur, uti eos toto mari pelleret, hujusque rei-
pub. commercium, remque omnem navalem subvertere co-
naretur, nisi *DEUS* propitius facinoris illius ignominiam ac
5 detrimentum in ipsos injuriarum auctores avertisset.

Post hanc tam diuturnam hujus Reipub. patientiam, accep-
tasque injurias tam graves, quibus nostrorum animos irritari
par erat, cum eorum in mari successus expectationi non re-
sponderent, visum est Potestatibus prædictis Generalibus alte-
10 rum adhuc Legatum Extraordinarium ad Parlamentum mit-
tere; qui, quod & priores Legati ante ejus adventum enixe
fecerant, & consilia & auctoritatem, & mandata Potestatum sese
mittentium hujus facti conscientiam prorsus eximere contende-
bat. Quod, quanquam apparatus illi tanti fuere, Classisque
15 eorum ab incæpto cursu diverteat, navisque Parlamenti in
ipsis suis stationibus quærebat, easque illi nullâ re lacessiti ultrò
oppugnabant, ut suprâ demonstratum est, tamen à Legatis
Casus vocatur, facinusque illud fortuito patratum fuisse, illud-
que Primores suos nullo modo approbare aiebant, qui tamen
20 facinoris illius auctori munus illud suum Classis ducendæ pro-
rogârunt.

Et de hoc quidem indignissimè facto cum satis constaret,
seque ipsum partim argueret, ipso classis adventu, quæ Duce
Trumpio ad classem nostram in ipsis stationibus ex composito
25 accedebat, partim multis testibus oculatis confirmaretur, non
Anglis solum, sed etiam Belgis aliquot præfectis & Classariis
& naucleris in ea pugna captis, qui idem prorsus testantur; Pro-
lixa tamen quædam & perplexa quæstionis habendæ ratio nobis

any provocation, seeking out the Ships of this Commonwealth in their own Seas, upon their own Coast, in their own Road, there falling upon them, beginning a War, and thus endeavoring the Destruction of their Men and Ships, even to the beating
5 them out of the Sea, and utter Subversion of the Naval Power and Trade of this Commonwealth, had not God by his goodness turned the shame thereof upon the heads of those who were the wrong Doers.

After this long Patience of the Commonwealth of *England*,
10 and after these high Injuries and Provocations thus forced upon them, the Success at Sea not answering Expectation, it pleased the States General to send another Ambassador Extraordinary to the Parliament; who, as the former Ambassadors a little before his coming had done, laboured to excuse their
15 Superiors from having any Intention, or giving any Instruction to Warrant this Dealing; which, notwithstanding the Preparations, the returning from another Course and seeking out the Parliaments Ships in their own Roads, and there falling upon them without the least Provocation, as before is mentioned, was yet by the Ambassador called an Accident, and a
20 thing done by meer Chance, the Action in the name of his Superiors utterly disclaimed, yet the Employment and the Agent continued by them and reinforced.

And when the clear truth of this unworthy Fact, bearing in
25 it self part of the Proof thereof, by the Fleet under the Command of *Trump*, coming purposely into the Road of *England* unto their Fleet; and the rest thereof being attested, not onely by many eye-witnesses, Englishmen, but also by divers Officers,

proponitur, induciæ postulantur, uti armis & hostilitate omni
abstineatur, útque de illo vetere & complurium articulorum
fœdere quod à prioribus Legatis tractari cœptum est, nova rur-
sus disceptatio institueretur, scilicet ut temporis accessio no-
5 vam interim illis virium accessionem afferret.

Mandata hujus Legati cum inspicere postularem, Literas
tantùm commendatitias sive credentiales protulit, quasdam
etiam liberi com meatûs; quibus autem potestas agendi & tran-
sigendi cum Parlamento daretur, nullas: quam ille potestatem
10 (quod caput rei erat) ut quasi mutuam sumeret, ad priores
Legatos recurrerebat, qui in mandatis habebant, ut de priore illo
fœdere proposito agerent atque transigerent, hanc etiam Le-
gationem agnoscebant, & quamvis illi generatim de societate &
amicitia utriusque Reipub. jungenda venissent, venisset autem
15 Dñus Adrianus Pauw de singulari quodam facto, postquam il-
lius fœderis tractatio initium & processum aliquem habebat:
Parlamenti tamen tam constans erat studium novas hasce con-
troversias, si posset fieri, amicè componendi, ut cum Domino
Adriano Pauw ad colloquium venire pergeret; omissâ in pre-
20 sens omni disputatione, quæ de potestate ejus non satis amplâ
meritò nasci potuerat.

Cúmque nihil speciatim ab illo Legato proponeretur, sed
tantùm quæ generalia suprâ dicta sunt, idque etiam posceret,
ut Parlamentum sua ei postulata proponeret, visum est neuti-
25 quam instare quàm hoc nobis incommodum esset, sed statim
dêque satisfactione ob injurias jam illatas, dêque fide in futu-
rum accipiendâ nostra ad Legatum postulata mittere; quæ hîc
etiam typis evulgata sunt; unde in eo situm erat, vellétne pos-

and others of the Netherlands taken in the Fight, who concur fully in the Testimony; yet a long and intricate way of Examination thereof is propounded, a Cessation of acts of Offence and Hostility in the mean time desired, and a new Proceeding
5 upon the old long Treaty entred into by the former Ambassadors; that time being thus gained, an addition of strength might therewith be provided.

The Powers of this Ambassador being desired to be seen, none but his Credential Letters, and some Passes for his Transportation were produced; but no power to Treat and Conclude
10 with the Parliament, for which material Point he resorted to the Powers of the former Ambassadors, who had Commission to Treat and conclude upon the former Negotiation, and owned this also; and although they came upon the general
15 business of the Treaty of Alliance between the two Commonwealths, and the Lord *Pauw* came upon a particular Action done after that Treaty begun and proceeded in; yet such was the continued desire of the Parliament, if possible, to compose the said late Differences in a Friendly way, that they proceeded
20 to treat with the Lord *Pauw*, waving the present Dispute upon his want of Powers.

And when nothing in Particular was tendred by the Ambassador, but the Generals before recited; and a Proposal, That the Parliament would make their Demands to him; they were
25 contented, not insisting upon the disadvantage thereof, to make their Demands unto the Ambassador for Satisfaction for Wrongs past, and Security for the future, which are herewith likewise Printed; whereby it was put into the Hands of the

tulatis de satisfactione assentiri, quam pars utraque & mitigare potuerit & certam statuere; quod ei in alia chartula significatum est. Et si hunc in modum de satisfactione convenisset (postulato illo de fide accipienda in aliud tempus dilato) poterant induciæ fieri, potuerat, omni hostilitate quemadmodum
5 petitum erat, abstineri; cui & Parlamentum ad hunc modum libenter assensit.

Verùm ille, potiùs quàm ut ad ullam hujusmodi pactionem accederet, aut particulatim ad patandas rationes descenderet,
10 maluit studium illud suum induciarum paulò antè ardentissimum planè remittere, tametsi in manu ejus erat quod petiverat, impetrare; atque ità eam postulationem penitùs dimisit, suoque & reliquorum Legatorum nomine petiit, ut quamprimum audirentur commeatùs duntaxat liberi causâ, atque in
15 patriam revertendi, quò se mandatis præsentissimis aiebant revocari. Neque iis negatùm quicquam erat, quod vel honori vel usui in reditu esse poterat, neque ità quisquam eos tractabat, quandiu hìc commorati sunt, quemadmodum hujus Reipub. Ministri in fœderatis Provinciis fuerant tractati; atque
20 hoc suo discessu, tam illi quàm huic fœderi, quorum de conditionibus vixdum omnibus egerant, finem imposuere.

In Parlamento postremùm auditi, de iis quæ chartulis eorum prioribus comprehensa erant, multa recitârunt: ad illud autem quod tum urgebant, de hostiliter factis nequaquam exspectatis,
25 neque unquam indictis, útque naves suorum (in Angliæ portus abductæ, ibique, contra quàm opinati sunt, retentæ, antequam ulla hostilitas indicta esset, earum præfectis bellum esse nescientibus, nè sibi quidem consciis ullam ab se offensionum

Ambassador, to come to an Agreement upon the Demands of
Satisfactions to be by both Parties moderated and asserted, as
was propounded to him in another Paper; and upon such
Agreement for Satisfaction (the Demand for Security being
5 left to after consideration) to have a Cessation of all acts of
Hostility and Offence as he desired, and the Parliament was
thus willing to assent unto.

But instead of drawing towards any such Agreement, or en-
deavoring to come to Particulars therein as was offered; the
10 Ambassador was not pleased at all to second or pursue his former earnest desire of a Cessation, though it were thus in his own Power to accomplish, but wholly declined the same; and for himself and the other Ambassadors, desired speedy Audience to take their leaves, and to depart into their own
15 Countrey, being expressly commanded (as they affirmed) so to do; and in that they were not denied any Respect or Accommodation, nor used, during their abode here, as the Publique Ministers of this Commonwealth had been in the United Provinces; and by this Departure, they were pleased to put a period
20 both to the one and the other Treaty.

At their last Audience in Parliament, much was recited of the same matter contained in their former Papers; and as to that which they then urged concerning acts of Hostility not looked for, neither at any time before declared; and that their
25 Ships (brought into the Ports of *England*, and there detained of late against their thought, and before any Declaration of Hostility issued out, and whereof the Commanders are unaware and guiltless, having not given the least, nor to no body occa-

datam esse cuiquam occasionem) dimitterentur, de his Parlamentum ad narrationem illam ab se vulgatam tantummodo remittere eos debet, quæ & Legatis D^{norum} Potestatum Generalium ante adventum Dⁿⁱ *Adriani Pauw* missa fuerat, & ab
5 eodem, primo ejus adventu, inspecta.

Et quanquam priorem illam fœderis violationem, factamque à Trumpio injuriam gravem Parlamentum neque com-
meruerat, neque exspectaverat, illatâ tamen illâ, exspectari non
potuit, quin qui essent injuriam passi, authores persequeren-
10 tur, quibus satisfactio nondum ulla est oblata; nisi fortè Parla-
mentum fracto animo ad eorum pedes projicere se deberet,
qui interitum sibi hoc facto, & perniciem ultimam moliti sunt,
nisi iisdem hujus Gentis jus atque salutem prodere voluisset;
quod quidem ab officio suo ac fide alienissimum esse nemo non
15 judicaret.

Ex his rebus perspectis, quas jam in lucem omni cum fide
evulgavimus, palàm omnibus erit, quanto cum affectu atque
constantîâ Parlamentum amicitiam fœderatarum Belgii Pro-
vinciarum quasi ambiverit: quàm diligenter omnes controver-
20 sias, bellique cum illa Repub. occasiones vitaverit, quamvis
illa omnes hujusmodi vel æquissimas amicitîæ ac societatis arc-
tissimæ conditiones rejecerit.

Tandem verò, posteaquam hæc Respub. armis petita est,
naves laceratæ, suorum aliquot interfecti sine ullo offensionis
25 à nobis datæ vel minimo obtentu (quæ facta & quæ indèsequi
potuissent, si illis ex sententia processissent, non solùm jus
atque decus & commercium, sed salutem etiam & quasi vitam
ipsam hujus Reipub. summum in discrimen adduxissent)

sion of Disputes) might be released; the Parliament therein need but refer to the Narrative by them published, and delivered to the Ambassadors of the Lords the States General, before the arrival of the Lord *Pauw*, and seen by him at his first
5 coming.

And although that first Breach and high injury done by *Trump* was on the Parliaments part altogether undeserved and unlooked for, yet after the same committed, a Prosecution against the Wrong-doers could not in probability but be looked
10 for from the Parties injured, to whom no Satisfaction hath yet been offered; unless the Parliament should quietly and tamely have laid themselves down at the feet of those who have thus endeavored the Ruine of them, and have betrayed into those hands the Rights and Safety of the People of this Nation, which
15 few would have esteemed agreeable to the great Trust in them reposed.

By these Proceedings faithfully represented to the view of the World, it will be more then evident with what Affection and Constancy the Parliament have labored for the Friendship
20 of the United Provinces: how carefully they avoided all Differences and Occasions of a War between the Nations, though all such Overtures of Amity and nearest Alliance have been rejected.

At last, when this Commonwealth was assaulted and invaded, their Ships torn, their Men slain, without the least colour of any Offence given; upon which Attempts and the Consequences thereof had the same succeeded, not onely the
25 Rights, Honor and Traffique, but even the very Being of this

Parlamentum sui officii duxit esse, ingratisimo sibi hoc bello ab illis exorto, necessitate planè impositâ sese defendere: dùmque justa satisfactio atque fides accipienda nullo alio pacto impetrari poterit, eas conari iis rationibus consequi, quas *DEUS* 5 sibi in manus dederit.

Atque hîc quidem Parlamentum, ut se rectè faciendo, suoque munere fideliter administrando abundè solatur, ità sibi persuadet, causæ suæ justissimæ clarum hoc testimonium omnes, quibus veri & æqui studium est, esse accepturos; cujus 10 exitum non callidis confiliis, non viribus humanis, sed benignitati atque auxilio illius Dei justissimi commendat, qui Anglorum rebus usque adeò mirandum in modum hactenus semper adfuit; quique se verè colentibus, opémque suam piâ cum fiducia, animoque integro expectantibus nunquam defuit.

15

Hen. Scobell, Cleric. Parlamenti.

RESPONSUM Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ ad ternas schedulas à Dnis Legatis Extraordinariis Dnorum Potestatum Generalium Fœderatarum Belgii Provinciarum ad Concilium Statûs redditas, ex occasione prælii navalis inter utriusque Reipub. classes conserti.

PARLAMENTUM Reipub. Angliæ secum reputans, quàm perpetuâ amicitiae studiisque sinceri declaratione, ab ipso domesticarum apud se turbarum initio, suum erga Fœderatas Belgii provincias, vicinas suas animum testa-

Commonwealth had been highly endangered; The Parliament held it their Duty, thus compelled and necessitated into a most unwelcome War begun upon them, to defend themselves; and whilst a just Satisfaction and Security cannot otherwise be
5 had, To endeavor the gaining thereof by such ways and means wherewith the Lord shall enable them.

And herein, as the Parliament doth rest abundantly comforted in the Integrity of their own Proceeding, and faithful Discharge of their Duty, so they assure themselves that all in-
10 different persons will entertain this clear Testimony of the Justness of their Cause; for the issue whereof they depend not upon any Policy or strength of Man, but onely upon the Goodness and Assistance of that Righteous God who hath hitherto in so wonderful a maner appeared for them, and who never
15 failed those that seek him, and with uprightness and sincerity of Heart attend upon him.

Hen: Scobell,
Cleric. Parliamenti.

The ANSWER of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, to Three Papers presented to them by the Councel of State, from the Ambassadors Extraordinary of the Lords the States General of the United Provinces, upon occasion of the late Fight between the Fleets.

20 **T**HE Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, calling to minde with what continued Demonstrations of Friendship and sincere Affections, from the very beginning of their intestine Troubles they have proceeded

tum reddiderit, nihilque ad se quod attinet, prætermiserit, quod firmæ cum iis concordiæ, liberóque commercio, necnon etiam propiori quàm hactenus, & arctiori conjungendæ necessitudini conducere posset, non potest quin vehementer sanè
5 miretur, suis benè meritis tàm dissimilia sibi reddi, præsertim in ipso propè Angliæ littore, ipsísque naviumstrarum stationibus, in Classem hujus Reipub. hostilia nuper fieri; cujus facti narratio clarissimis probationibus confirmata simul huc adjicitur. Parlamentum itaque habitâ de omnibus & singulis
10 illis scriptis ab Excellentiis vestris Concilio Statûs exhibitis deliberatione perquàm seriâ atque maturâ, responsum hoc reddendum censet.

Se, quanquam in illis chartulis quod expressè agitis, ut inopinatam illam duarum Classium inter se dimicationem, insci-
15 entibus vestris primoribus, & planè contra eorum voluntatem accidisse ostendatis, id æquanimiter & ad normam charitatis interpretari valdè cupiunt, tamen quoties suis cum animis cogitant quantopere ab eo quod vos profitemini, & decreta & facta Vestræ Reipub. vestrisque navibus præfectorum discre-
20 paverint, etiam in ipsa fœderis tractatione à semetipsis oblata, & à vestris Excellentiis illorum nomine apud nos administrata; cùm item naves centum & quinquaginta bellicas extra ordinem, & sine ulla, quæ cerni possit, causâ, nisi quæ jam se aperit, instrui videant (magnum profectò justæ suspicionis argumen-
25 tum vel ipsarum judicio V^{rarum} Ex^{arum}, dum illud excusare atque diluere contenditis) quin & ipsa mandata à prædictis primoribus vestris ad præfectos vestros in altum proficiscentes data cùm intueantur, satís supérque causæ reperire, cur credant

towards their Neighbors of the *United Provinces*, omitting nothing on their part that might conduce to a good Correspondence with them, and to a growing up into a more near and strict Union then formerly, Do finde themselves much
5 surprized with the unsutable Returns that have been made thereunto, and especially at the Acts of Hostility lately committed in the very Roads of *England* upon the Fleet of this Commonwealth, the matter of Fact whereof stated in clear Proofs, is hereunto annexed; Upon serious and deliberate con-
10 sideration of all, and of the several Papers delivered in by Your Excellencies to the Council of State, the Parliament thinks fit to give this Answer to those Papers:

The Parliament, as they would be willing to make a charitable Construction of the Expressions used in the said Papers,
15 endeavoring to represent the late Engagement of the Fleets to have hapned without the knowledge, and against the minde of Your Superiors; So when they consider how disagreeable to that profession the Resolutions and Actions of Your State and their Ministers at Sea have been, even in the midst of a Treaty
20 offered by themselves, and managed here by Your Excellencies, the extraordinary Preparations of One hundred and Fifty sail of Men of War, without any visible occasion, but what doth now appear (a just ground of Jealousie in Your own judgments, when Your Lordships pretended to excuse it) and the
25 Instructions themselves given by Your said Superiors to their Commanders at Sea, Do finde too much cause to believe, That the Lords the States General of the *United Provinces* have an Intention, by Force to usurp the known Rights of *England* in

D^{nos} Potestates Generales Fœderatarum Belgii Provinciarum in animo habere jus Angliæ per maria notissimum vi & armis invadere; Classes delere, quæ, secundùm *DEUM*, muri ejus ac munimenta præcipua sunt; eaque ratione Rempub. hanc exterorum injuriis opportunam suo arbitratu reddere; quod & hac nuperâ impressione facere adorti sunt. Quocirca Parlamento videtur sui muneris hoc esse, uti dent operam, *DEO* bene juvante, prout occasio se obtulerit, ut illatarum jam sibi injuriarum & reparationem adipiscantur, & nequid simile in posterum tentetur, fidem accipiant. Hoc tamen animo atque voto, ut omnes inter utramque Gentem controversiæ possint amicè atque pacatè, si quo id pacto fieri potest, componi, prout *DEUS*, pro sua summa Providentia, viam ad hanc rem patefecerit, & circumstantiæ profuerint ad reddendos ejusmodi conatus & minùs tardos & efficaciores, quàm alios ejusdemmodi, qui antehac adhibiti sunt, fuisse constat.

Hen. Scobell, Cleric. Parlamenti.

NARRATIO pugnæ navalis inter Classem Anglicanam sub Prætore *Blaco*, & Classem Batavicam, cui præerat Legatus Admirallus *Trump*, ad Dorobernium nuper consertæ.

DIE Martis, octavo decimo Maii, 1652. manè, cum *Blacus* Prætor ante dies octo cum duodecim aut tredecim navibus Occidentem versùs usque ad sinum Riensem profectus esset, relicto ad Dunas cum octo solùm Navibus Bornio Tribuno, conspecta est ponè arenas Goduinia-

the Seas, to destroy the Fleets that are, under God, their Walls and Bulwarks, and thereby expose this Commonwealth to Invasion at their pleasure, as by this late Action they have attempted to do: Whereupon the Parliament conceive they are
 5 obliged to Endeavor, with Gods assistance, as they shall have opportunity, To seek Reparation of the Wrongs already suffered, and Security that the like be not attempted for the future.

Nevertheless, with this minde and desire, That all Differences betwixt the Nations may (if possibly) be peaceably and
 10 friendly composed, as God by his Providence shall open a way thereunto, and Circumstances shall be conducing to render such Endeavors less dilatory, and more effectual then those of this kinde heretofore used have been.

Hen: Scobell,
Cleric. Parliamenti.

15

A NARRATIVE of the late Engagement between the English Fleet under the command of General Blake, and the Holland Fleet under the Command of Lieutenant Admiral Trump near Dover.

UPON Tuesday the Eighteenth of May 1652. in the morning, General *Blake* being gone to the Westward as far as *Rye Bay* eight days before with twelve or thirteen Ships, leaving Major *Bourn* in the *Downs* with
 20 eight Ships onely, there appeared upon the backside of the *Goodwin* a *Holland Fleet* of Men of War consisting of two

nas Classis Batavica duarum & quadraginta navium bellicarum, quarum una summo vertice mali vexillum gerebat, cæteræ aplustria tantum. Cùmque ad Australem arenarum extremitatem pervenissent, earum duæ ad naves Anglicas, quæ in
5 Dunis erant, processere. Quo viso, *Bornius* Tribunus navem, cui nomen Cani-Venatico inditum erat, obviam iis misit; quæ eas & de aliis rebus pro more percontaretur, & cur maximè tam propè ad se accederent. Quæ cum responderent, habere se ad præfectum Classis in Dunis mandata quædam, admissæ sunt,
10 earumque duo Capitanei, *Tysonus* & *Aldredus* in Navem prædicti *Bornii* Tribuni, salutato priùs ejus vexillo, transcendunt, eique ostendunt, sese ab *Van-Trumpio* missos esse, ut certiore eum facerent, Legatum suum cum Classe *Dunkirkensem* oram modò legisse, ubi vi tempestatis multarum navium
15 anchoras & funes amiserant, séque flante Aquilone, longiùs, quàm volebant, in Meridiem propelli: id *Van-Trumpium* censuisse significandum, nè quam offensionis causam aut suspicionis præberet. Hæc cùm dixissent, responsumque iis esset, dictorum suorum fidem in eo positam esse, si ab hoc
20 littore quamprimùm recessissent, ad classem suam reverterunt, quo simul ac venerunt, tota confestim classis *Dorobernium* versùs cursum direxit, eodémque die, post meridiem, penè haud longiùs à Castello quàm emissa pila tormento perferri possit, anchoras jecit; cùmque è regione illius Castelli, nullâ
25 pro more datâ salute, neque detracto mali vertice vexillo, in procinctu stetisset, Castellum ter in eam disposuit. Quod quamvis fieret, Admirallus tamen Batavicus neque vexillum demisit, & eodem loco ad meridiem usque postero die in Anchoris

and forty Ships, one whereof had a Flag on the main-top-Mast head, the rest Jacks and Ancients; and being come unto the South-sands head, two of them bore up towards the English Ships in the *Downs*, whereupon Major *Bourn* sent out the
5 *Greyhound* to examine them, and to know the reason of their so near approach; who answering, That they had a Message to the Commander in chief in the *Downs*, were permitted to come in; and having saluted the Flag, the two Captains named *Tyson* and *Aldred* came Aboard the said Major *Bourn*, and
10 acquainted him that they were sent by *Van Trump* to let him know that he had been Riding about *Dunkirk* with his Fleet, where by reason of foul Weather they had lost many of their Cables and Anchors, and the wind being Northerly, were driven further to the Southward then they intended, which
15 *Van Trump* thought fit to signifie to prevent any misapprehensions or Jealousies. And having said this, and received for answer, That the Reality of what they said would best appear by their speedy drawing off from this Coast, they departed to their Fleet; and immediately upon their arrival with them, the
20 whole Fleet stood up to *Dover*, and came to an Anchor within little more then shot of the Castle the same day in the afternoon. Upon their coming before *Dover* Castle, and Riding there with Flag in the Main-top, without saluting the Castle, the Castle made three shot at them; notwithstanding which,
25 the Dutch Admiral kept up his Flag, and rode there at Anchor until the next day noon, and exercised his Musquetiers, by discharging Volleys of small shot many hours together. Upon Wednesday about twelve a clock the Dutch Fleet weighed

stetit, & Sclopetarios suos complures per horas, sclopis simul omnibus subinde displois, exercitabat. Die Mercurii, horâ circiter duodecimâ, sublatis anchoris Caletum versùs quatuor Leucas in Euronotum Classis ea abcessit; quam circa idem
5 tempus *Blacus* prætor cum classe Anglicana, dum ab occidente ad Dunas rediret, conspicatus est, eâmq̃ue est ratus, ex eo quem tenebat cursu, abiisse: Simûlque *Bornius* Tribunus in conspectu erat, ex Dunis properè adveniens, ut cum *Blaco* se conjungeret: Unâ aut alterâ pòst horâ Classis Batavica, mu-
10 tato cursu, revertit, passísque velis omnibus ad *Blacum* præto-rem rectâ contendit. Ante omnes *Van Trumpius* erectum præcelso malo vexillum ferox præferebat. In quod *Blacus*, simulátque intra ictum venisset, excussam tormento glandem intendit, binas deinde singulares. Quo facto, *Van Trumpius*
15 item glande singulari Prætoris vexillum trajecit, totóque primus infesto latere tormenta omnia in eum displois, demp-
tísque aplustribus, sub insigni Hollandiæ insigne rubrum extulit: quod universæ classi datum committendi prælii signum erat, atque itâ ad certamen deventum est, quod inter horam
20 quartam & quintam post meridiem est cœptum, & ad nonam usque duravit. In eo certamine Angli duas naves Batavicas cœpere, quarum unam, quæ aquam senis pedibus altam in alveum receperat, traducto ad se præfecto cæterisque Classiariis, pro derelicto habuere. Alteram, quæ tricena tormenta porta-
25 bat, abduxere. *Blacus* prætor eodem quo pugna commissæ loco, vel haud longè, totâ nocte stationes habuit: Classísque Batavica circiter quatuor Leucarum spatio disjuncta versùs oram Gallicam postero manè visa est.

Anchor and stood off towards *Calice* some four Leagues into the South-east; about the same time the English Fleet under General *Blake* coming from the West towards the *Downs* discovered them, and supposed by their course they had been going back; Major *Bourn* likewise was in sight, coming from the *Downs* to joyn with General *Blake*. About an hour or two after, the *Holland* Fleet altered their course, came back again, made all the Sail they could, and bore directly with General *Blake*, *Van Trump* the headmost with his Flag in the Main-top; and being come within shot, the General shot a Gun at his Main-top, and then two single shot more: whereupon *Trump* shot a single shot through the Generals Flag and then immediately gave the first Broad-side and took in his Pendants, and hung out his Red Flag under the *Holland* Colours, which was the signal on their part for the whole Fleet to ingage, and so the Fight began, which happened between four and five a clock in the afternoon, and contiued until nine of the clock. In the Fight the English took two of the *Holland* Fleet, one whereof having six foot water in the Hold they left, taking the Captain and Officers aboard, the other being a Ship of thirty Guns. General *Blake* lay all night where the Fight began, or near thereabouts, and the *Holland* Fleet was espyed about four Leagues distant towards the Coast of *France* next morning.

Hujus narrationis fides ex literis prætoris *Blaci*, *Bornii* Tribuni, & aliorum qui in ipso aderant negotio, ipsisque Centurionum & Classiariorum Batavicornum, qui in ea pugna capti erant, testimoniis; ex mandatis etiam quæ præfecti Navium, 5 aliisque Classiarii Batavi acceperant, chartulis denique ex aliis hac de re pridem vulgatis constat.

Quod autem *Van Trumpius* in ea quam reddit hujus rei gestæ ratione, causam cur redierit fuisse ait, ut mercatoriis quibusdam navibus à Gaditano freto opulenter onustis præsidio esset, 10 quæ naves cum quibusdam nostris Liburnicis conflixerant; res illa tota in literis à Capitaneo Young conscriptis narratur (quæ & pridem vulgatæ sunt) in quibus & quam occasionem, quod initium, quémque exitum pugna illa habuerit perscribitur. Quinetiam naves illæ, quas vel tuendi vel recuperandi causâ 15 venisse præ se fert, die Sabbathi proximè elapso per eum locum transierant, ubi *Blacus* prætor tùm erat, & Orientis plagam versùs jam erant profectæ.

Sequuntur illa Scripta in unum collata quæ inter Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ & D^{num} Adrianum Pauw Legatum Fœderatarum Belgii Provinciarum Extraordinarium, cùm de pace agerent, ultro citròque reddita sunt. Oratio Dⁿⁱ *Adriani Pauw*, cùm in Parlamento audiretur, undecimo Junii, M. DC. LII.

Illustrissimi Domini!

20 **T**ESTIMONIA publica & signa manifesta sinceræ benevolentiae, ingenui amoris & veræ amicitiae quæ ab universo statu & subditis Fœderati Belgii omni tempore Populo Anglicano, & præsertim inclyto Reipub. Angliæ

The truth of this Relation appears in the Letters of General *Blake*, Major *Bourn*, and others in the Action, by the Examinations of the Dutch Captains, and other Officers taken in the Fight; the Instructions given to the Dutch Captains and Commanders, and other Papers, all which are hereunto annexed.

And whereas *Van Trump* in the accompt he gives of this Action, makes the occasion of his coming back upon the English Fleet, the guarding of some Merchant men richly laden from the *Streights*, which had been in fight with some of our Friggots: That action is set down in a Letter written by Captain *Yong* (hereunto also annexed) whereby the occasion, beginning and ending thereof is declared: And besides, those very Ships which he pretends to come to protect or rescue, upon Saturday before had past by General *Blake*, and were gone to the Eastward.

A Collection of the Proceedings in the Treaty between the Lord Pauw, Ambassador Extraordinary from the States General of the United Provinces, and the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England.

The Lord PAUW's Speech at his Audience before the PARLIAMENT, the Eleventh of *June*, 1652.

Right Honorable,

THE Publique Testimonies and manifest Tokens of a sincere Benevolence, pure Love and true Friendship, which the Universal State and Subjects of the United Provinces have always shewed to the English People, and prin-

Parlamento eandem prosperè ac feliciter gubernantis exhibita
fuere, toti orbi Christiano tam sunt cognita & aperta, uti de illis
nemo hæsitare possit: Multò minùs de Ordinum Generalium
Belgii Præfectorum optimâ fide ac inveteratæ amicitia obser-
5 vatione dubitare debeat. Cùm verò ex humanarum rerum
varietate & inconstantia nonnunquam aliquid contingat, quod
externam quidem faciem obnubilet, & animorum distractionem
arguere videatur, veruntamen si maturè iis occurratur, ac in
contrarium opposita è medio tollantur, ea ad conservanda &
10 corroboranda magis quàm ad dissolvenda mutuæ necessitudi-
nis vincula quàm plurimum facere soleant. Hanc ob causam
placuit Ordinibus Generalibus Confœderatarum Belgii Pro-
vinciarum, Superioribus meis, quantumvis de singulari pru-
dentia & industria Legatorum extraordinariorum, ipsorum
15 statûs nomine, circa maximi ponderis negotia hîc versantium
nihil dubitantibus, nihilominus me novâ extraordinariâ Lega-
tione ad Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ quàm celerrimè able-
gare; Utî præmisso imprimis publicæ salutis & felicitis regiminis
voto, ex propensa officiorum omnium oblatione apertè & can-
20 didè notum facerem (sicubi tam recenter ex supremo ipsorum
congressu egressus cum certissima scientia testari possum)
nihil magis ipsis cordi esse, aut optatius accidere posse, quàm
ut firma & constans amicitia inter utrumque statum non re-
ligiosè tantùm colatur, verùm indies augeatur atque omni
25 modo consolidetur; adeoque nihil eveniat quod mutuæ secu-
ritatis, utilitatis & necessitudinis repagula inter populos tam
vicinos abrumpere aut ex aliqua occasione labefactare possit.
Et propterea magno cum attonitu & ingenti animorum mœ-

cipally to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, now prosperously and happily Governing, are so notorious and known to the whole Christian World, that no body can doubt of it; much less of a true Faith and long used Observation of
5 Friendship, of the States General of the United Provinces.

But, forasmuch as by reason of the Variety and Inconstancy of Worldly things, sometime happen those things which do dark the Exterior Face with Clouds, and are like to shew a Distraction of mindes: But when these things are prevented by
10 time, and all Contrarieties taken away, they will serve more to conserve and confirm, then to dissolve the Bonds of mutual Friendship: Therefore it hath pleased the States General of the United Provinces, my Superiors; notwithstanding they doubt not of the singular Wisdom and Diligence of their Extraor-
15 dinary Ambassadors here, staying about great and weighty Business, to send me in an extraordinary Embassage to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, To present clearly and sincerely their Wishes for the Publique Safety and happy Government thereof; with proffer of all their good Of-
20 fices, as I, being so lately come from their Honorable Assembly, can testifie out of my certain knowledge, That nothing is more in their Hearts and Wishes, Then that not onely a firm and constant Friendship be Religiously kept between both States; but that it may daily grow, and by all means be con-
25 solidated, and nothing may happen which may break or any way disturb the Bars of mutual Safety, Profit and Friendship, between so Neighbor Nations: And that therefore they have received with great Astonishment and sorrow of Heart the

rore nuncios ad eos pervenisse de iis quæ inter classes & Thallasiarchas utriusque reipub. præter omnem expectationem nuperrimè evenere & ab utraque parte commissa fuere. Quia verò casus tam subitus & inopinatus non tantùm novas turbas
5 excitare, verumetiam suspicionibus ansam præbere posset, ac si illa quæ de mutuo fœdere ac ulteriori veteris amicitia corroboratione jam tractantur, non seriò agerentur, atque ideo in posterum ad scopum exoptatum incassum laboratum iri, existimârunt superiores mei non supervacuum, immo huic tem-
10 pori & infelici rerum successui conveniens atque necessarium, uti præter Ordinem consuetum, atque adeò ex superabundanti per me (cui ratione muneris omnibus consiliis interesse licuit) Parlamento Reipub. Angliæ tam antecedentia, quàm quæ subsequuta sunt, & ad eorum notitiam pervenerunt, palàm & sincerè exponerentur, & omnia è medio tollerentur, quæ aliquam
15 inter utrumque Statum simultatem producere aut negotium tractatûs confœderationis remorari aut impedire possent. Itaque vigore credentialium prædictorum Ordinum Generalium & ipsorum nomine huic Parlamento Reipub. Angliæ obtestor
20 & declaro, nihil unquam apud eos meditatum vel ab iis actum, multò minùs in mandatis datum fuisse, quo dignitas hujus Reipub. læderetur, amicitia & concordia cum eadem à longo temporis tractu stabilita diminueretur, vel aliquod discordia semen sub aliquo prætextu injiceretur, immo prædictos Or-
25 dines toto ex animo optâsse & omnibus viribus laborâsse, uti amicitia & confœderatio in æternum duratura omni meliori modo, & quanto ocyùs perfici & in salutem & commodum utriusque Reipub. solenni fœdere sanciri potuisset. Verum quidem

News, of what, contrary to all expectation, hath lately happened between the Admirals of both Commonwealths. But forasmuch as this unlooked for and unexpected case might not onely raise new Troubles, but also give occasion of Suspition,
5 as if the present Treaty for a mutual Alliance, and a straighter Corroboration of the old Friendship, was not earnestly prosecuted, and therefore we should labor in vain to come to a happy end: My Superiors have not thought amiss, but rather convenient, even necessary, that at this time and upon this unhappy case fallen out, I should above the ordinary use and
10 custom, and therefore superabundantly, (seeing that by reason of my Office I have been in all their Counsels) represent openly and sincerely to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, all the Particulars which have happened, as well before
15 as after that Fact, as they are come to their knowledge, to remove all things out of the way which might breed any grudge or breach of Friendship between both States, or cause the least disturbance or delay to the Treaty.

Therefore, by virtue of the Credential Letters of the said
20 General States, and in their name I do Protest and Declare to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, That they have never entertained in their thoughts, never acted, much less commanded any thing which might offend the Dignity of this Commonwealth, lessen the common Friendship and good
25 Correspondence which hath endured for so many years, or under any pretence whatsoever sow any seed of Misunderstanding; But rather that the said States have intended with all their hearts, and endeavoured by all their power, That the said Friendship and Alliance might be perfected in the best

est classem non exiguam in Belgio instructam, sed Ordines
Generales assiduis subditorum suorum querimoniis eò adactos
fuisse tam constans & notorium est, uti id etiam prædicto Par-
lamento significandum censuerint; quod tamen nullâ aliâ in-
5 tentione factum, vel denuntiaturum fuit, quàm ut Belgii subdi-
torum, qui magna per mare damna & ingentem navium jac-
turam passi fuerant, salutis & protectioni per legitima & con-
suetam media prospiceretur, nemo autem læderetur aut offen-
deretur, multò minùs uti cum classe aut navibus antedicti Par-
10 lamenti de controversiis maritimis disceptaretur. Quæ omnia
cùm ita acta & gesta sint, & nihilominus ex superveniente inter
utramque Classem casu undequaque ingens rumor & non exi-
gua controversia sit exorta, significandum imprimis Ordines
Generales Parlamento Angliæ censuerunt, quæ ad aures ipso-
15 rum perlata à Thalassiarcho ipsorum Statûs scripto consig-
nata, testimoniis Classiariorum comprobata, & ex relationibus
fide dignorum ipsis notificata sunt. Videlicet Thalassiarcham
Trompium necessitate magis, quàm alia de causa, classes na-
vales hujus Reipub. appropinquasse, Præfectum *Bourn* primo
20 humaniter salutari curasse, ac deinde cum Thalassiarcho Blake
fortuitò obviàm factus esset, scapham exposuisse, ut deputatos
ad eundem transmitteret, & adventûs sui rationem redderet, &
insuper vexillum superius auferri mandasse; sed cùm præter
omnem expectationem se toto latere tormentorum bellicorum
25 à navi Prætoria infeliciter salutari & accipi videret, non offen-

way, and speedily, and might be solemnly established for ever for the Safety and Advantage of both Commonwealths. It is very true that a great Fleet hath been prepared in the Low Countreys, but that the States General have by the continual
5 Complaints of their Subjects been forced to consent to it, is also a thing most certain and known; as also, that they have Ordered, That notice thereof should be given to the said Parliament; which was done and signified to no other intent, then that the Subjects of the United Provinces which had suffered
10 great Damages at Sea, and lost several ships, should be secured and protected by just and ordinary means; and that no Wrong or Offence should be offered to any, much less to undertake any Dispute against the Fleet and Ships of the same Parliament upon the Controversies and Differences of the Sea. All
15 which being done and performed in that maner, and nevertheless being accidentally hapened of both sides a great Debate and Controversie between both Fleets, the States General have thought fit to acquaint the Parliament of *England*, with the Relation sent to them in writing by their Admiral, and approved and witnessed by their Captains and other faithful persons, That the Admiral *Trump*, more by necessity then other reasons, is come nigh the Fleet of this Commonwealth, and hath first sent his civil Salutation to the Commander *Bourn*; and having afterwards met accidentally with the Admiral
25 *Blake*, put out his Boat to send some Deputies unto him, and to Declare the Reasons of his coming, and besides that, commanded to take down his Flag; but when he saw, that he against all expectation was unhappily saluted by him with a

dendo sed defendendo tormenta sua bellica iterum explosisse, atque exinde inter utramque classem non ex proposito, sed ex accidenti aliquem conflictum exortum, sed brevi finitum, neque ampliùs continuatum aut prosecutum, verùm Deo propitio breviter extinctum fuisse. Quæ cùm ab inexpectata receptione inchoata, nullo autem fervore à nostris continuata, neque tam ex animorum alienatione vel ob aliquam causam præcognitam, sed magis ex accidenti commissa & perpetrata sint, exponunt Ordines generales, & amicè rogant, ut Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ credere & assentiri velit, nihil deliberato proposito, vel præcedente mandato, sed casu fortuito & fortassis ex Rerum humanarum fragilitate & inconstantia evenisse, atque adeò sua consilia & mandata eò dirigere, ut omnia obstacula, offensiones & ultiores læsiones, quantò citiùs è medio tollantur & inhibeantur, sicuti Ordines generales ab ipsorum parte prompti & paratissimi sunt convenientia iis confestim remedia adhibere: Judicant fanè Universæ rei Christianæ & præsertim religionis reformatæ Statibus quàm maximi interesse, nè dissensiones inter Utramque Rempub. augeantur, atque inter vicinos amicos & ejusdem fidei consortes populos aliquid sinistri oriatur, quod pacem publicam turbare, commercia utrinque utilia & necessaria intervertere & inimicis tam apertis quàm occultis causam præbere possit, utrique insidias struere, vel Respub. jamjam communi fœdere jungendas in diversas partes distrahere, atque eâ ratione, quod Deus avertat, calamitatum & bellorum sedes à se averrendo in earum perniciem derivare; Quod nè eveniat, & nè malum ulteriùs surgat, in principio proponere, omnémque industriam adhibere jussus

Broad-side, and thereupon he discharged his Guns, not to offend but to defend himself; and that from thence by meer accident, rather then purposely, was arised a Fight amongst those Fleets, which by the Lords Blessing shortly after was ended:

5 Which, forasmuch as it was begun by an unexpected Salutation, and not continued with earnestness by ours, nor done or committed by Alienated mindes, or any Reasons known before, but by Chance; Therefore the States General do friendly desire, That the PARLIAMENT of the Commonwealth of *Eng-*

10 *land* will be pleased to believe and be perswaded, That nothing was done with a consulted purpose or foregoing Command, but meerly by a casual Chance, and perhaps by reason of the Fragility and Inconstance of the worldly things; and so much the more direct their Counsels and Commissions thither, That

15 all Obstacles, Offences, and further Wrongs may with all speed be removed out the way and prohibited, as the States General on their part are prompt and ready to apply convenient Remedies. They judge that it concerneth much the whole Christian world, and principally the States of the Reformed Churches

20 abroad, That those Misunderstandings do not grow greater between these Commonwealths, and that between Neighbors, partakers of the same Faith, should arise any Dissention which should disturb, interrupt the common and necessary Commerce, and give occasion, as well to their known as to their

25 secret Enemies, to lay waits, or to draw into diverse parts those Commonwealths ready to be United in a common Alliance; and by such means removing from themselves the seat of Calamities and War, to bring (which God forbid) it to their own destruction: To prevent so great a danger, and that the evil

sum, ut de præteritis per media convenientia quàm primùm
conveniri, & in futurum præcaveri possit, nè similia sinistra
aut funesta ab utriusque Reipub. Classiariis ampliùs perpetrari
queant, in quibus dignitatem & honorem Parlamentum Rei-
5 pub. Angliæ conservatam cupiunt. Cùm ergò Ordines Gene-
rales hisce prædicto Parlamento publicè testatum faciant; ipsos
unicè desiderare, ut omnia amoris & benevolentiae officia con-
tinuantur, adversa impediuntur & ad optatum mutuæ confœ-
derationis scopum & conclusionem ab omni parte consilia diri-
10 gantur, enixè rogo, ut placeat prædicto Parlamento me per
deputatos suos vel per Concilium Statûs plenius sine temporis
intervallo audire & intelligere, & cum justa & amicabili antè-
actorum transactione ad pertractandum & consummandum
negotium principale, ad quod Legati Ordinum Extraordinarii
15 instructi & parati sunt, sine intermissione progredi. Interea
gratias ago pro singulari favore D^{no} *Guilielmo Neoporto* ad
reditum in Belgium per navim bellicam hujus Parlamenti ante
paucos dies exhibitio: & cùm prædictus Dominus membrum fit
Statûs Hollandiæ Westfrisizæque, in mandatis habeo, eundem
20 requirere, ut mecum hîc remanere, communicatis consiliis
agere, ac reverti velit, quod prædicto Parlamento non ingratum
fore arbitror, cujus Parlamenti benevolentiae me, meaque officia
quàm reverenter commendo.

Pronuntiatum & exhibitum in Parlamento Reipub: Angliæ
25 à Legato Ordinum Generalium Fœderati Belgii extra Ordinem misso. die 21 *Junii* MDCLII.

may not spread further, I am commanded by times to propound, and do all my best, That by convenient means there may be a speedy Composure made of what is past; and that there may be Order taken, That hereafter such unlucky and
5 unhappy Cases happen no more between the Fleets of both Commonwealths, wherein they Desire, the Dignity and the Honor of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England* may be conserved.

Whereas then the States General do herewith openly Declare to the said Parliament, That they desire intirely, That all
10 offices of Friendship and Benevolence may be continued, the contrary may be prevented; and that the Councils of all sides may be directed to the desired end and conclusion of the mutual Confederacy; therefore, I do earnestly intreat, That it may
15 please the said Parliament to hear and understand me without any delay, by their Deputies or Counsel of State, and proceed without intermission in the just and amicable former Transactions, to bring the principal Business to an end and conclusion, as the Extraordinary Ambassadors of the States have Charge
20 and are ready to do.

In the same time I do return my Thanks for the singular Favor done to my Lord *Neuwport*, in granting him some days ago one of the Parliaments ships for his return into the Low Countreys; and the said Lord being a Member of the States of
25 *Holland* and *West-Friezland*, I am charged to desire him to stay here, to communicate Counsels and return with me, which I hope will not be displeasing to the Parliament, to whose Benevolence I with all Respect recommend me and all my Offices.

Dies Veneris 11^{mo} Junii 1652

DOMINUS Prolocutor referendi more Parlamento breviter exponit quâ sit usus oratione Dominus Adrianus Paius, Legatus Ordinum Generalium Fœderatarum Belgii Provinciarum Extraordinarius, cùm hodierno die in Parlamento audiretur; deque chartula à prædicto Domino Legato Extraordinario unâ cum versione Anglica sibi tradita retulit, quæ etiam chartula hodie recitata est.

Ex quo, consultum Parlamenti est factum, hasce chartulas ad Concilium Statûs remitti, & quæ ampliùs in mandatis habeat prædictus Dominus Legatus extraordinarius, ea uti prædictum Concilium audiat, cùmque eo agat, quæque priùs Parlamentum responsa dederit, quæque declaraverit, ab eorum sententia uti nè discedat, deque his primo quoque tempore ad Parlamentum referat.

Hen. Scobell Cleric. Parlamenti.

Die Lunæ 14^o Junii, 1652.

In Concilio Statûs in Alba Aula.

EX Parlamenti consulto 14^o Junii mandavit Concilium D^{no} Commissario *Whitlock*, D^{no} Commissario *Lisle*, D^{no} Vicecomiti *Lisle*, D^{no} *Oliverio St John*, summo Justiciario, D^{no} *Bond*, D^{no} *Scott*, Tribuno *Purefoy*, D^{no} *Henrico Vane*, Equiti aurato, D^{no} *Guilielmo Masham*, Equiti aurato, D^{no} *Henrico Martin*, D^{no} *Herberto Morley* Tribunis, aut eorum tribus quibusvis aut pluribus, uti Commissarii sint, qui D^{num} *Adrianum Païum* ab Ordinibus Fœdera-

To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England.

Friday the 11th of June, 1652.

MR. Speaker *by way of Report, acquaints the Parliament with what was delivered by the Lord Pauw Ambassador Extraordinary from the Lords the States General of the United Provinces, at his Audience in the*
5 *House this day, and presented the Paper delivered in by the said Lord Ambassador Extraordinary, and the Translate thereof in English, which was this day read.*

Ordered by the Parliament, That these Papers be referred to the Councel of State; And that it be likewise referred to the
10 *said Councel, to hear what the said Lord Ambassador Extraordinary hath further to say, and to Treat with him; they holding close to the former Answers and Declarations the Parliament hath made, and report it to the Parliament with all speed.*

Hen: Scobell, Cleric. Parliamenti.

Monday the 14th of June, 1652.

At the Councel of State at White-Hall.

15 **I**N pursuance of an Order of Parliament of the 11th of June, 1652. *The Councel hath appointed the Lord Commissioner Whitlock, Lord Commissioner Lisle, Lord Viscount Lisle, Lord Chief Justice St. John, Mr. Bond, Mr. Scot, Colonel Purefoy, Sir Henry Vane, Sir William Masham, Colo-*
20 *nel Martin and Colonel Morley, or any three or more of them to be Commissioners, to meet with the Lord Pauw, Extror-*

tarum Belgii Provinciarum Generalibus ad Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ convenient; & quæ ejus Ex^{tia} scripto exhibuerit, ea uti accipiant, deque iis & colloquium cum eo habeant & agant, quodque egerint ad Concilium deferant; utque hora
 5 quarta hujus diei post meridiem statutum tempus D^{num} Legatum prædictum conveniendi fit, solito conveniendi loco; idque ut idoneo quoque tempore toties fiat, quoties dabitur occasio; Utque D^{nus} *Oliverius Fleming* Eques auratus, Cereemoniarum magister, id ejus Ex^{tia} significet, eumque ad statutum locum
 10 deducat.

Jo. THURLOE, *Cleric. Concil.*

Die Lunæ, 14^o Junii, 1652.

In Concilio Statûs in Alba Aula.

PLACUIT, Commissarios, quibus mandatum est, ut agant cum D^{no} *Adriano Paio*, Legato Fœderatarum Belgii Provinciarum Extraordinario, petere, uti inspiciant diplomata ab ejus primoribus ei data, quibus agendi & transigendi potestas atque authoritas in eum collata sit iis de
 15 rebus proponendis quas in mandatis habet; Eique significare, gratissimum hoc fore Parlamento, si ab ejus Excellentia in habendo hoc colloquio, quod ipse expetivit, celeritas omnis adhibeatur; Ejusque Excellentia demonstrare, nihil quidem à
 20 parte Concilii Statûs esse defuturum, quod ullo modo conducere possit huic negotio feliciter conficiendo.

Jo. THURLOE, *Cleric. Concilii.*

*dinary Ambassador to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, from the States General of the United Provinces, to receive from his Excellency such Overtures as he shall please to make in writing, and to Confer and Treat with him there-
5 upon, and make Report thereof to the Council; and that they do meet with the said Lord Ambassador Extraordinary, at Four of the Clock this Afternoon, in the usual place for the purpose aforesaid, and so from time to time as there shall be occasion: And that Sir Oliver Fleming Knight, Master of the
10 Ceremonies, do signifie the same unto his Lordship, and attend him to the place appointed.*

Ex: Jo: Thurloe, Clerk of the Council.

Monday 14. June, 1652.

At the Council of State at *White-Hall*.

Ordered,

THAT the Commissioners appointed to Treat with the Lord Pauw, Extraordinary Ambassador of the United
15 Provinces, Do demand of the said Lord Ambassador, a sight of the Powers & Authorities given to him by his Superiors to treat and conclude upon such matters and things as he hath to offer; and acquaint him, That the Parliament Desires, That all speed and expedition may be used on his Excellencies
20 part in this present Treaty desired by himself; assuring his Lordship, That nothing shall be wanting on the part of the Council of State which may be any way conducing to bring the same to a speedy issue.

Ex: Jo: Thurloe, Clerk of the Council.

14^o Junii, 1652.*In Concilio Statûs in Alba Aula.*

PLACUIT, Commissarios, quibus negotium est datum,
utî agant cum D^o Adriano Paio, à Fœderatis Belgii Pro-
vinciis, Legato Extraordinario, illud urgere, utî autho-
ritatem ei commissam priûs inspiciant, quàm tractationis hujus
5 initium faciant. Jo. THURLOE. *Cleric. Concilii.*

ACCEPTÂ hâc chartulâ, datóque colloquio, D^{nus} *Adria-
nus Paius*, ut autoritatem agendi & transigendi sibi
commissam exhiberet, instabat credentialibus sive
commendatitiis, ternisque datis sibi liberi commeatûs literis,
10 quarum exemplaria ab ipso tradita sunt, & unum Gallicè scrip-
tum, bina de Belgico versa in hunc modum se habent.

Die Martis 15^{to} Junii, 1652.*In Concilio Statûs in Alba Aula.*

PLACUIT, deferri ad Parlamentum quid Concilium sta-
tuerit, quídque mandaverit, de ratione habendi collo-
quii cum D^{no} Adriano Paio, Fœderatarum Belgii Pro-
15 vinciarum Legato Extraordinario, déque chartulis, quas ille
Commissariis Concilii tradidit; cúmq; ex hisce chartulis
Concilio non videatur, Prædictum Legatum potestatem ullam
agendi aut transigendi accepisse, optimum visum est prædicto
Concilio, deliberandam rem integram demissè ad Parlamen-
20 tum referre, ut de ea re quæ ejus sententia sit, significare velit.
Jo. THURLOE. *Cler. Concilii.*

14th of June, 1652.

At the Council of State at *White-Hall*.

THAT the Commissioners appointed to Treat with the Lord Pauw, Extraordinary Ambassador from the United Provinces, do insist upon the sight of his Authorities before they proceed to this Treaty.

- 5 Whereupon a Conference being had, the Lord *Pauw*, to manifest his Powers to Treat and Conclude, insisted on his Credentials and three Passes granted to him, the Copies whereof were by him delivered in, and are as followeth: [See Notes.]

Tuesday the 15th of June, 1652.

At the Council of State at *White-Hall*.

Ordered,

- 10 **T**HAT Report be made to the Parliament of what the Counsel have Ordered and Directed touching the Conference with the Lord Pauw, Extraordinary Ambassador from the Lords the States General, and of the Papers by him delivered to the Commissioners of the Counsel. That by these Papers it not appearing to the Counsel that the said Ambassador hath any power to Treat or Conclude; The Counsel
15 have thought fit humbly to present and submit the whole to the Consideration of the Parliament for their Judgement thereupon.

Die Jovis, 17^o Junii, 1652.

De re propositâ decretum in Parlamento est;

HABITÂ consultatione de re à Concilio Statûs relatâ, censet Parlamentum, adeoque decernit, uti Concilium Statûs cum D^{no} Paio, Legato Potestatum Generalium Fœderatarum Belgii Provinciarum extraordinario ex
5 prioribus mandatis pergat agere.

HEN. SCOBELL, Cleric, Parlamenti.

Responsum Concilii Statûs ad summarium Dⁿⁱ Adriani Pauw Potestatum Generalium foederatarum Belgii Provinciarum Legati Extraordinarii^{24^{to}}₁₄ mensis hujus Junii Concilio exhibitum.

DE Consiliis Dominorum-superiorum vestrorum nuper initis, deque iis quæ Classis vestra in ipsis Angliæ Littoribus ac stationibus recens patravit, quæ Parlamenti Sententia fuerit, quodque judicium, percepit Ex^{tia} vestra
10 ex Parlamenti responso ad ternas chartulas Legatorum vestræ Reipub. Extraordinariorum, priusquam Ex^{tia} vestra huc adveniret, reddito; Cujus responsi, simulque rei totius, sicuti gesta est, narrationis, quæque super ea re quæstiones habitæ
15 fuerint, & ad vos tum quidem delatæ, meminit in iis chartulis, quæ jam præ manibus concilio sunt, Excellentia vestra; neque ex re ulla quam deinceps in medium protulit vestra Excellentia causæ quidquam nobis videtur esse, cur eam mutare sententiam debeamus. Cùmque ab illa fœderatarum Provinciarum
20 classe quod tentatum est, necnon etiam eam ad rem apparatus

Thursday the 17th of June, 1652.

Resolved upon the Question by the Parliament,

THAT upon Consideration of the Report made from the Council of State, the Parliament doth think fit and order, That the Council of State do proceed with the Lord Pauw, Ambassador Extraordinary from the Lords
5 the States General of the United Provinces, according to former Directions. Hen: Scobell, Cleric. Parliamenti.

The Answer of the Council of State to the Summary of the Lord Adrian Pauw, Extraordinary Ambassador of the States General of the United Provinces, presented to the Council of the $\frac{24}{14}$ of this instant June.

WHAT the thoughts and judgement of the Parliament have been concerning the late Intentions of the Lords your Superiors, and the late
10 Actings of your Fleet within the very Roads of *England*; your Excellency hath understood by the Parliaments Answer given unto the three Papers of the Extraordinary Ambassadors of your State before your Excellencies arrival here; which Answer, together with the state of the Fact, and the Examinations
15 thereupon had, and then given in, your Lordship takes notice of in your Papers now before the Council; neither doth any cause appear to vary from that Judgement upon any thing since offered by your Excellency. And since the Attempt made by the Fleet of the United Provinces, with the Preparations
20 thereunto (all projected and acted by way of surprise and in a

illi (erant enim inter ipsa vestra de fœdere nobiscum ineundo colloquia ad repentinum impetum instructa & veluti ex composito facta omnia) si ex sententia processissent, proculdubio rem Anglicanam in discrimen haud leve adduxissent, æquum
5 videri non potest, hanc rempub. tanto periculo edoctam, tàmque insigniter conservatam (quam suâ conservationem Soli DEO acceptam refert) velle se pari periculo obnoxiam atque nudam in posterum relinquere, aut in re tàm evidenti & perspicua pati, questionis habendæ accuratioris obtentu aut aliarum exemplis Rerumpub. quæ huc nihil attinent, abduci se ab
10 adhibendis remediis huic malo accommodatis. Quapropter Concilium, quod ab Excellentia vestra proponitur admittere non potest, vel prætermittendo quod jam factum atque patratum est, vel ineundæ quæstionum rationi immorando cujus in
15 chartulis vestris facta mentio est; quæ sibi quidem & non necessaria & dilationum plena & quæ denique iniri non possit, videtur.

Quod autem deinde proponitur, ut ad inceptam à cæteris vestræ Nationis Legatis Extraordinariis tractationem fœderis
20 redeatur, post tantam ejus violationem existimamus huic quidem rei idoneum tempus non esse, donec vulnus, cui jam medicando laboratur obductâ cicatrice penitùs sanari queat. Quod autem Excellentix vestræ visum est, Dnorum superiorum Vrorum studium in hanc rempub. atque propensum animum sæpius-
25 culè prædicare, necnon edicta aliquot & acta publica proferre, quibus idem eorum animus erga nos declaretur, præsertim quod ad honorem illum in mari nobistribuendum attinet (quum vetustum hoc & indubitatum Gentis hujus jus atque

time of Treaty) had the same prevailed, would have highly hazarded the safety of *England*. It cannot stand with reason, That this Commonwealth after such a Warning and great Preservation (which they owe onely to God) should leave it
5 self naked and exposed to the like danger for the future, or suffer it self in a case so evident and notorious, under pretence of more solemn Examinations, or from examples of other States which suit not with this case, to be diverted from applying Remedies agreeable to the nature of this evil. And there-
10 fore the Councel cannot admit of what is propounded by your Excellency, either as to the passing by what is done, or attending the way of Examinations mentioned in your Papers, which to them seem needless, dilatory, and impracticable.

Touching the overture of re-admitting the late Treaty begun
15 by the other Lords Ambassadors Extraordinary of your Nation, after so high a breach thereof, we conceive it cannot be seasonable until the Wound now under Cure be througly closed and healed.

And whereas your Excellency hath thought fit frequently to
20 assert the amicable Minde and Intentions of the Lords your Superiors towards this Commonwealth, and hath given instances of some late Orders and Acts tending to the expression of the same, specially concerning the Honor and Respect to be paid unto this Commonwealth at Sea (being the ancient and

decus sit) quod etiam ad tutelam illam à mercatoribus nostris
 Roterodami petitam, atque à vobis concessam, Parlamentum
 quoque, quod ad se attinet, nullo unquam tempore sua studia
 amicitiae cum fœderatis Belgii Provinciis colendae significare
 5 destitit, aut commorantibus apud nos earum civibus tutelam
 omnem quæ quidem satis esset, etiam non petitam præbere;
 veruntamen prout res & tempora jam ferunt, non est ut expec-
 tari possit, uti hæc Respub. ea persequi omitteret, quorum me-
 minit responsum Parlamenti supradictum, ob rationes illi
 10 allatas.

Ab Alba Aula, 19º Junii 1652.

*Responsum Parlamenti ad illam partem schedulae à D^{no}
 Adriano Paio exhibitæ, in qua petit à Concilii Com-
 missariis, uti proponerent quæ sibi justa & cum
 æquitate conjuncta viderentur ad controversias, quæ
 inter hanc Rempub. & D^{nos} Potestates Generales
 Fœderatarum Provinciarum in præsentia ortæ sunt,
 primo quoque tempore componendas.*

I.

U^T Domini Potestates Generales Fœderatarum Pro-
 vinciarum satisfactionis nomine solvant huic Rei-
 pub. quas fecit impensas hæc Respub. quæque
 damna sustinuit propter apparatus prædictarum Potestatum
 15 Generalium, quæque ab iis hac æstate tentata sunt, quarum im-
 pensarum ratio particularis idoneo tempore in medium pro-
 feretur.

undoubted Right of this Nation) and granting of the Protection desired by the English Merchants now at *Rotterdam*: The Parliament hath not been wanting on their part from time to time to manifest their desires of Amity with the United Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, nor to afford unto the people thereof residing here all necessary Protection though undesired; Nevertheless, in the present posture of Affairs it cannot reasonably be expected, That this State should forbear the prosecution mentioned in the Parliaments said Answer for the
10 ends therein expressed. *White-Hall, 19. June, 1652.*

The Answer of the Parliament to that part of the Paper given in by the Lord Pauw, whereby he desires the Commissioners of the Council to propound what they shall think reasonable and just to compose speedily the present Differences between this Commonwealth and the Lords the States General of the United Provinces.

Friday the 25th of June, 1652.

THAT the Lords the States General of the United Provinces do pay and satisfie unto this Commonwealth the Charges and Damages this State hath sustained and been put unto, by the Preparations of the said States
15 General, and their Attempts this summer; the Particulars whereof shall be in due time produced.

II.

Utî factâ illâ solutione, de cujus summâ, ut supra dictum est, convenerit, impensarum atque damnorum nomine, aut eam ob rem datâ fide quâ Parlamento satisfiat, extemplò induciæ sequantur, atque armis abstinence, navésque & bona post nuperam controversiam capta dimittantur.

III.

Hisce duobus postulatis præcedentibus si assensus præbebitur, eaque perficiantur, Parlamentum hanc fidem in posterum dari sibi exspectat, utî utraque Respub. firmum fœdus inter se & rationes utrarumque bono jungat; Quod ut fiat, Parlamentum pro se quidem testatur omnibus justis atque honestis rationibus se esse libentissimè adniscurum.

Die Veneris 25^{to} Junii, 1652.

In Concilio Statûs in Alba Aula.

PLACUIT, Commissarios, quibus mandatum priùs erat, utî D^{num} Paium, Fœderatarum Provinciarum Legatum Extraordinarium convenirent, cùmque eo agerent, ad illud caput schedulæ à D^{no} Paio per Concilium Statûs ad Parlamentum 25^{to} hujus mensis Junii delatæ, quo in capite prædictus D^{nus} petit à Concilii Commissariis utî proponerent, quæ sibi justa & cum æquitate conjuncta viderentur ad controversias quæ inter hanc rempub. & D^{nos} Potestates Generales Fœderatarum Provinciarum in præsentia ortæ sunt primo quoque tempore componendas responsum Parlamenti prædicto D^{no} Legato in manus tradere. Jo. Thurloe, *Cleric. Concilii.*

II.

That upon the Payment of the Sum to be agreed upon as aforesaid, for Charges and Damages, or securing the same to the satisfaction of the Parliament, there shall follow immediately thereupon a Cessation of all Acts of Hostility, and the
5 Ships and Goods taken since the late Differences shall be released.

III.

The two former Propositions being assented unto, and put in Execution, the security for the time to come, which the Parliament does expect, is by both States contracting a firm Alliance, and Consistency of Interest for the good of both; which
10 the Parliament of *England* is willing on their part by all just Ways and Means to endeavor.

Friday 25^o Junii, 1652.

At the Council of State at *White-Hall*.

Ordered,

15 **T**HAT the Commissioners appointed formerly to meet and Treat with the Lord Pauw, Extraordinary Ambassador of the United Provinces, Do deliver unto the said Lord Ambassador the Answer of the Parliament of the
25th of June instant, to that part of the Paper presented unto them by the Council, from the said Lord Pauw, whereby his Lordship doth desire the Commissioners of the Council to pro-
20 pound what they should think reasonable and just, to compose speedily the present Differences between this Commonwealth and the Lords the States General of the United Provinces.

Ex: Jo: Thurloe, Clerk of the Council.

Responsum Concilii ad Chartulam præcedentem.

CONCILIUM STATÛS cùm de Chartula à Domino
Paio Legato Extraordinario D^{norum} Potestatum Ge-
 neralium Fœderatarum Provinciarum per Commis-
 sarios suos hodie vesperi sibi allata deliberationem habuerit,
 5 neque responsum in illa perspicuum aut planum ad nostram
 postulationum schedulam Parlamenti nomine Excellentix Ves-
 træ proximè exhibitam reperiatur, petit uti responsum ad eam
 quàm præsentissimum atque planissimum reddatur, saltem ad
 primum ejus articulum, præsertim quia illi si assensus præ-
 10 beatur, Concilium sese quàm primum conferre possit ad sum-
 mam illam, cujus mentio fit, quàm moderatè & æquissimè con-
 stituendam, ut, quàmprimum secundus articulus præstabitur,
 ab omni hostilitate abstinere possit, útque navium & bonorum
 quæ retenta sunt, restitutio protinus fiat, quandoquidem ter-
 15 tius articulus ejusmodi est, ut eam tantâ celeritate transigi non
 sit opus.

Jo. Thurloe, *Cleric. Concilii.*

Ab Alba Aula 26^{to} Juni, 1652.

27^o Junii, 1652.

In Concilio Statûs in Alba Aula.

CONSULTATIONE susceptâ de eo quod retulerunt
 Commissarii, schedulam à D^{no} *Paio* Legato Fœdera-
 20 tarum Belgii Provinciarum Extraordinario hodie ves-
 peri sibi esse traditam; Concilium sui officii ducit esse, rem ad
 Parlamentum deferre, quod die Martis, primo consessu factu-

[*Response.*]

The Council of State having considered of the Paper this evening delivered in by their Commissioners from the Lord Pauw Extraordinary Ambassador of the Lords the States General of the United Provinces, and finding therein no clear or
5 direct Answer to the last Paper of Demands tendered unto his Excellency in the name of the Parliament, They do desire a speedy and positive Answer thereunto, at least unto the first Article thereof, especially, because that being assented unto, the Council might speedily apply themselves to a reasonable
10 and moderate ascertaining the sum; to the end, That immediately upon performance of the second Article, all acts of Hostility might be forborn, and restitution made of the Ships and Goods detained. The third Article in the nature thereof not requiring so present a Transaction.

15 Ex: Jo: Thurloe, Clerk of the Council.
White Hall, 26. June, 1652.

27th June, 1652.

At the Council of State at *White Hall*.

UPON Consideration of the Report made of the Paper
delivered in to the Commissioners this evening by
the Lord Pauw Extraordinary Ambassador from
20 the United Provinces, The Council hold themselves obliged to represent the same to the Parliament, which they shall do upon Tuesday morning at their first sitting; and in the mean time

rum se esse recipit; interea responsum nullum, præterquam hoc tantum, prædicto D^{no} Legato super hâc re potest reddere.

Jo. Thurloe, *Cler. Concilii.*

Oratio Dⁿⁱ *Adriani Paai* in Parlamento habita 30 *Junii*, 1652. cùm discedens liberum comœatum peteret.

Illustrissimi Domini!

5 **M**ISERUNT Ordines Generales Fœderatarum Provinciarum Belgii ad Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ Legatos Extraordinarios, ut de corroboranda inter utrunque populum veteri amicitîâ, & sanciendo inter duos Status perpetuo fœdere seriò agerent & pro communi utilitate
10 & securitate convenirent, & insuper D. *Guilielmum Neoportium* Statûs Hollandiæ Westfrisîæque membrum ablegârunt ad tollenda nonnulla dubia & benevolas superiorum nostrorum circa tractatum confœderationis intentiones plenius explicandum;

15 Ac postremum paucis retro diebus placuit prædictis Ordinibus novam Legationem extraordinariam ad illustre hoc Parlamentum adornare, mihiq̃ue eam provinciam imponere, cum speciali mandato, ut de optima ipsorum fide, propenso animo, & sincerissima intentione erga hanc Rempub. superabundans
20 testimonium redderem, omniâque accidentia inopinata & inde exorta & opposita impedimenta diluerem, & è medio tollerem, eâque ratione inchoatam fœderis tractationem omni modo ad felicem exitum promoverem;

can give no other Answer to the said Lord Ambassador upon this subject. Ex: Jo: Thurloe, Clerk of the Councel.

The Lord Pauw's Speech in Parliament, at his taking leave, 30. June, 1652.

Right Honorable,

5 **T**HE States General of the United Provinces of the Low-Countries, have first sent their Extraordinary Ambassadors to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, to do their earnest endeavors for the strengthening and confirming of the ancient Amity and Friendship between both Nations, and for the Establishing of an everlasting Al-
10 liance between both States, and to bring those things to a happy conclusion for the common Utility and Security; and afterwards the Lord *William Newport*, a Member of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friezland*, to take away some Doubts, and to witness more fully of the good Intentions of our Superiors
15 concerning the Treaty of Confederacy.

At last it hath pleased the said Lords States to prepare, some few days ago, a new Extraordinary Embassage to the said Parliament, and to give me that Employment, with an express Command to bear again over and above, witness of their faith-
20 ful dealing, and of their most sincere intention towards this Commonwealth; and to dissolve and remove all the strange and unthought of accidents, and all the stoppings and hinderances thereby caused and opposed to their good intent; by which means, I might by all my endeavors promote to a happy
25 Conclusion, the Treaty of Alliance already begun.

In quem finem inter alia propositum est, uti de iis quæ nuperrimè inter utramque Classem nullo sanè proposito, sed omnino Casu fortuito acta & perpetrata sunt, per utriusque Reipub. viros idoneos, factâ inquisitione cognosceretur, ac de
5 justa & æqua satisfactione statueretur.

Nullò enim offendendi aut turbandi, multò minùs hostili animo Ordines erga hanc Rempub. affectos fuisse, sed veram amicitiam & pacem omnimodam cum ea colere, immo arctius fœdus sancire ipsos in animo habuisse, coram DEO toto Orbe
10 Christiano & præsentì Parlamento Reipub. Angliæ profitemur & obtestamur.

Cùm verò infelicitè acciderit utramque Legationem post tot exantlatos labores & præstita ab omni parte ad conservandam pacem communem, & removenda omnia obstacula conveni-
15 entia officia, non tantum ad optatum scopum pervenire non potuisse, verùm ex adverso Statui Belgico non exigua incommoda & damna esse illata, immo ingentia pericula, necnon hostilia nunquam expectata neque antea denunciata à Classe Anglica in altum profecta imminere;

20 Visum fuit utrique Legationi supervenientibus malis occurrere, & in casu tam insolito secundùm expressa Ordinum Generalium mandata in patriam reverti, uti rationem à se gestorum Superioribus reddere, & de ulteriori ipsorum beneplacito certiores fieri possint.

To what end it hath been propounded amongst other things,
That there should be an Enquiry and Examination made by
fit persons of both Commonwealths, of all what lately passed
as was done between the two Fleets without any Design, but by
5 meer chance, and a just and lawful Satisfaction stated: For we
do witness and protest before God and all the Christian world,
as well as in the presence of the Parliament of the Common-
wealth of *England*, That the States have not had the least
minde of Offending or Troubling this Commonwealth, much
10 less of committing any Hostility against them; but rather that
they have had nothing more in their hearts then to Entertain
and Maintain with this State all true Friendship and firm
Peace, even to come to a stricter Union and Confederacy with
them.

15 But as it hath unhappily happened, That after extraordinary
Pains taken, and all the best Endeavors done of all sides to con-
serve the common Quiet, and remove all hindrances, both Em-
bassages have not onely missed their Ends, but that to the
contrary, not onely great Troubles have been given, extraordi-
20 nary Losses have been caused, but huge Dangers; as also Acts
of Hostility not looked for, neither at any time before de-
clared, are threatned from the English Fleet to the States of
the *United Provinces*.

Both Embassage hath thought fit to prevent the ensuing
25 Evils, and upon a Business so unusual, to return into their own
Countray to give an Accompt of their Negotiation to their Su-
periors, and to be acquainted with their further Commands.

Hunc in finem supremo hujus Reipub. Concessui, nomine Superiorum nostrorum, nosmet conjunctim sistimus, discesum nobis injunctum denunciamus, & itineri nos accingere paratos esse declaramus.

- 5 Ea quæ ad transfretationem, pro munere nobis demandato, & secundùm temporis rationem necesse habemus, Excellen-
tissimo Hujus Reipub. Statûs Concilio indicavimus; super
quibus responsum & expeditiones necessarias desideramus &
exspectamus.
- 10 Nec possumus non denuo & obnixè rogare, uti omnes naves,
quæ nuperrimè præter omnem expectationem, & nullâ præce-
dente denuntiatione, in portibus Angliæ abductæ vel retentæ
sunt, & quarum præpositi inscii & innocentissimi, nulli, aut
nullam controversiæ occasionem dederunt, cum Navarchis,
15 mercibus, oneribus & toto comitatu liberè discedere, & iter pro-
positum sine alicujus injuria perficere possint, quod & invete-
ratæ amicitiae & juri communi inter populos Christianos obser-
vato deberi contendimus, & à justitia & æquitate hujus Celeber-
rimi Concessûs impetratum iri speramus.
- 20 De cætero Deum Opt. Max. qui summus Author & Promotor
est pacis & concordiae ex animo precamur, uti cogitationes &
consilia ad mutuam pacem & concordiam spectantia Parla-

To that end we do present our selves together to the Supreme Authority of this Commonwealth, declare, That we have a Command to return back, and that we are ready to take our journey.

- 5 We have given notice to the Honorable Council of State of this Commonwealth, of those things that are necessary to us for our Transport, according to our Quality and the season, and do look and wait for an Answer thereupon, hoping that the necessary Expeditions shall be done.
- 10 In the mean time we cannot be wanting to our Duty, but are forced again to desire most earnestly, That all our ships that have been brought into the Ports of *England*, & there detained of late against our thoughts, and before any Declaration of Hostility issued out, and whereof the Commanders are un-
- 15 awares and guiltless, having not given the least, nor to no body occasion of Dispute, may be released and suffered to go freely, with their officers, mariners, merchandizes, packs and loads, and the whole company, and to perform their Journey without any Wrong or Injury; which we do pretend to be due to
- 20 our old Friendship, to the Right of Nations, and have been observed between Christian Peoples, as well as we hope to have it granted by the Justice and Equity of this Great and most Honorable Assembly.

- Furthermore, We do intreat with all our hearts the great
- 25 God of Heavens, who is the Author and Promoter of Peace and Concordance, That he will be pleased to afford such thought and counsel to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, as may tend to the mutual Peace of both States, to

mento Reipub. Angliæ suggerere, Christianam, Reformatam
& Orthodoxam Religionem, quæ solâ pace nititur & florescet,
per dissidia verò & turbas sine dubio affligetur & dilacerabitur,
intemeratam & inviolatam conservare; Bellorum verò clades &
5 miserias benigniter avertere & benedictionem cœlestem utrique
Statui abundanter impartiri velit.

Quo in voto desinemus, & in Patriam properantes ab Illustris-
simo Reipub. Angliæ Concessu, debitâ, quâ par est, reverentiâ
veniam petimus, eâmq; & cætera quæ pro dignitate & securi-
10 tate Legatis ubique conceduntur & contra malevolorum ma-
chinationes & injurias præstari solent, nobis non defutura
confidimus.

Pronuntiatum in Parlamento Reipub. Angliæ ac protinus
scripto exhibitum, die x^o *Julii*, Anni M.DC.LII. per Ordinum
15 Generalium Fœderati Belgii Legatos Extraordinarios.

Finis.

the conservation of the Christian Reformed and Orthodox Religion, which hath no better Foundations then upon Peace, and can never better thrive and flourish then by Peace, and will without any doubt be afflicted and destroyed by our Troubles
5 and falling out; As also that he will in his Mercy prevent the Destructions and Miseries of Wars, and bestow abundantly his Heavenly Blessings upon both Commonwealths; We shall end upon these Wishes. And being commanded to Repair in haste into our countrey, we shall with all thankful Acknowledge-
10 ment for all Favors done to us, as well as with all due Respects, take our leave of this most Honorable and Supream Assembly of the Commonwealth of *England*, with confidence that they will not deny us those things which we have already expressed, and are granted every where to the Ambassadors for their
15 quality and security.

Pronounced and delivered to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, the ^{30 June}_{10 July} 1652, by the Extraordinary Ambassadors of the States General of the United Provinces.

ADDITIONAL STATE PAPERS

167C. Milton's translation of a Reply of the Council of State to the Dutch Ambassadors.

Concilium Status Parlamenti Reipub: Angliæ Authoritate constitutum, acceptis quæ Excellentiæ Vestræ Januarij undevigesimo 1651. scripta exhibuerunt, in quibus tria postulata comprehensa sunt, responsum hoc reddit.

- 5 1. Parlamentum sua studia confirmandæ inter hanc Rempub: et Fœderatas Provincias amicitia semper manifesta reddidisse, neque se defuturos quo minùs omni justa atque honesta ratione eandem conservet atque promoveat; cùmque Excellen-
tiis Vestris commodum videbitur, vel ex partis prioribus vel
10 siquo alio libuerit modo, eas postulationes sigillatim ferre, ad præsentem temporum atque rerum rationem accommodatas, quas ex vestra parte conferre ad jacienda societatis fundamenta existimabitis, responsa ad eas idonea accipietis. Quod autem
ad ea supplenda, quæ hujus Reipub: Legati Hagæ Comitibus
15 infecta reliquere consemus ea considerata non esse, cum tractatio illa nihil protulerit, neque ullus ejus articulus perfectus et conclusus fuerit:

2. Parlamentum cum necessarium esse duxerit, gentem hanc omni justa ac debita ratione ad navigandi studium, rêmque
20 nostram navalem exaugendam incitare, ea gratiâ Edictum promulgavit cujus in secunda Vestra postulatione facta mentio

ADDITIONAL STATE PAPERS

167C. English retranslation of a Reply of the Council of State to the Dutch Ambassadors.

The Council of State, constituted by authority of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, upon receipt of the document which Your Excellencies delivered on January 18, 1651, comprising three demands, returns the following reply.

- 5 1. The Parliament has always clearly shown its desire to strengthen the ties of friendship between this Commonwealth and the United Provinces and will not fail to safeguard and further this friendship in every just and honorable way; and whenever it shall seem agreeable to Your Excellencies, either
10 upon the basis of previous agreements or in whatever other way shall seem desirable, to present demands under seal, suited to the present conditions of the times and the course of events, which you shall think contributory on your part to laying the foundations of an alliance, you shall receive sympathetic an-
15 swers to them. As to the necessity, however, of completing those things which the envoys of this Commonwealth left unfinished at The Hague, we are of the opinion that they do not need consideration inasmuch as that discussion accomplished nothing and none of its articles reached a final form.
- 20 2. Since the Parliament thought it necessary to inspire in this nation by every just and proper means a keen interest in seamanship and in the increase of our shipping, it issued the proclamation of which mention is made in your second de-

est: quod cum justas et luculentas ob causas factum sit, Edicti ejus vel rescindendi vel inhibendi causam nullam videmus.

3. Maximè vellet Concilium, occasionem nullam fuisse datam, literas quas vocant Merc et Represales concedendi contra
5 fœderati Belgij populum; quod potuit quidem non factum fuisse, si, qui nostrum ab eo spoliati sunt jus suum obtinere potuissent: qua de re Parlamentum hoc et antea conquestum est, et satisfactionem postulavit, idque nominatim, quod ad causam attinet Annæ Pawlett Viduæ, cujus maritus a Capitano
10 Cornelio Skint in nave quadam, cui nomen Petro Roterodamiensi, direptus est. Quapropter cum is ut bona sibi ablata restituerentur aut satisfactio fieret impetrare non posset, causâque ipsa fidem nostram atque opem imploraret, suis petentibus datæ sunt ab hac Repub: literæ, quas vocant Represales, utpote
15 Remedium justissimum et maximè idoneum ad eos sublevandos quibus damnum datum est, quæ quidem literæ adhuc solæ sunt a nobis in populum Fœderati Belgij concessæ, quanquam multæ sunt aliæ injuriarum et damnorum actiones, et magnæ quidem æstimationis, quæ ad idem remedium
20 et vindicandi rationem jam diu maturuere: Quæ quidem singulæ Excellentij Vestris exhibebuntur, quo damna reparari, et satisfieri ijs possit, quibus illata injuria est. Quod quidem eorum postulatum, cum justissimum atque æquissimum sit, si ejus et aliorum ejusmodi rationem habebitis, nullo alio modo ijs

mand; since this was done for just and obvious reasons, we see no grounds either for rescinding or for suspending that proclamation.

3. The Council could earnestly wish that no occasion had
5 arisen for granting letters of marque and reprisal against the people of the United Provinces; this, in fact, need not have been done if those of our people who were despoiled had been able to secure justice. For this reason, the Parliament before taking action complained of this procedure and demanded re-
10 dress, specifying as a typical case that of Anna Pawlett, widow, whose husband had been robbed by Cornelius Skint, Captain of a ship called the *Peter* of Rotterdam. And so, since he could not secure the return of the property that had been taken from him, or any kind of redress, and since the case itself called for
15 our protection and aid, this Commonwealth granted to his representatives, on their petition, letters of reprisal, as a perfectly just and appropriate remedy in aid of those who had suffered loss; these letters, in fact, being thus far the only ones of the kind granted by us against the people of the United
20 Provinces despite the fact that there are many other suits for injuries and damages involving large sums of money which have long been pressing for the same remedy and method of settlement. These, we may say, shall be presented one by one to Your Excellencies in order that the losses may be made good
25 and redress given to those who have suffered wrong. Now, since the demands of these sufferers are absolutely just and fair, if you shall take them and others of the same kind under

- incommodis, quæ ostenduntur, certiùs occurri poterit: neque enixiùs expectabit hæc Respub: justitiam ab alijs, quàm similem reddere paratissima erit, quoties quid hujusmodi acciderit: Útque planè perspectum sit, quàm nos libenter caveamus, ne
- 5 qua in re ad extrema deveniatur, ex quo Excellentix Vestræ advenerunt, dedimus mandata, ne quæ porro naves capiantur earum autoritate literarum quas Annæ Pawlett concessimus, quemadmodum Vestris Excellentijs jam priùs significatum a Concilio est.
- 10 Quod autem ad navium restitutionem, impensarum et damnorum reparationem eaque, si qua sunt, quæ perperàm gesta sunt per eas Literas Merc et Represales vulgò dictas contra Francos et alios jam concessas, ex quibus ulla fieri Fœderati Belgij Populo vera injuria apparebit, cùm in curia causarum
- 15 maritimarum propria ratio juris obtinendi in causis hujusmodi constituta sit; si illic lege agetur, debitæque probationes factæ erunt, cæteraque exinde rectè atque ordine fient, quandoquidem ijs qui quid habent querelæ, illic jus suum persequendi, si videbitur, liberrima facultas est, rectiùs quidem providere
- 20 non possumus, quàm si eos, quorum id refert, ad remedia tàm jùsta atque legitima remittamus.

consideration, the unpleasantnesses which are coming to light can in no other way be more certainly removed; and this Commonwealth will not more earnestly look for justice from others than it will be itself most ready to render like justice when-
5 ever anything of this sort shall happen. And that it may be clearly seen how readily we take precautions against the emergence of a critical situation, from the time of the arrival of Your Excellencies we gave instructions that no further ships should be taken under the authority of the letters which we
10 granted to Anna Pawlett, as has already been intimated to Your Excellencies by the Council.

As to the return of ships, the reimbursing of expenses and damages, and those deeds, if such there are, that were wrongly done in virtue of the letters of marque and reprisal already
15 granted against the French and others, in consequence of which any actual injury shall appear to be done to the people of the United Provinces, in view of the fact that a distinctive procedure for securing justice in cases of this sort has been formulated in the Court of Admiralty, if legal proceedings shall
20 be instituted there and due proof established and all else done rightly and in order, then since those who have aught to complain of have unrestricted opportunity of presenting their claims in that Court if they so desire, we cannot make fairer provision than to refer those who are interested to these just
25 and lawful remedies.

167D. Another.

Scriptum ab Excellentijs Vestris missum, cui Secretarius
 Vester subscripsit 2^{do} Feb: juxta computum Vestrum dato,
 Concilij facta atque justitiam admodum perstringit, et qui-
 busdam nec rectè perceptis, ac si vera essent, nititur; ubi affir-
 5 mat, nihil post tot petitiones, tótque repetitas expostulationes
 de ijs navibus agi, quas jussu hujus Concilij ijs adjudicatas esse
 definitiva sententiâ quam ceperunt, et condemnatas dicitis,
 plúsque fidei ac ponderis Nautarum petitioni quam publico
 Excellentiarum Vestrarum desiderio accessisse. Assequi non
 10 potest Concilium quo pacto ea quæ ab se tàm clarè prolata
 erant, interpretationi tàm incommodæ occasionem darent.
 Censuit itaque petitionem illam, et simul Concilij ea de re
 consulta ad Excellentias Vestras mittenda, quæ ipsa perlegere
 poterunt et considerare; unde et quid in illo scripto erratum
 15 sit Excellentia Vestra perspicient, et Concilij justitia, quaque
 se cum æquitate gesserit, arguetur. Jan: hujus 12^{mo} hæc petitio
 adlata est.

Honoratissimo Concilio Statûs aliquot Magistrorum
 Navium quorum nomina subscripta sunt,

20 Humilis Petitio,

Humiliter ostendit, Petitores vestros aliquot navium Belgi-
 carum Magistros esse, perductósque huc esse literarum autho-

167D. Another.

A document sent by Your Excellencies signed by your secretary and dated February 2 according to your reckoning, severely criticizes the justice of the decisions of the Council, relying upon certain things, not rightly understood, as if they
5 were true. It affirms that after many petitions and many repeated expostulations nothing is being done about the ships which, as you say, were by the order of this Council judicially condemned in the final action which was taken, and that greater trustworthiness and weight were attached to a petition
10 of sailors than to the official desires of Your Excellencies. The Council cannot imagine how the statements which were so clearly set forth by it could give occasion for so distressing an interpretation. It therefore voted to send that petition and together with it the decrees of the Council touching this matter
15 to Your Excellencies that you might be able to read and consider the documents themselves; Your Excellencies will thus see the mistakes that were made in that document and the justice of the Council and the fairness of its conduct will be made clear. On the 12th of the present January the following petition was presented.
20

To the most Honorable Council of State the humble
petition of several Masters of Ships whose names
are written below

Humbly declares that your petitioners are the Masters of
25 several Dutch ships, and that they have been brought here by

ritate Represalium, quà contra Belgas, quà contra Francos concessarum, quocirca humiliter petunt, vel ut justitia protinus in se fiat, si quid causæ est, vel ut liberi dimittantur, quæque sua ablata sunt bona (ut multa certè ablata sunt) restituantur; et
 5 petitores Vestri orabunt.

Petrus Hoveling, Magister Navis Hoveling de Enkuysen.
 Laurentius Cornelissen, Magister Navis St: Mary de
 Huysduynen.

Janus Petrus Cocq Magister Navis cui nomen The Cock
 10 of Sardon.

Petrus Clusenes Magister Navis Amstrodamiensis cui nomen
 hostia Abrahami.

Gulielmus Cornelissen huf Magister Navis cui nomen
 Piscator de Maseland Sluce.

15 Cum alijs circiter tredecim.

De hac Petitione consultum hoc factum est, eodem Jan:
 12mo: 1650.

Die Lunæ 12º Januarij. 1651.

In Concilio Status in Alba Aula. Decretum est, hujus petitionis aliquot navium Belgicarum Magistrorum exemplar
 20 hodie recitatum Causarum maritimarum Judicibus mitti, ijsque mandari ut quam primùm sententiam ferant, prout petitio ista sibi quærit: Eósque interea Concilium certius facere, quo pacto ista res sub eorum cognitione se habeat, et quid in
 25 ea Curia factum de illa sit. Paulo post ad instantiam aliquam

authority of letters of reprisal granted some against the Dutch, some against the French; therefore they respectfully beg either that justice may straightway be done in their case if there is any ground, or that they may be set at liberty and the goods
5 that were taken from them (and certainly many were so taken) be restored. And your petitioners will pray.

Peter Hoveling, Master of the vessel *Hoveling* of Enk-huizen.

Laurents Cornelissen, Master of the vessel *St. Mary* of
10 Huysduynen.

Jan Peter Cock, Master of the vessel *The Cock* of Sardon.

Peter Clusenes, Master of the Amsterdam vessel called
Abraham's Offering.

William Cornelissen Huf, Master of the vessel called *The*
15 *Fisherman* of Maseland Sluce.

Together with some thirteen others.

On this petition the following action was taken on the same
twelfth of January 1650.

Monday, January 12, 1651.

20 In the Council of State at Whitehall. Voted that a copy of the petition read today of the Masters of several Dutch vessels be sent to the judges of the Court of Admiralty and that they be instructed to reach a decision as soon as possible, as the petition itself begs; and that meantime they keep the Council in-
25 formed of the status of that matter in their proceedings and what has been done about it in that Court. A little later, at the

Excellentiarum Vestrarum scripto 15mo: Jan: exhibito Concilium in hunc modum decrevit.

Die Veneris 16^o Jan: 165½ In Concilio Status
in Aula Alba.

5 Decretum est, literas Merc seu Represales in Curia hujus Reipub: maritima, Administratori Annæ Paulett contra Populum Fœderatarum Provinciarum concessas inhiberi, ne quæ amplius naves earum authoritate capiantur, donec Parlamentum aut Concilium ulterius quid ea de re præcipiant Judicēs-
10 que Curix maritimæ eam inhibitionem promulgare, eamque usitata formulâ significare.

Scriptumque aliud ab Excellentijs Vestris accepimus, hujus mensis 21mo: quo postulatur ut sententia in naves jam captas ampliaretur; Concilium cum id quod justum sibi videbatur in
15 illa re egisset, sensum suum exposuit, eumque hoc consulto cum Excellentijs Vestris communicavit.

Die Jovis Januar. 22do: 165½ in Concilio Status
in Alba Aula.

Perlecto Scripto heri in Concilium hoc misso, cui Secretarius
20 Dominorum Legatorum ab Excelsis et præpotentibus Dominis, Statibus Generalibus Fœderatarum Provinciarum, jussu prædictorum Dominorum subscripserat; Decretum est responsum hoc reddi, Concilium, hujus mensis 16^o consultum fecisse, quo

instance of Your Excellencies, in a communication presented on January 15, the Council voted as follows:

Friday, 16th of January, 1651/2, in the Council
of State at Whitehall.

- 5 Voted that the letters of marque or reprisal granted in the Court of Admiralty of this Commonwealth to the administrator of Anna Pawlett against the people of the United Provinces be suspended, to the end that no more ships be captured under their authority until Parliament or the Council shall give further instructions in this matter, and that the judges of the
10 Court of Admiralty publish this suspension and indicate it in the customary form.

Another document from Your Excellencies came to our hands on the 21st of the present month; in this the demand
15 was made that the decree be extended to apply to ships already captured. Since the Council, however, had ordered in that matter what seemed to it just, it expressed its feeling and communicated it to Your Excellencies in the following Resolution:

20 Thursday, January 22, 1651/2, in the Council
of State at Whitehall.

After hearing the document sent yesterday to the Council, to which the secretary of the High Envoys from the High and Mighty Lords, the States General of the United Provinces had by order of the Lords just mentioned signed his name, it was
25 resolved that the following reply should be made: the Council on the 16th of the present month decreed that instructions

Judicibus Maritimæ Curix mandatur, ut literarum Represalium, quas administratori Annæ Paulet concesserant, contra Fœderatarum Provinciarum populum, inhibitionem edicerent, ne quæ naves amplius earum autoritate literarum caperentur, donec a Parlamento vel Concilio Status mandatum ulterius acceperint, útque judices curiæ maritimæ quam primum id pro usitata formula significarent. Verum non ea sententia Concilij fuit, quod ex disertis verbis ejusdem consulti liquet, intelligi oportere jam captas ampliari, Verum eas eidem cognitioni ex lege relinqui, quæ exerceri in alias solita est captas antequam edictum hoc inhibitionis promulgaretur, cum in illa re mandatum dederimus hujus mensis 12mo: juxta petitionem aliquot magistrorum navium Belgicarum Concilio oblatam, ut sententiam maturarent, quemadmodum ab ipsis petatum est; cuius exemplar petitionis unà missum est: Ex quo intelligunt Excellentix Vestrx quod factum a Concilio est, id populi Vestri gratiâ factum esse, ijsque petentibus, qui ut nos credere par erat, res suas et rationes probè calluerunt, neque eò factum est, ut causæ condemnatio præcipitaretur (quod vos dicitis) verum ut justitiæ ratio expediretur, quemadmodum quorum id intererat petiverunt. Quod autem affirmant Excellentix Vestrx, vestri desiderij rationem non esse habitam, quod ad juris in-

should be given to the judges of the Court of Admiralty to issue a suspension of the letters of reprisal which had been granted to the administrator of Anna Pawlett against the people of the United Provinces, to the end that no more ships
5 should be taken by the authority of those letters until further instructions should be received from Parliament or the Council of State, and that the judges of the Court of Admiralty should make this public as soon as possible in the customary form. But the view of the Council, as is clear from the ex-
10 press language of the same decree, was not that it should be understood that the ships already captured should be included, but that they should be left to the same judicial investigation which was normally made into other captured ships before this decree of suspension was published, inasmuch as we gave
15 instructions in this matter on the 12th of the present month, touching a petition presented to the Council of several Masters of Dutch vessels, that they should speed up their decision as had been requested by the Masters themselves, a copy of said petition being sent therewith. From this Your Excellencies
20 will understand that the action of the Council was taken for the sake of your people and for the petitioners who, as we naturally thought, were fully cognizant of their own affairs and interests; it was not taken in order to precipitate an adverse decision in the case (as you say) but that the interests of justice
25 should be hastened, as those who were concerned have asked. As to the plea of Your Excellencies that no regard was paid to your desire that the suspension should cover legal investiga-

hibitionem in naves captas exercendi, attribuendum illud est
istius rei naturæ, quam petistis, quæ quidem concessa nihil
aliud re vera fuisset, quam injustitiæ continuatio in eos qui
injuriam acceperant, eosque sine ullo remedio quo sua damna
5 reparare possent, destituisset, tam vestra justitiâ exclusos, quàm
hujus etiam Reipub: cujus pars sunt, a qua et tutelam suam et
auxilium expectare debebant. Quod autem ad provocationem;
jus id quidem receptum est, in qua, si quid vel per errorem vel
per injuriam commissum est, corrigetur, singulisque jus ita
10 reddetur prout causa cujusque meruerit.

167E. Another.

Concilium Articulos 36. ab Excellentissimis vestris 11/21 februarij
Commissariis suis exhibitos, consideravit ad eosque sequen-
tibus Articulis Respondet

1^o. Quod ad primum, fore ab hoc tempore inter Angliæ
15 Rempubl: et fœderatas Belgii Provincias, interque eas utrinque
regiones, atque urbes quæ in societatem cum iis coiverint, aut
sub earum ditione fuerint, inter earum item utrinque populos,
et incolas, quicumque illi demum aut cujuscunque ordinis
fuerint, bonam, firmam, synceram, inviolabilem, atque per-
20 petuam pacem, amicitiam, commercium, arctiorem etiam, et
propriorem societatem, atque fœdus quam antehac initum est.

2^o. Ad secundum, fore eas inter se societates et amicitia con-
junctissimas, ad libertatem utriusque Populi, mutuum com-

tion into ships already captured, this situation is to be attributed to the nature of your request, the granting of which would have been in reality nothing else than the continuation of injustice to those who had suffered injury and would have left
5 them without any remedy whereby their losses could be reimbursed, thus shutting them out both from justice from you and from justice from this Commonwealth also, of which they are a part and from which they have a right to expect protection and help. Now, as to an appeal, a legal status has been estab-
10 lished in which any mistake that has been made or any injury done shall be corrected and justice rendered to individual persons in accordance with the merits of each man's case.

167E. Another.

The Council has considered the 36 Articles presented to their Commissioners by Your Excellencies 11/21 February
15 [1651/2] and replies to them in the following Articles

1. As to the first, there shall be henceforth between the Commonwealth of England and the United Provinces and between those countries and cities on both sides which shall have entered into alliance with them or come under their jurisdiction,
20 likewise between their respective peoples and residents whoever or of whatever rank they may prove to be, an effective, stable, sincere, inviolable, and lasting peace, friendship and trade, an even closer and more intimate alliance and covenant than heretofore has been entered into.

25 2. As to the second, they shall be most closely united by alliance and friendship to defend and safeguard in ways set forth

mercium, rem navalem, mutuasque terra vel aqua rationes, modis infra expositis, atque expressis defendendum et conservandum devinctas inter se et consociatas atque ita permansuras contra eos omnes qui in hisce rebus exequendis utrivis Reipubl:

5 obstande, et molestiam exhibere conati fuerint:

3°. De tertio et decimo tertio assentimur, uti hic proponitur, Rempublicam Angl: Populumque Anglicanum omnesque ejus Reipubl: incolas, prædictas item fœderatas Provincias earumque Populum et incolas, cujuscunque ordinis aut conditionis
10 fuerint, obligatos fore ad sese mutuo rebus omnibus humaniter atque amice tractandum, uti terra vel aqua alterutrius regiones, oppida, pagos, sive muro cincti sive sine mœnibus fuerint, muniti vel non muniti portus etiam et ditionem universam per omnem Angliam Scotiam et Hiberniam, per omnes itidem
15 fœderatas Belgii Provincias libere et securè adire possint, in iisque versari, et commorari quamdiu voluerint, ibique sine ullo impedimento commeatum suis usibus quantum necesse erit, coemere, atque etiam negotiari, et mercaturam facere, quocunque mercium genere ipsis videbitur, easque advehere
20 suo arbitratu, aut exportare, dummodo quæ statuta sunt portoria, solvant, salvis etiam alterutrius pariter Reipubl: legibus, et statutis omnibus.

4°. Quod ad quartum, assentiri nos respondemus eo quo jam dicitur modo, Respublicas nimirum Angliæ et fœderatarum
25 Provinciarum, neque palam neque occulte contra se invicem

and defined below the liberty of each people, their mutual trade relations, their naval interests, and mutual objectives on land or water; they shall be thus bound by ties of permanent alliance against all those who shall attempt to hinder
5 and obstruct either Commonwealth in its endeavor to attain these ends.

3. As to the third and the thirteenth, we agree in the following terms: the Commonwealth and people of England and all the residents of that Commonwealth, likewise the aforesaid
10 United Provinces and their people and residents of whatever rank or condition they may be, shall be under obligation to deal with one another in all respects in a kindly and friendly spirit, so that they may freely and fearlessly visit by land or by water the territories, towns, and districts, whether walled or
15 without walls, fortified or not fortified, the harbors also and the whole realm through all England, Scotland and Ireland, likewise through all the United Provinces, and to be active and sojourn in them as long as they desire, and there without any hindrance to buy for their use such amounts of supplies as
20 shall be necessary, and also to do business and trade with such wares as shall seem good to them, and to import or export these wares at their own discretion, provided that they pay the statutory harbor duties, complying also with all the laws and statutes of both Commonwealths equally.
- 25 4. As to the fourth, we reply that we agree in the terms which shall now be used: the Commonwealths of England and the United Provinces shall neither openly nor secretly to

neque facere, neque agere, neque moliri quicquam ullo in loco,
sive terra, sive aqua, in portubus, aut fluminibus ad alterutrius
ditionem pertinentibus, neque promovere, neque agitare, suisve
consiliis, aut opibus fovere quodcunque, vel quæcunque hos-
5 tiliter facta erunt, ullamve injuriam inferendam aut facien-
dam, quæ ad præjudicium aut damnum partis alterutrius possit
spectare, neque passuros ut quid ejusmodi a populo aut incolis
alterutris, aut ab ullo qui in earum potestate sit, tentetur, aut
fiat, ullumve adjumentum, consilium, studium, subsidium
10 ulli homini ad damnum, aut injuriam alterutrius Reipubl:
earumve populi aut incolarum præbeatur, verum uti palam, et
cum effectu illiusmodi conatus vetent, prohibeant, impugnent
et reipse impediant.

5º et 6º. De eo quod 5º et 6º continetur, assentimur, quem-
15 admodum in sequente hoc 5 et 6 dictum erit: neutram Rem-
publ: neve ullum ex ejus populo, aut incolis, ullumve in earum
ditione commorantem alterutrius Reipubl: hostes, aut rebelles
subsidio, consilio aut studio adjuvare, immo aperte, sincere,
atque strenue obstare, ne quid auxilii aut adjumenti ab ullo,
20 qui aut ex populo aut incolis, aut commorantibus in alterutra
Republ: fuerit, ullis ejusmodi hostibus, aut rebellibus prædictis,
viri, pecunia naves, arma, instrumentum bellicum, commeatus,
mercesve ullæ publicæ prohibitæ mari, aut terra præbeantur:
si quid contra fiat, prædictas naves et bona, publice prohibita

- the detriment of their respective interests do, aim at, or effect anything in any place, either on land or on water, in the harbors or on the rivers belonging to the jurisdiction of either party, nor further nor foment or by their counsels or resources
- 5 encourage anything in general or in detail that shall be done with hostile intent, or the inflicting or causing of any injury which has in view prejudice or loss to either party, nor shall they permit any attempt or action of this sort by the people or residents of either party or by anyone who is under their
- 10 authority, or the supplying of any aid, counsel, sympathy, or succor to any man with a view to the loss or injury of either Commonwealth or of their peoples and residents, but they shall openly and effectively forbid, hinder, oppose and actually obstruct such attempts.
- 15 5. and 6. As to the content of the fifth and sixth, we agree as shall be stated in 5 and 6 following: that neither Commonwealth nor anyone of its people or residents or anyone sojourning within their jurisdiction shall aid the enemies or rebels of either Commonwealth by assistance, counsel, or sympathy but
- 20 rather shall openly, sincerely, and vigorously prevent the furnishing on sea or on land by anyone of the people of either Commonwealth or of their residents or persons sojourning therein to any such enemies or rebels aforesaid of any aid or help in the shape of men, money, ships, weapons, munitions of
- 25 war, supplies, or any wares officially banned; if anything shall be done to the contrary, the aforesaid ships and goods officially banned shall be adjudged to that Commonwealth against

ei Reipubl: addici adversus quam parata sunt contra sensum
hujus Articuli: quique contra hunc articulum scientes atque
volentes commiserint, utriusque Reipubl: hostes judicari, in
eaque Republ: ubi hoc commissum erit; perduellionis pœnas
5 dare.

6. Utrasque Respubl: sibi mutuo, syncere, et fideliter, prout
opus fuerit, contra alterutrius hostes, et rebelles terra marique
opem ferre viris, et navibus ea proportionem, eoque modo, iisque
conditionibus quibus postmodum conventum fuerit, prout ne-
cessitas et rerum alterutrius ratio tulerit, sumptu tamen atque
10 impensis hoc fore illius partis, quæ auxilium postulaverit.

7º. De septimo assentimur, si vel Angliæ Respubl: vel fœde-
rata Belgii Provinciæ cum ullis Rebuspubl: Principibus, aut
potestatibus de amicitia, fœdere aut societate egerint in ejus
15 fœderis transactione, alteram earum altera comprehendi cum
tota alterius ditione; siquidem ita comprehendi volet;

8º. De octavo assentimur, quemadmodum hic proponitur,
in hac fœderis transactione comprehendi, amicos etiam omnes,
fœderatos, et socios alterutrius, qui cum illud fœdus ratum
20 habebitur utrinque nominabuntur deque iis inter utrasque con-
venerit si ipsi denique in eo comprehendi voluerint:

9º. Quod ad novum, sequentem articulum pro responso ex-

which they have been procured in violation of the sense of this Article; and those who shall have acted wittingly and deliberately in violation of this Article shall be pronounced enemies of both Commonwealths and shall suffer the penalty of treason in that Commonwealth in which this violation was committed.

6. Both Commonwealths shall assist each other on land and sea sincerely and loyally as need shall arise against the enemies and rebels of either, with men and ships in such quotas and ways and under such conditions as shall hereafter be agreed upon, as the necessity and the state of affairs of either party shall suggest; provided, however, that this shall be at the cost and expense of that party which has asked aid.

7. As to the seventh, we agree that if the Commonwealth of England or the United Provinces shall in connection with the making of this treaty have negotiated with any Commonwealths, Princes or Powers regarding friendship, a treaty or alliance the other of the contracting parties shall be included together with its whole jurisdiction; if at least such shall be its desire.

8. As to the eighth, we agree that as is here set forth, there shall be included in the making of this treaty all the friends, confederates and allies of either Commonwealth who when this treaty shall be finally ratified shall be named by either party and about whom both parties shall come to an agreement; if in the end they themselves shall wish to be so included.

9. As to the ninth, we present the following Article as our

hibemus, Si acciderit ut quamdiu fœdus, amicitia societas hæc durabit ab ullo ex populis aut incolis alterutrius prædictæ Reip: contra hoc fœdus, aut ullam ejus partem mari, terra, aut aliis aquis quicquam fiat, aut tentetur, amicitiam hanc fœdus et
5 societatem inter hasce Resp: non idcirco interrumpi aut infringi, verum integram nihilominus durare plenamque vim suam obtinere, tantummodo illos ipsos, qui contra fœdus prædictum commiserint, singulos puniri, aliumque neminem, justitiamque reddi, satisfactionemque dari illis omnibus, quorum
10 id interest, ab iis omnibus, qui terra, mari, aut aliis aquis contra hoc fœdus quicquam commiserint ulla in parte Europæ, aut ubivis locorum intra fretum Gaditanum, sive in America, vel per Africa littora, ullisve in terris, insulis, æquoribus, æstuariis, sinibus, fluminibus ullisve in locis, cis Caput Bonæ Spei intra
15 anni spatium quam justitia postulabitur, in omnibus autem uti supradictum est ultra prædictum Caput locis intra menses octodecim quam justitia prædicto modo poscetur, si fœderis ruptores non comparuerint neque se judicandos permiserint, neque satisfactionem dederint intra hoc vel illud temporis
20 spatium pro loci longinquitate modo constitutum, prædicti illi utriusque Reipubl: hostes judicabuntur, eorumque bona, facultates, et quicunque redditus, publicabuntur, plenæque, ac justæ satisfactioni impendendi erunt earum injuriarium quæ ab ipsis illatæ sunt, ipsique præterea cum in alterutrius Reipubl: potestate fuerint iis pœnis obnoxii erunt, quas suo quisque crimine commeruerit.

reply: if it shall happen that during the life of this treaty, friendship, and alliance anything in violation of this treaty or any part of it shall be done or attempted on sea or land or any waters by anyone of the peoples or residents of either afore-
5 said Commonwealths, this friendship, treaty and alliance between these Commonwealths shall not, for such reasons, be broken or impaired, but shall remain nonetheless intact and possessed of its full powers; those only who have acted in violation of the treaty shall be punished as individuals, no one
10 else, and justice shall be rendered and redress given to all who are concerned by all of those who have done anything in contravention of this treaty on land or sea or other waters in any part of Europe or in any places within the Straits of Gibraltar or in America or on the African littoral or on any lands,
15 islands, waters, estuaries, bays, rivers or in any places on this side of the Cape of Good Hope within the space of a year after justice shall be demanded; but in all places as described above beyond the above mentioned Cape within eighteen months after justice shall be demanded in the aforesaid manner if the
20 breakers of the treaty shall not have appeared or presented themselves for trial or given redress within this or that period of time just defined according to the remoteness of the place. The aforesaid offenders shall be pronounced enemies of both Commonwealths and their goods, means, and revenues of
25 what kind soever shall be confiscated and the proceeds devoted to the full and just satisfaction of the injuries inflicted by them, and they themselves, furthermore, whenever they are in the power of either Commonwealth shall be liable to the penalties which each has deserved by his crime.

10°. Anglos omnes, et qui sub eorum ditione fuerint posse libere, tuto, ac secure in fœderati Belgii provinciis, perque eas terra, vel aqua ad ulla in iis loca, vel extra eas iter facere, perque ulla earum oppida, præsidia, munimenta quæ ullis in locis
5 fœderatarum Belgii Provinciarum quibuscunque erunt, mercaturam in omnibus illic locis facientes, eorumque negotiatores, institutores, famulosve armatos sive inermes, armatos autem non amplius quadraginta simul tam sine bonis suis et mercimoniis quam cum iis, quocunque ire voluerint. Poterit
10 item Populus et incolæ fœderatarum Belgii Provinciarum eadem libertate frui omnibus ullisve per Angliam Scotiam aut Hiberniam locis dummodo in hujusmodi commercio, et mercatura ab utraque parte singuli alterutrius Reipubl: Legibus et statutis parcant, moremque gerant.

11. Quod ad undecimum, respondemus, cum Reipubl: Angliæ Popularibus præcise vetitum sit in omnibus coloniis et locis ad Populum fœderati Belgii pertinentibus, quæ intra fines Belgii non sunt, negotiari, in eo acquiescemus easque colonias adnavigare, aut cum illis commercium habere supersedebimus
20 neque iis illic navigantibus impedimento aut molestiæ erimus et illi vicissim ne in ullis Anglorum Coloniis negotia habeant nuper lege cautum est qua exaugendæ hujus gentis rei navali consulitur: a qua recedendum esse non censemus.

12°. Ad duodecimum respondemus, Anglos in Septentrio-

10. All Englishmen and all who are under their jurisdiction shall be able freely, safely and fearlessly to travel in the United Provinces and through them by land or water to any places within or without them and through any of their towns, fortresses and fortifications which shall be in any places whatever of the United Provinces, trading in all cases there as shall also their factors, agents or servants whether armed or unarmed; but if armed to a number not greater than forty together, no less without their goods and wares than with them wherever they wished to go. Likewise, the people and residents of the United Provinces shall be able to enjoy the same liberty in any and all places throughout England, Scotland or Ireland provided that in such commercial intercourse and trading on either side they shall individually obey and comply with the laws and statutes of the Commonwealths in question.

11. As to the eleventh, we reply that since the citizens of the English Commonwealth have been specifically forbidden to do business in all the colonies and places belonging to the people of the United Provinces which are not within the territories of the Low Countries, we rest content therewith and shall refrain from sailing to those colonies or having commercial relations with them, and we shall not be a cause of hindrance or trouble to those who sail in that part of the world, and they, in turn, shall not do business in any colonies of the English people, as has recently been provided by a law passed with a view to the enlargement of the naval resources of this nation; from this law we do not think that we should recede.

12. To the twelfth, we reply that Englishmen were the first

nalis Americæ continentem primos omnium colonias deduxisse ibique habere ab ea Virginia Plaga; qua longissime in Austrum vergit ab gradu nimirum latitudinis Aquilonaris 37. usque ad terram Novam gradumque secundum et quinquagesimum, cumque haud sciamus an ulla illic Belgarum colonia sit præter paucos admodum ad flumen Hudsoni accolas, haud duximus in præsens necesse esse fines constituere quod idoneo dehinc tempore fieri poterit.

13°. Ad hunc in 3° articulo respondetur.

10 14. De quarto decimo assentimur in sequentibus, mercatores, naucleros gubernatores et nautas alterutrius Reipubl: earumve naves, bona aut mercimonia in terris, portubus, navium stationibus, aut fluminibus alterius neutiquam retentari, ex edicto quovis generali aut speciali, sive ad bellum sive alium
15 quemlibet ad usum, nisi summa necessitate id cogente, justa autem satisfactione ob id data, ita tamen ut retentionibus et publicationibus quæ ex jure et legibus alterutrius Reipubl: recte atque ordine fiunt, nihil hic derogatum sit.

15° De quinto decimo assentimur, ut sequitur, populares et
20 incolas terrarum prædictæ Reipubl: Angliæ et fœderatarum Belgii Provinciarum, in terris alterutrius, ut supra dictum est, negotiantes, non obligari in posterum, ut plus portorii census,

to plant colonies upon the continent of North America, and to maintain them there from the district of Virginia stretching far to the south from the 37th degree of North Latitude all the way up to Newfoundland and the 52nd degree; and since we
5 do not know whether any Dutch colony is there with the exception of a very few who dwell on the banks of the Hudson River, we have not thought it necessary at the moment to fix boundaries, a matter which can be handled at some subsequently appropriate time.

10 13. To this, a reply was given in our third Article.

14. As to the fourteenth, we agree as follows: the traders, captains, pilots and sailors of either Commonwealths and their ships, goods, or wares, shall under no circumstances be detained within the territory, harbors, roadsteads, or rivers, of
15 the other Commonwealth by any general or special proclamation issued for warlike purposes or any other objective unless dire necessity compels and unless also adequate redress shall be given for such detention, it being understood, however, that nothing in this Article shall be construed to affect detentions
20 and confiscations which are in accordance with the legal principles and laws of either Commonwealth and are administered in due and orderly fashion.

15. As to the fifteenth, we agree, as is here stated; the people and residents of the territories of the aforesaid English Commonwealth and of the United Provinces who are doing business in the territories of either Commonwealth as stated above
25 shall not hereafter be obligated to pay a larger amount of

vectigalium, aut pecuniæ quæ ob speculatorios ignes dispositos
exigitur, aut aliorum tributorum solvant quam pro rata por-
tione, quam nunc solvunt, cum alterutrius populo collata.

16. De sexto decimo assentimur, posse utriusque mercatores
5 eorumque institutores, et famulos, uti etiam naucleros, alios-
que nautas tam eundo et redeundo navibus per maria, aliasque
aquas, quam in portubus alterius utrius aut in terram egressos
gestare atque uti, sui suorumque bonorum defendendi causa,
armorum omni genere, quibus aut se protegere, aut vim pro-
10 pulsare possint; verum ubi ad sua quisque hospitia ac diver-
soria pervenerit, ibi arma sua deponere, atque ibi relinquere,
donec rursus ad navem se receperit, aut eo commeare velit.

17. Ad septimum decimum dicimus, quo utræque Respub:
arctius quam unquam antea consociari et coalescere possint,
15 licere cuivis ex populo, indigenis aut incolis fœderatarum Bel-
gii Provinciarum, aut ullorum intra septendecim provincias
locorum, quæ aut in earum vel societate vel ditione sunt, siqui-
dem reformatam religionem sequuntur, et cum sua familia et
facultatibus in Angliam commigraverint, libere illic perma-
20 nere habitare, mercaturam facere, agros etiam atque ædes
mancipio accipere hæreditates adire, sibi que et hæredibus pos-
sidere, omnique ea libertate, iisque privilegiis, et immunitati-
bus frui, cujuscunque generis, quibus ullus hujus gentis indi-
gena vel natali jure vel ulla lege consuetudine, ullove alio ex

duties, customs, imposts or of money exacted to defray the cost of placing watch fires or of other taxes than in the proportion which they now pay as compared with the people of the other Commonwealth.

- 5 16. As to the sixteenth, we agree: the traders of both Commonwealths and their agents and servants and also their ship captains and other sailors no less in going and returning by ship over seas and other waters than in the harbors of either Commonwealth or after landing, shall be able to carry and
10 use for the purpose of protecting themselves and their goods every kind of weapon that may serve either to protect them or to repel violence; but when they shall have come to their several lodging places, they shall there deposit their weapons and leave them until they again return to their ships or desire so to
15 return.

17. As to the seventeenth, we say, in order that the two Commonwealths may come into closer bonds of association and union than ever before that it shall be lawful for any one of the people, natives or residents, of the United Provinces or of any
20 places within the seventeen Provinces which are either in alliance with them or subject to their jurisdiction, if they are adherents of the Reformed religion and have migrated with their family and means to England, to reside there freely, to dwell there and trade, to own land and houses, to enter upon
25 inheritances and to hold property for themselves and their heirs, and to enjoy such liberty, privileges, and immunities of what kind soever as any native of this nation may and ought to enjoy by right of birth, or any law or custom or any other

jure frui queat ac debeat, modo omnibus in rebus hujus gentis legibus et receptis moribus pareant, quemadmodum ipsos indigenos parere æquum est: parique libertate ac privilegiis quemvis ex populo hujus Reipubl: quibusvis in terris, urbibus, 5 oppidis, aliisque locis vel fœderatarum vel septendecim provinciarum, quæ in earum vel societate vel ditione sunt, itidem frui posse.

18. Ad octavum decimum dicimus salvo hujus republ: jure illudque asserentes ad eas pactiones de piscatu accedere non 10 gravabimur, quæ ab æquitate et ratione alienæ non fuerint.

19. De undevigesimo sequentem in modum assentimur, quo navigandi, et commercii habendi liberior facultas sit, neque prædictam Angliæ Rempubl: neque fœderatas Belgii Provincias in suas terras, portus, urbes, aut oppida recipere, aut sinere 15 ut ullus ex populo aut incolis alterutrius recipiat Pyratas aut prædones, iisve hospitium, auxilium, aut commeatum præbeat, verum operam dare ut prædicti pyratæ, prædones, eorumque pyratice participes, conscii et adjutores in aliorum terrorem investigentur, capiantur et merito supplicio puniantur, omnes 20 que naves, bona atque merces pyratice ab iis captas, atque in portus alterutrius Reip: advectas, quæ quidem inveniri poterunt, immo etiamsi venditæ sint, justis dominis restitui, aut satisfactionem dari vel eorum dominis vel iis qui per literas

principle that is legal, provided that in all things they comply with the laws and received customs of this nation as the natives themselves ought to do; and that any one of the people of this Commonwealth shall likewise be able to enjoy equal liberty
5 and privileges in any lands, cities or other places of the United or Seventeen Provinces which are in alliance with them or subject to their jurisdiction.

18. As to the eighteenth, we say that without impairing the rights of this Commonwealth, in fact asserting them, we raise
10 no objection to acceding to such arrangements about the fisheries as shall not be inconsistent with equity and reason.

19. As to the nineteenth, we agree as follows; in order that there may be a freer opportunity to navigate and engage in commercial intercourse, neither the aforesaid English Commonwealth nor the United Provinces shall receive into their
15 territories, harbors, cities, or towns, or permit anyone of the people or residents of either Commonwealth so to receive pirates or sea robbers or offer to them hospitality, help or supplies, but rather shall take pains to have the said pirates, sea
20 robbers, and all those who share in, are privy to, or help their piracy tracked down, captured and punished as they duly deserve, to the terror of others, and to have all the ships, goods, and wares piratically captured by them and brought into the harbors of either Commonwealth so far as they can be found,
25 even if they have been already sold, restored to their rightful owners or satisfaction given either to their owners or to those who shall have laid claim to these things by letters of adminis-

procurationis eas res vendicaverint, modo jus domini debitis ex lege probationibus in curia causarum maritimarum appareat.

20. De vigesimo sequentem in modum assentimur, omnes utriusque partis qui accepto speciali diplomate in altum proficiscuntur, priusquam diplomata acceperint, oportere vades idoneos dare, et eorum quidem neminem qui ex illius navis contubernio est, coram illius Curiaë judicibus, unde illud diploma emissum est, observaturos se esse illa mandata, quibus ex illius diplomatis autoritate, quo pacto se gerere debeant sibi præcipitur.

21. Rempubicam Angliæ eam curam sui maris tuendi, in eoque liberum commercium præstandi suscepturos esse, qua par erit.

22. Ad 22dum dicimus, si quis intra illa maria molestiæ, impedimento, aut oneri cuiquam erit mercaturam libere exercenti, quod possit jure suo facere hanc Rempubl: omnes justas atque honestas inituram esse rationes, quibus omni commercio legitimo sua libertas per illa maria restituatur et conservetur.

23. De 23tio assentimur, alterutrius Reipubl: naves præsidarias, si quam in mari navem aut naves mercatorias quæ ad alteram vel ad alterius populum aut incolas, aut ad ullos sociorum hoc fœdere comprehensos pertinuerint, eundem cursum tenentes, idemve iter facientes, obviam habuerint, aut assequutæ erunt, obligari ut illis præsidio sint atque defendant, quamdiu eundem cursum tenuerint, contra omnes et singulos, qui eas vi adorientur.

tration, provided the claim of the owner shall be made clear in the Court of Admiralty by due legal proofs.

20. As to the twentieth, we agree as follows: all those of both parties who go out upon the high seas armed with a special commission must before they receive such warrants give
5 suitable sureties (and of these no one shall belong to the company of the ship in question) in the presence of the judges of that Court from which the warrant was issued, that they will observe those instructions which tell them upon the authority
10 of that warrant how they ought to act.

21. The Commonwealth of England will assume such responsibility for the protection of its own sea and for the guaranteeing of free rights of trade there as shall be right.

22. As to the twenty-second, we say: that if any one within
15 those seas shall be the cause of trouble, hindrance, or burdens to anyone in the free exercise of his lawful right to trade, this Commonwealth shall put into effect all measures that are just and honorable whereby that man's liberty in all lawful forms of trade on those seas shall be restored and safeguarded.

20 23. As to the twenty-third, we agree: the ships of war of either Commonwealth in case they meet or overtake any ship or ships at sea of the merchant marine belonging to one Commonwealth or to the people or residents of the other, or to any of the allies included in this treaty, while pursuing the same
25 course or making the same voyage, shall be under obligation to protect and defend them, as long as they hold the same course, against each and all who shall make forcible attack upon them.

24. De 24to assentimur, si qua navis aut naves, quæ populi aut incolarum alterutrius Reipubl: aut neutrius fuerint, in alterutrius portubus a quovis tertio capiantur, qui ex populo aut incolis alterutrius Reipubl: non sit, illos quorum in portu
5 aut ex portu, aut quacunque ditione prædictæ naves abductæ fuerint, pariter cum altera parte obligari uti dent operam, ut sint qui prædictam navem aut naves captas insequantur et reducant, suisque dominis reddant, verum hoc totum fieri dominorum impensis, aut quorum id interest.

10 25. Si quæ naves mercatoriæ, quæ populi aut incolarum alterutrius Reipubl: fuerint, si tempestatis vi, sive pyratis insequentibus, sive casu quovis alio aut necessitate in portum quemlibet alterutrius prædictæ Reip: delatæ fuerint licere iis suo arbitratu libere discedere suis cum navibus et bonis, nulla
15 portoria solventes, ita tamen ut earum mercium, quibus navis oneratur ne quid attingant aut venale proponant, neque ulli cuivis molestiæ aut scrutationi obnoxios fore, modo ne quos homines aut bona in navem recipiant, neque contra leges, statuta moremve ejus loci quicquam faciant, quo in loco, quem-
20 admodum supradictum est portum capescerint.

26. De 26to assentimur, ut sequitur, neutram partem alterius regionis portus intrare aut ibi commorari cum eo numero navium bellicarum et militum, qui suspicionem evidentem

24. As to the twenty-fourth, we agree: if any ship or ships which belong to the people or residents of either Commonwealth, or of neither, shall be captured in the harbors of either Commonwealth by any third party who is not of the people
5 or residents of either Commonwealth, then those in whose harbor or from whose harbor or any jurisdiction whatever the said ships have been taken shall be obligated equally with the other party to take pains to provide men who shall pursue the said captured ship or ships and bring them back and
10 restore them to their owners; but this shall all be done at the expense of the owners or of those who are concerned.

25. If any ships of the merchant marine which belong to the people or residents of either Commonwealth shall be driven by the violence of a storm or by pursuing pirates or by any
15 other mischance or necessity into any harbor of either of the aforesaid Commonwealths, it shall be lawful for them to depart freely at their own discretion with their ships and goods without paying any harbor duties, it being, however, understood, that they shall not touch or expose for sale any article of
20 the wares which form the cargo of the ship; they shall not be liable to interference or inspection of any kind whatsoever, provided that they do not take on board any men or goods, nor do anything in violation of the laws, statutes, or customs of that place where, as has been said above, they have found a
25 haven.

26. As to the twenty-sixth, we agree as follows: neither party shall enter the harbors of the other's country or tarry there with such a number of ships of war and soldiers as shall

afferre possit, nisi impetrata prius ab iis venia, ad quos portus illi prædicti pertinuerint, nisi si tempestate, vi aliqua, aut necessitate compulsa illuc sit, quo maris pericula effugiat; quod cum acciderit, præfectum ejus loci aut summum Magistratum
5 statim de causa sui adventus certiolem facere debere, neque illic diutius hære, quam illis a præfecto, ut dictum est, aut a summo Magistratu permissum erit.

27 et 28. Ad 27 et 28 dicimus, naves bellicas ab alterutra parte, si eo numero non sint, ut suspicionem, ut dictum est,
10 afferre queant, posse in alterutrius partis navium stationes, portus et flumina venire ibique in anchoris stare, aut inde exire, absque ulla molestia aut impedimento, dummodo ita se gerant ut contra leges et mores illorum locorum ne quid committatur, neque naves illæ bellicæ partis alterutrius in portus alterius
15 ullas merces advexerint aut exportaverint, aut aliud quicquam quo vetitum erit, aut ullos ex populo aut incolis illius reipubl: cujus in portubus sunt, nisi qui liberum commeatum pro se suisque rebus, literis publicis impetraverit, et ne secus quis fecerit, scrutationi in portu erunt obnoxie.

20 29. Ad 29 dicimus, omnes qui diplomata acceperunt, aut quæ privatorum naves bellicæ sunt ab hac vel illa parte, eadem libertate pro se suisque prædis esse usuros ad eandemque regulam se directuros, ut in præcedenti articulo dictum est.

cause open suspicion without having previously obtained permission from those to whom the aforesaid harbors belong, unless it has been driven there by storm or some violence or necessity in order that it may escape the dangers of the sea; if
5 this shall happen, the civic authority of that place or the Chief Magistrate must be at once informed of the cause of this coming and the stay there shall not be longer than is allowed by the civic authority, as stated above, or by the Chief Magistrate.

27 and 28. With regard to twenty-seven and twenty-eight,
10 we say: the ships of war of both parties, if they are not such in number as to cause suspicion, as has been stated, shall be able to come into the roadsteads, harbors, and rivers of either party and to ride there at anchor or to leave without any interference or hindrance, provided they so behave as to do nothing
15 in contravention of the laws and customs of those places, and provided, further, that the ships of war of either party shall not bring into the harbors of the other any wares or take out any such wares or anything else which has been forbidden or any persons belonging to the people or residents of that
20 Commonwealth in whose harbors they are at the time; except in case a man secures freedom of action for himself and his affairs by an official document. In order that no one may act to the contrary the ships shall be subject to inspection.

29. To the twenty-ninth we say: all who have received com-
25 missions and all privateers belonging to either party shall enjoy the same liberty for themselves and their prizes and shall regulate their action by the same principle that has been stated in the preceding article.

30. Vestri tricesimi loco proponimus, ut sequitur, quoties ullæ naves hostium alterutrius quas oportere prædæ esse iudicabitur, a navibus alterutrius rei publ: præsidariis capiuntur, quæ bona in iis aut merces ad populum aut incolas alterutrius
5 reipubl: pertinuerint, ea liberari, eique reddi qui dominum earum se esse probaverit, omniaque bona hostium alterutrius Reipubl: quæ in alterius navibus invenientur, legitimæ prædæ fore, naves autem dimitti, et bonorum captorum vecturam solvi, moræ etiam damna pensari si æquum videbitur.
- 10 31. Ad 31 dicimus, neque Angliæ rempubl: neque fœderatas Belgii Provincias aut ipsas auxilium ferre oportere, neque sincere ut a populo aut ab incolis alterutrius, aut ab aliquo quovis tertio, hostibus aut rebellibus alterutrius ullo sive armorum aut instrumenti bellici cujuscunque generis fuerit, apparatu,
15 terra aut mari, aut commeatibus quibuscunque suppeditandis, auxilium feratur, verum omnes cujuscunque generis apparatus, qui ad hostem aut rebelles alterutrius comportandi in nave qualibet reperientur, ei qui ceperit prædam adjudicari, quemadmodum et naves ipsas quæ res illas portarunt, omnia
20 item alia bona quæ in iisdem navibus reperientur, facta probatione debita, prædictos illos apparatus tam hujus quam illius generis ut supra dictum est, ad rebelles et hostes, ut dictum est comportari.

30. Instead of your thirtieth article, we make the following proposal; as often as any ships of the foes of either party which shall be judged to be fit prizes shall be taken by the defending fleet of either Commonwealth, the goods or wares in those
5 ships belonging to the people or residents of either Commonwealth shall be released and returned to the person who proves himself to be their owner; but all goods of the foes of either Commonwealth which shall be found in the ships of the other shall be lawful booty; the ships however shall be released and
10 the transportation charges paid for the captured goods and also compensation, if it shall seem reasonable, for the loss of time.

31. To the thirty-first we say: neither the English Commonwealth nor the United Provinces shall either themselves afford
15 aid or permit aid to be afforded by the people or by the residents of either Commonwealth or by any third person whatever to the enemies or rebels of either Commonwealth, in the shape of any supply of weapons or of munitions of war of any kind soever on land or on sea, or by furnishing any supplies of
20 any kind whatsoever; but all supplies of every kind which shall be found in any vessel on the way to the enemy or rebels of either Commonwealth shall be adjudged the prize of him who captured them, as shall be also the ships themselves that carried those supplies, and likewise all other goods which shall
25 be found in the same ships; due proof having been furnished that the aforesaid supplies of this kind as well as of that, as stated above, were being transported as has been said to rebels and enemies.

32. De Articulo 32 Concilium assentiendum esse non censet.

33. Si alterutrius reipubl: naves, populivæ aut incolarum alterius sive naves illæ bellicæ fuerint sive mercatoriæ, vi ventorum, aut tempestatis, ullove alio quocunque casu ad littus
5 impelli acciderit, aut illic naufragium facere ullis in terris quæ ditionis alterius reipubl: erit, prædictas naves cum armamentis omnibus, totoque instrumento, bonisque omnibus, et mercibus quæ in terram delatæ fuerint veris dominis restitui, si quidem suum in eas naves, aut bona verum dominum intra
10 anni unius spatium quando illud naufragium factum est, idoneis testibus juratis ulla in curia causarum maritimarum, quæ in alterutra republ: jam constituta est aut constituetur, probaverint, modo etiam prædicti domini iis qui salvas res suas reddiderint. Et asservaverint mercedem usitatam, salvagium
15 vulgo dictum, solverint, simulque eos sumptus, quos illi fecerint, qui eorum bona conservaverint, Et si qua ex prædictis bonis ejusmodi erunt, quæ vel sua natura, vel ex naufragio facile corrumpantur, ea bona, postquam id praeconis voce significatum erit, ad lucernam vendi, et quod id efficietur,
20 dominis, ut prædictum est solvi, omnesque officarios, omnem populum, et incolas partis alterutrius, quoties ejusmodi quid accideret, obligari, uti pro viribus dent operam, ut bona illa ex naufragio ad prædictam restitutionem serventur, et si quæ inter populum hujus atque illius partis controversia inciderit, bo-

32. As to Article 32, the Council does not think that it can give its assent.

33. If the ships of either Commonwealth or of the people or residents of the other, whether they shall be ships of war or
5 of the merchant marine, shall by violent winds or storms or by any other mischance be driven ashore or shall have suffered shipwreck there in any lands belonging to the jurisdiction of the other Commonwealth, the aforesaid ships, with their entire armament and equipment and all goods and wares that
10 have been brought ashore shall be restored to their true owners, provided they prove their ownership of such ships or goods within the space of one year after the said shipwreck through suitable witnesses duly sworn in any Court of Admiralty which has already been instituted or shall be instituted in
15 either Commonwealth, and provided further that the said owners shall pay to those who saved and restored their goods the customary reward commonly known as salvage, and also the expenses incurred by those who saved their property. If any of the afore-mentioned goods shall be of such sort as to be
20 spoiled easily by their own nature or as a result of the wreck, those goods, after due notice by the voice of the crier, shall be sold by candle, and the proceeds paid to the owners, as said above, and all officials, the whole people, and the residents of either party as often as anything of this kind shall happen,
25 shall be under obligation to do their best to safeguard such goods from the shipwreck with a view to the aforesaid restoration, and if any dispute shall arise between the people of this and that side, full and speedy justice shall be done and the case

nam et expeditam justitiam fieri, neque litium ambagibus non necessariis rem in longam extrahi.

34. De 34 assentimur, ut sequitur, scrutationis Commissarios ab utraque parte ad legum normam alterutrius reipubl: sese
5 dirigere, neque plus imponere aut exigere quam per auctoritatem sibi commissam, aut accepta mandata licuerit.

35. Ad 35 responsi loco proponimus, ut sequitur, si qua injuria ab alterutra reipubl: ejusve populo aut incolis, alterius populo aut incolis illata sit, sive contra ullos hujus fœderis
10 articulos, sive contra jus commune uti nullæ literæ repressales, vulgo dictæ mercæ, aut contramercæ ab alterutra concedantur, donec justitia prius juxta leges ordinarias postuletur, sin autem illic justitia vel denegetur, vel in longum protrahatur, tum uti summus ejus reipub: magistratus, cujus populus aut incolæ
15 injuria affecti sunt, ab illa altera reipub: in qua justitia ut supradictum est denegatur, aut differtur, aut ab illa potestate quæ hujusmodi postulatis audiendis constituta erit, publice justitiam postulet, ut omnes hujusmodi lites vel amice componantur, vel ordinario legum processu: sin autem mora adhuc in
20 terposita erit, neque jus reddetur neque satisfactio dabitur, intra dies quinquaginta, quam lata hujusmodi postulatio erit, tum demum uti literæ repressales mercæ vel contramercæ concedantur.

36. De Articulo 36 Concilium assentiendum esse non censet.

shall not be long drawn out by unnecessary legal technicalities.

34. As to thirty-four, we agree in the following terms: the Commissioners of Inspection on either side shall make their actions conform to the legal form of either Commonwealth,
5 and shall not impose or exact more than is permitted by the authority conferred upon them or the instructions they have received.

35. To thirty-five we present in place of a reply the following statement: if any injury shall be inflicted by either Commonwealth or by its people or residents upon the people or
10 residents of the other, whether in contravention of any Article of this treaty or against the common principles of law, no letters of reprisal (commonly called Letters of Marque or Counter-Marque) shall be issued by either until justice shall first be
15 demanded in accordance with the ordinary laws; if, however, justice shall there be either denied or long delayed, then the Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth whose people or residents have suffered this injury from the other Commonwealth in which justice, as stated above, has been denied or postponed
20 shall officially demand justice from that authority which has been constituted to hear such demands, to the end that all such quarrels shall be adjusted either amicably or by the ordinary legal processes; if, however, delay shall still be interposed and justice not rendered, nor redress given, then within fifty days
25 after such demand has been made, then and not before Letters of Reprisal, of Marque or Counter-Marque may be issued.

36. To Article thirty-six, the Council does not think that it can give its assent.

Hæc Vestris Excellentiis superscriptis rebus, quæ a vobis in articulis sex et triginta proposita sunt vicissim exhibenda censuimus, quod super est nostra ex parte ad consummationem tractationis proponendum, id tempore idoneo Ex-

5 *cel: Vest: exhibebitur.*

167F. Another.

Excellentissimi, et illustrissimi Domini,

Ut tandem (cum bono Deo) Tractatus a nobis inchoati, ad optatum finem perducantur, tria in eum finem agenda superesse videbimus, utque ad ea progrediamur et perveniamus.

10 Primo, assensum nostrum super Articulo Præliminari (postrema sessione ab Excellentiis Vestris nobis exhibito) hodie ipso hoc scripto offerimus.

Secundo, cum Excellentias Vestras in responso super Articulo trigesimo sexto nobis exhibito quædam adhuc sibi reservasse videamus, quæ ad perficiendum fœdus postea exhibenda esse ibidem dicitur, nos (cum huc usque nihil eiusmodi perceperimus) enixè petimus ut reservati isti Articuli nobis jam nunc exhibeantur, quo simul, et semel, plenariè et cum effectu de tota re inter nos agi possit.

20 Tertio, hoc addimus vidisse nos Excellentiarum Vestrarum responsum super sæpe memoratis triginta sex articulis, et quædam in eo à nostris discrepantia in iisdem invenimus, quæ non aptè inter se conciliari posse judicamus, nisi rationibus hinc

We have voted to present to Your Excellencies these replies to the matters mentioned above, as set forth by you in thirty-six articles; what still remains to be expressed on our part to bring the discussion to completion shall be presented to Your Excellencies at a convenient time.

167F. Another.

Most Excellent and Most Illustrious Lords,
In order that at last (with God's help) the discussions begun by us may be carried to the desired end, we see that for that purpose three points must still be handled; and in order that
10 we may go forward and reach them,

First, we give you today in this very document our assent to the Preliminary Article presented to us by Your Excellencies at our last session.

Secondly, since we see that Your Excellencies in your reply
15 to the 36th Article, have made thus far certain reservations which it is stated in that same reply must be later presented for the completion of the treaty, we (since we have thus far heard nothing of this sort) earnestly request that those reserved articles be now laid before us in order that at one and
20 the same time and with finality this whole matter may be handled between us completely and effectively.

Thirdly, We add that we have seen this reply of Your Excellencies about the oft-mentioned thirty-six Articles, and we have found in that reply certain points at variance with ours
25 in those same Articles; we are of opinion that these cannot be

inde allatis, ad concordiam redigantur, eamque ob rem, mutuum colloquium, sive conferentiam, necessariam judicamus, ut eo modo generaliter omnia, quæ ad fœdus inter nos sancien-
dum aliquo modo spectare possint, ritè excutiantur, quo, re-
5 motis omnibus obstaculis et impedimentis, res tanta, (Numine propitio) ad optatum finem perdiri possit.

Nos, ad id, hoc ipso, atque adeo omni tempore (quandocunque id commodum Excellentiss Vestris videbitur) expeditos, et paratos esse, sedulò, et seriò profiteamur.

properly reconciled unless they are brought into harmony by an exchange of views and for this reason we regard a mutual colloquy or conference as necessary in order that in this way in a comprehensive manner all the points which can in any
5 way relate to the making of a treaty between us may be duly analyzed, so that, all obstacles and hindrances being removed, this important matter (by the grace of God) may be brought to its desired conclusion.

For this conference, at this very moment and in fact at any
10 moment (whenever it shall seem agreeable and convenient to Your Excellencies) we profess ourselves in all earnestness and seriousness to be fully ready.

Milton's Commonplace Book.

[I.] Index Ethicus [Ethical Index.]

[Fol.] 1

MALUM MORALE [MORAL EVIL.]

[Fol.] 4

in malo morali potest multum esse admistum boni idque arte singulari, nemo venenum temperat felle, et helleboro, sed conditis pulmentis et bene saporatis ita diabolus letale quod conficit, rebus dei gratissimis imbuit &c. Tertull: de

5 spectaculis p. 102 edit. Rigalt:

[In moral evil there can be mixed much of good and that with cunning skill; no one mixes poison with gall and hellibore, but with spice and savory dainties; so the Devil flavors his fatal concoction with the most pleasing gifts of God.]

10 Cur permittit deus malum? ut ratio virtuti constare possit. virtus enim malo arguitur, illustratur, exercetur. quemadmodum disserit Lactantius l. 5. c. 7. ut haberet ratio et prudentia in quo se exerceret, eligendo bona, fugiendo mala. lactan. de ira dei. c. 13. quamvis et hæc non satisfaciunt.

15 [Why does God permit evil? That the account of Reason with Virtue may be correct. For virtue is attested by evil, is illuminated and trained. As Lactantius says: that Reason and Judgment may have a field in which they may exercise themselves by choosing the things that are good and shunning the

things that are evil; although even these things are not satisfactory.]

DE VIRO BONO. [THE GOOD MAN.]

[Fol.] 5

Cur viri boni, et alioquin egregii inertis ut plurimum et pusilli animi speciem præ se ferunt, primoque intuitu nullius
 5 esse pretii videntur. respondet Lactantius ut haberent, unde summam virtutem patientiam possent quotidie exercere. l. 6.
 c. 18.

[Why good men who are otherwise outstanding present the appearance in a striking degree of minds that are sluggish,
 10 small, and at first glance seem to be worth nothing. Lactantius replies: that they may have the means of exercising every day the greatest of the virtues, namely, patience.]

vir bonus aliquâ ratione etiam angelos excellere videtur, eò quod ille infirmo et mortali corpore involutus cupiditatibus
 15 semper colluctans vitam tamen cœlestium similem agere aspirat. Homil in Gen. 12. prope finem.

[A good man in some measure seems to excel even the angels, for the reason that housed in a weak and perishable body and struggling forever with desires, he nevertheless as-
 20 pires to lead a life that resembles that of the heavenly host.]

Summa viro bono habita reverentia a populo etiam furente. Perche si vegga che la ve[ra] virtù è sicura in ogni estremo pericolo anchora tra'l furore de nimici, in qual vespro Siciliano sanguinoso, di tanta multitudine uccisa, per universale
 25 Consenso di tutti Siciliane fù salvato un cavagliero di nation provenzale assai nobile chiamato guglielmo porcelletto per

la gran virtù e bonta sua nota à tutti i populi di quella Isola.
Angelo di Costanzo Hist: di napoli l. 2, p. 38.

[A good man receives the greatest reverence even from a people that is roused to frenzy. In order to show that true virtue is safe in all extreme dangers and even amid the fury of enemies, during the bloody Sicilian Vespers, of the great multitude of people put to death, a Provencal knight of great nobility called Guglielmo Porcelletto was spared by unanimous consent of all the Sicilians because he was known throughout that island for his virtue and goodness.]

DE VIRTUTE [VIRTUE.]

[Fol.] 6

Quicquid speciosum est non statim virtus est dicenda, Sic Philippus Mariæ reginæ maritus Elizabetham tollere non sustinuit, non tam quod sanctus quod clemens ut vulgo creditur, quòd mitis ingenii, sed quod prævideret tunc fore ut Maria Scotica Gallo desponsata si forte in regnum succederet, imperium Britannicum Gallico adjunctura esset ut Camden. Elizab. fol. 13.

[All that is fair to see does not at once deserve to be called virtue. Thus, Philip, the husband of Queen Mary, did not go so far as to get rid of Elizabeth, not so much because he was scrupulous and merciful as is generally believed, or of a gentle disposition, but because he foresaw that the result would be that if by chance Mary of Scotland, who was betrothed to a Frenchman, should succeed to the throne, she would add the realm of Britain to France.]

AVARITIA VIDE DE BONIS ECCLESIASTICIS

[Fol.] 12

[AVARICE, AND SEE ECCLESIASTICAL GOODS.]

Clericorum avaritiam apertè notat Dantes inferno. Cant: 7.

[Dante openly censures the avarice of the clergy.]

Mango imperadore de' Tartari per ammaestramento del re d'Erminia si battezzò et mandò Aloon suo fratello con
 5 grandissimo essercito per conquistare la terra santa: sconfisse il caliph di Baldac, et presolo et in pregione missolo in una torre ove egli haveva raunato molto tesoro, et per avaritia non havea voluto soldare cavallieri a sua difensione, lo affamò dicendo che convenia vivesse del suo tesoro, e di quello man-
 10 giasse senza altra vivanda havere. Gian. Villani. l. 6. c. 61.

[Mango (Mangus), Emperor of the Tartars, through the teachings of the King of Erminia was baptized and sent Aloon, his brother, with a great host to conquer the Holy Land; he defeated the Caliph of Baldac, who was captured and confined
 15 in a tower where he had stored a great treasure, having refused to hire men for defense because of his miserliness. Aloon starved him to death by saying that he should live by his treasure, and feed only upon it without receiving any other food.]

Martino quarto. vide de bonis Eccles.

20 [On Martin IV see the section on ecclesiastical goods.]

GULA [GLUTTONY.]

[Fol.] 13

Tertullianus eleganter vocat homicidam gulam, et supplicii inedia puniendam ait, etiamsi deus nulla jejunia præcepisset, quia in eam primus parens lapsus est. de jejuniis. p. 703. edit: Rigalt:

25 [Tertullian with nicety of phrase calls gluttony a murderer

and says that it deserves to be punished by the penalty of hunger (even if God had not enjoined times of fasting) because our first parents yielded to it.]

the Englishmen said to have learnt thire gourmandizing
5 of Hardiknute the Danish K. Holinsh. in his life. noted also
of immoderat feasting by Jovius. hist. l. 11. 180

the Indians in Summatra great gluttons renew thire stomach by chewing an hearb calld Arecca betula. Purchas tom.
l. 132.

DE LIBIDINE [LUST.]

[Fol.] 14

10 Quid potest esse sanctum iis qui ætatem imbecillam, et
præsidio indigentem libidini suæ depopulandam fœdandam-
que prostraverint. Lactant. l. 6. c. 23.

Παιδραστία
seu
ἀρρενοκομία

[What can be sacred to those who subject to the ravages and
defilement of their lust the time of life that is weak and in need
15 of protection?]

[Lust for
boys
or men.]

in fabulis nostris notatur Sodomitici peccati rex Mem-
pricius

[In our legends King Membricius is branded with the guilt
of sodomy.]

20 gentem e stupris, illicitoque conjugio natam ignovam et
perniciosam patriæ futuram ait Bonifacius in illâ egregiâ ad
Ethelbaldum merciorum regem epist. Malmesbur. l. 1.

stuprum.

[Boniface in that fine letter to Ethelbald, King of Mercia,
says that a people born of lechery and illicit unions will be
25 spiritless and dangerous to their native land.]

[lechery.]

Duarum virginum Belgicarum egregiè stuprum illatum

ulciscantium exempla vide apud Thuan. hist. l. 66. p. 267. 268.

[See in Thuanus the instances of two Belgian virgins who nobly avenged the dishonor that was done to them.]

CASTITAS [CHASTITY.]

[Fol.] 15

- 5 Ebba monacha nasum sibi et labia truncavit, idemque cæteris sororibus suasit ut hoc modo elusi Dani nihil in earum pudicitiam tentarent. Sto. ex flor. Hist. p. 78.

[The nun Ebba truncated her nose and lips and urged the other sisters to do the same in order that the Danes, foiled in
10 this way, would not make an attack upon their purity.]

MORS SPONTANEA. [SUICIDE.]

[Fol.] 16

pœnam eorum apud inferos scitissimè describit Dantes inferno. cant: 13.

[Dante most graphically describes the penalty of suicide in the lower world.]

- 15 whether lawfull, disputed with exquisite reasoning. Sir Philip Sid. Arcad. l. 4. 419 &c.

EBRIETAS [DRUNKENNESS.]

[Fol.] 17

King Edgars law against drunkennesse Stow. p. 85. which Englishmen are said to have learn't of the Danes in his days. Holinshed. l. 6. c. 23.

- 20 Sir Phil. Sidney. That barbarous opinion beeing generally of Healths among them to think with vice to doe honour, and with activity in beastlines to shew abundance of love made most of them seek to shew the depth of thir affection, in the depth of thir draught. Arcad. l. 2. p. 201.

ebriandi consuetudo, etiam siccam ebrietatem animo inducit. quod de Alberto Brandeburgico notat Thuanus his verbis, planè de eo approbatum est, ebrietatem violatâ semel et exasperatâ mentis sanitate, necessariò crudelitatem habere
 5 comitem: nam cum frequenti ebrietate exire de potestate suâ longo usu consuesset, fiebat ut insanix consuetudine duratâ, immanitas etiam sine vino in illo valeret. Hist. l. 12. 358.

[Habitual drunkenness brings intoxication to the mind even without wine. Thuanus notes this of Albert of Brandenburg
 10 in these words: it was clearly proven of him that intoxication, when once the sanity of the brain had been completely violated, necessarily had cruelty as its companion; for when, by repeated debauches, he had in the end become accustomed to having no control of his impulses, the result was that long
 15 acquaintance with the lack of sanity made savagery potent in him even without indulgence in wine.]

DE FORTITUDINE [COURAGE.]

[Fol.] 18

fortitudo hominis non in corpore sed in ratione, quæ firmissimum hominis præsidium et munimentum est, consistit. quod hinc liquet hominem hoc solo rationis adminiculo etiam
 20 in robustissima quæque animalia dominari, et nocere posse, si libet. Lactant. de opif. dei. c. 3.

[A man's courage depends not upon his body but upon his reason, which is for a human being the strongest safeguard and defense. This is clear from the fact that a man by this
 25 single help of reason masters even the strongest animals and is able if he so desires to do them harm.]

Obsidionem magdeburgæ vide apud Sleidan. l. 20. &c.
fidei et fortitudinis christianæ exemplum reperies.

[See in Sleidan the siege of Magdeburg; you will find there
an incident of Christian fidelity and courage.]

- 5 the cause of valour a good conscience. for an evil conscience,
as an English author noteth well, will otherwise know at the
roots of valour like a worm and undermine all resolutions.
Ward. militar. Sect. 7.

DE DUELLIS [DUELS.]

[Fol.] 19

- not certain in deciding the truth. as appears by the combat
10 fought between 2 Scots before the L. Grey of Wilton in the
marketplace of Haddington, wherin Hamilton that was
almost if not cleerly known to be innocent was vanquish't
and slain, and Newton the offender remained victor and was
rewarded by the Ld. Grey. Holinsh. p. 993.

- 15 Egregium et fortissimum Cai Marii responsum ad Teu-
tonem provocantem lege Frontin. l. 4. c. 7.

[The remarkable and courageous reply of Gaius Marius to
the Teuton who challenged him.]

- Duellorum antiquitas probande fidei causa. primus occur-
20 rit bonifacius sub valentiniano tertio militiæ dux. qui aetium
prodicionis in se compertum singulari certamine fidei sue
probande gratia provocavit, commissoque placidiæ permissu
p[r]elio superavit. Sigon de imp. occid. l. 12 p. 203. an.
dom. 432.

- 25 [The antiquity of duels for the purpose of proving the truth.
Boniface, commander in the field under Valentinian III, is
the first instance; who by a single combat challenged the truth

of the charge of treason brought against him that he might thus prove his own loyalty; and with the consent of Placidia fought and conquered.

DE MORTE [DEATH.]

[Fol.] 20

Mortem esse finem ærumnarum. Theophrastus. Quietem
 5 infelicium Cæsar. et neuter eorum immortalitatem animæ
 agnovit. Bodin: c. 5. l. 2.

[Death is an end of burdens according to Theophrastus; a rest for the unhappy, Cæsar; and neither of them believed in the soul's immortality.]

DE SCIENTIÂ LITERARUM [KNOWLEDGE OF LITERATURE.]

[Fol.] 53

10 An liceat profanis Scriptoribus operam dare. affirmat
 Socrat: l. 3. c. 16. cum aliis rationibus solidis usus, tum Pauli
 apostoli exemplo, et antiquissimorum Ecclesiæ doctorum.
 vide et Euseb. l. 7. c. 7. de Dionysio Alexandrino. Sensit etiam
 impius Julianus quibus armis labefactari suorum causa posset
 15 cum Christianis interdixit poeticæ rhetoricæ, et philosophiæ
 lectionem τοῖς οἰκείοις γὰρ inquit, πτεροῖς κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν
 βαλλόμεθα. Theodorit. Hist. l. 3. c. 7.

[Whether it is permissible to spend time upon profane writers. Socrates decides in the affirmative, advancing not only
 20 other sound reasons but in particular the example of the
 Apostle Paul and the earliest of the Church Fathers. See also
 Eusebius about Dionysius of Alexandria. Julian the Apostate
 also perceived the weapons by which the cause of his party
 could be weakened when he forbade the Christians to read

poetry, rhetoric and philosophy; for, said he, "We are being wounded (as the proverb puts it) by our own feathers."]

The noble K. Alfred a great lover of learning. Malmesbur. Sto. p. 80. his excellent statute for training up all the English
5 till 15 years old in learning. see Speed. in his life.

Two Englishmen Alcuin & John by appointment of Charles the great founded the two cheifest and ancientest universities of Europe, Paris & Pavia. Girard Hist. France. l. 4. p. 218. 219.

That princes ought to be learned especially in histories
10 Comines well shew. memoires, l. 2. c. 6.

Linguarum peritiam etiam in Ecclesiâ perutilem esse senserunt Waldenses, ut fideles aut pulsi patriâ, aut a suis ecclesiis missi, eò aptiores ad docendum essent. Gilles hist. Vaud. c. 2. p. 16.

15 [That skill in languages is very useful even in the Church was perceived by the Waldensians, so that the faithful, when either banished from their native land or sent abroad by their own churches, were to this extent better equipped to teach.]

Ordines Hollandiæ in medio etiam bellorum æstu, tantumquam pacatis rebus ne literarum cultum, et liberorum institutionem rebus adhuc vel maximè dubiis negligere viderentur, Academiam Lugduni Batavorum instituerunt, amplius ex sacro patrimonio vectigalibus attributis. Thuan. hist. l. 60. p. 81.

25 [The States General of Holland, in the very midst of the turmoil of warfare, just as if peace had been restored, that they might not seem to neglect the cultivation of literature and the training of their children even when the outlook was still

quite dubious, founded the University of Leyden, adding thereto ample revenues from the patrimony of the Church.]

DE CURIOSITATE [CURIOSITY.]

[Fol.] 55

Quæstiones profundas de deo quas humana ratio difficiliter interpretetur, aut, assequatur, aut non cogitandas, aut
 5 silentio premendas ne in vulgus edantur, deturque hinc materies schismatum in Ecclesiâ, sapientissime monet Constantinus in epist: ad Alexandrum, et Arium. Euseb: in ejus vitâ. l. 2. c. 77. et apud Socrat: l. 1.

[Constantine, in his letter to Alexander and Arius, very
 10 wisely urges that fundamental questions about God which the human reason finds it difficult to interpret or to solve should either not be considered at all or should be buried in silence lest they become known to the common people and thus afford material for schisms in the church.]

15 Sophistas noctuis assimilât Basil. qui in rebus minutis et obscuris oculati sunt aut ita credi volunt, in rebus solidis, et conspicuæ veritatis, scientiæque salutaris cæcutiunt, illa enim nocte acutùm cernit, interdiu caligat. Hexam. Homil. 8. 107.

[Basil compares sophists to owls for they in matters minute
 20 and obscure have eyes or wish to be thought to have them, but in weighty matters of manifest truth and of helpful knowledge are blind; for the owl at night has acute vision but in the daytime sees dimly.]

Theologorum Parisiensium stolidas velitationes depingit
 25 Sleidanus l. 3. p. 36.

[Sleidan depicts the stupid skirmishes of the theologians at Paris.]

de Poetâ Anglo subitò divinitus facto mira, et perplacida
historiola narratur apud Bedam. Hist. l. 4. c. 24.

[A marvelous and very pleasing anecdote is told in Bede's
History about an Englishman who suddenly by act of God be-
5 came a poet.]

Rex nobilissimus Alfredus saxonicae poeseos peritissimus
Sto. p. 80.

[The famous King Alfred was profoundly versed in Saxon
poetry.]

10 Poeticen ad virtutis studium accendum in animis homi-
num a deo edoctam Basileius monet. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶδε τὸ πνεῦμα
τὸ ἄγιον, δυσάγωγόν πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ διὰ
τὸ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐπιρρέπες τοῦ ὀρθοῦ βίου καταμελοῦντας τί ποιεῖ;
τὸ ἐκ τῆς μελωδίας τερπνὸν τοῖς δόγμασιν ἐγκατέμεινεν, ἵνα τῷ
15 προσηγεῖ, καὶ λείψ τῆς ἀκοῆς τὸ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ὀφέλιμον λανθανόν-
τως ὑποδέξωμεθα, &c. Homil. in Psal. i. proœm.

[Basil tells us that poetry was given by God to rouse in
human souls the love of virtue. "For when the Holy Spirit saw
that mankind could be led with difficulty to virtue and was
20 careless about upright living because of its inclination toward
pleasure, what did it do? It mixed with the dogmas the pleas-
ure of poetry in order that through the charm and smoothness
of the sounds we might unconsciously receive the benefit of
the words."]

25 Numidian poets Leo Afer in Purchas. tom. 2. 759. et
Leo Afer edit Lugdun. l. 2. 212. &c. and purchas ex Leone.
l. 2. tom. 2. 795.

In Ecclesiâ alternis canere primus instituisse dicitur Ignatius Antiochensium episcopus post Petrum tertius. Socrat: l. 6. c. 8.

[Ignatius, the third Bishop of Antioch after Peter, is said
5 to have been the first to arrange antiphonal singing in the church.]

Organa primum in Galliâ, Les Ambassadeurs de Constantin emperour Grec apporterent a roy Pepin des Orgues, qu'on n'avoit pas encore veuës en France. Girard. Hist. France. l. 3.
10 p. 138.

[Organs first in France. The ambassadors of the Byzantine emperor Constantine V brought King Pepin some organs, which had never before been seen in France.]

Guido Aretinus rationem cantandi hodiernam adinvenit,
15 per Gamma uth re mi &c. circa annum 1000. Girard. Hist. France. l. 6. p. 337.

[Guido of Arezzo invented the modern method of singing by Gamma uth re mi etc. about the year 1000.]

quatenus credendum et obsequendum sit prudentum consiliis sapienter docet Cominæus, rationesque reddit gravissimas; errare etiam sæpissime prudentes, vel affectibus ducti, vel ut æmulis partes tueantur contrarias, vel aliquando, ut fit si forte corporis, vel animi habitu sint minus sano. Comin.
20 l. 2. p. 94. edit. Gall. Paris.

25 [Comines wisely shows how far credence and consent should be given to the advice of experts and gives very weighty rea-

sons: he says that experts very often make mistakes under the influence of their emotions or in their endeavor to uphold a course that is contrary to that of their rivals, or sometimes (as actually happens) if they chance not to be in perfect physical
5 or mental condition.]

IGNAVIA [SLOTHFULNESS.]

[Fol.] 70

Ignavorum pœna apud inferos qui nihil in hac vitâ benè, vel quod insigniter sit malum egerint describitur a Dante Florentino perpetuâ scilicet inquietudine et quodam æstro incassum agitantur. Dante Inferno. cant: 3.

10 [The punishment in the lower world of the slothful spirits who have done nothing in this life well and yet nothing that is markedly evil is described by Dante, the Florentine: they are driven to no purpose by unending disquiet and a kind of gadfly.]

DE MENDACIO [LYING.]

[Fol.] 71

15 semper veritatem dicere solet vir bonus, inquit Clemens, *πλὴν εἰ μὴ ποτε ἐν θεραπείᾳ· μέρει καθάπερ ἰατρός πρὸς νοσοῦντας ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν καμνόντων ψεύσεται ἢ ψῆυδος ἐρεῖ. &c.* Strom: 1. 7. p. 730. quatenus
licet

[A good man is always accustomed to speak the truth, says
20 Clement, "except in the way of service, as a physician for the safety of those who are ill will lie to the sufferers or utter a falsehood."]
[how far
permitted.]

Salutis publicæ causâ. hinc illud Torquati ubi Sophroniam introducit surrepti Idoli noxam in se transferentem quamvis
25 id verum non esset, ut tamen populum Christianum ab inter-
necione liberaret, Magnanima menzogna, or quando è il vero

si bello che si possa a te preporre? il Goffredo Cant. 2.
stanz. 22.

[For the sake of the public safety. This is the explanation of the story of Torquato Tasso, in which he makes Sophronia
5 take upon herself the guilt of stealing the Idol although this was not true, that nevertheless she might save a Christian people from massacre. O glorious lie, where is the truth so fair as to be preferred to thee?]

Similiter Bernia Hetruscus, poeta nobilis in Orlando in-
10 morato l. 2. canto. 20. stanz: 2.

La verità e bella ne per tema
Si debbe mai tacer, ne per vergogna.
Quando la forza e l'importanzia prema
Tal volta avien che dirla non bisogna,
15 Per fittion non cresce il ver ne scema,
Ne sempre occulto è di chiamar menzogna,
Anzi valente molte volte viene
Et savio detto quel che occulto il tiene.
D'ambe due queste parti di prudentia
20 Il figliuol di Laerte esempio danne &c.

[Likewise the noble Florentine poet Bernia:—

Truth is beautiful, nor through fear or shame must it
remain unspoken.

Under pressure of force or circumstance
25 It may so happen that it must not be told;
Truth is not increased or diminished by dissimulation,
Nor is it always hidden by being called a lie.
Indeed, often courageous and wise is called

He who keeps it hidden.
 Of both these aspects of prudence
 The son of Laertes gave proof.]

DE FURTO, ET LATROCINIO

[Fol.] 72

[THIEVERY AND HIGHWAY ROBBERY.]

furta et latrocinia ita compescuit Edwinus Northumbriae
 5 rex ut tuto cuilibet liceret ubivis per universum ejus regnum
 iter facere. Malmesbur. et Sto.

[Edwin, King of Northumbria, curbed thievery and highway-robbery so completely that throughout his entire kingdom everyone was able to travel wherever he wished in safety.]

10 Alfred also is said to have hung chains of gold and bracelets
 in the crosse high ways to see what theefe durst touch 'em, so
 severely was justice administerd against them. Sto. out of
 Asserius.

Edgar also famous for this kind of Justice. Stow.

15 and before them all Dunwallo molmutius as Holinshed.

Athelstanes law to attach such as stole above the vawle of
 12^d. at above the age of 12 years Speed.

William the conquerour provided well against theeving
 Stow. in his 20 year. Holinsh. p. 15.

DE FIDE SERVANDÂ [KEEPING FAITH.]

[Fol.] 73

20 Anlafs souldier præserveth by rare example his faith both
 to his former captaine and Athelstan. see his life.

Edgar a great overseer of Justice amongst his judges. and Edward the I. who punish't almost the whole magistracie at once for thire injustice. Holinsh. 284. 285. and p. 312.

against bribing Ed. 3. provided. Holinsh. 369. Sir Hen. de Bath a famous briber and corrupter of Justice to maintain his wives pride beeing of high descent. Speed. p. 541.

but farre more renouned was the lady of Sir Stephen Scroope who by threatning to forsake her husband unlesse he would discharge his lieutenantship of Ireland justly, reclaim'd him, and made him a worthy man. Campian hist. Ireland. p. 93. a just woman.

K. Hen. 5 spared not a great favorite Bertrand de Charmont a gascoin who by conveying away one of the murderers of the duke of Burgon had forfeited his own life. Speed. p. 656. although overswayd by a folish decree of heraldry in acquitting Barbason for the sam fact. 657.

remarkable is the saying of a worthy knight Sir Thomas Rocksby. who beeing ordnarily serv'd in wodd'n cups was wont to say. I had rather drink out of wood and pay gold and silver then drink out of gold and make wodd'n payment. Campion. hist. Ireland. p. 91. Justitia commutativa.
[commutative justice.]

Read K. Kanuts act by the sea side and answer to flatterers in his life.

Nec acerbitate, nec scommatis abstinuit Lutherus interdum etiam parùm verecundis Sleidan. l. 16. p. 261.

[Luther did not refrain from bitter remarks or from jests that were at times somewhat lacking in good taste.]

- 5 Belli sunt imprimis versiculi isti quibus Poeta Italus Boiardus in Orlando Inamorato. lib: 2^{di} cantum 21^{mum} incipit, monetque prudenter ne quis temere cuiquam maledicat.

Chi ha troppo al parlar la lingua sciolta,
 Com' ho gia detto, spesso se ne pente
 10 Che colui di chi parla, stà tal volta
 Dietro ad un uscio, et ogni cosa sente,
 E quando non v'e altri, Iddio l'ascolta,
 Iddio che tien la parte d' ogni gente
 E serba la vendetta dell' offeso
 15 Quando v'e men pensato, e men atteso
 Sempre si vuol favellar con rispetto
 D' ogniuno, e degli absenti sopra tutto
 Ne voler per non perdere un bel detto
 Guadagnar qualche scherzo, et fatto brutto,
 20 Che molte volte l'huom si truova stretto,
 Anzi riman com' un pesce all 'asciutto,
 Quando egli e sopraggiunto al improvviso,
 E si dipigne in mille fogge il viso

[There are some particularly fine verses in which Boiardo,
 25 an Italian poet, in his *Orlando Inamorato*, begins the twenty-

first canto of the second Book. He sensibly urges that no one should rashly speak ill of anyone.

- Whosoever is loose-tongued in speech,
 As I have already said, often regrets it,
 5 For he of whom he speaks may sometimes be
 Behind a door and overhear.
 And if there be no one else, God is listening,
 God who is the defender of all persons
 And carries out, when least expected,
 10 The offended person's vengeance.
 When speaking one should always be respectful
 Towards all, and especially towards those not present,
 Nor yield to humor and turn a witty saying
 Into a clumsy jest,
 15 For often he remains embarrassed,
 Nay, remains like a fish out of water,
 When unexpectedly he is outwitted,
 And his face a thousand colors turns.]

[II.] Index Œconomicus. [Economic Index.] [Fol.] 101

DE VICTU [FOOD.] [Fol.] 105

- Quod interdixerunt Apostoli ecclesiis esu sanguinis, ut ^{de esu} ^{sanguinis.}
 20 notum est ex actis apostol: id esse a Christianis usque ad
 Aurelii et Veri tempora observatum tradit Euseb: in illâ
 Biblidis quæstione de martyribus Gallicis. hist: l. 5. c. 1.
 græc:

- [That the apostles forbade the churches to eat blood is ^{[on eating}
 25 known from the Acts of the Apostles; Eusebius in the trial of ^{blood.]}

Biblis about the Gallic martyrs tells us that this custom was observed by the Christians down to the times of Aurelius and Verus.]

DE CULTU [DRESS.]

[Fol.] 106

mulieres ne se nudanto ultra quam necesse est. vide

- 5 Clemens Alex: *Pædagog.* l. 2. c. 2. p. 158. et Cyprian. lib. de disciplinâ, et habitu virginum.

[Women should not expose themselves beyond what is necessary. See Clement of Alexandria, *Pædagogus*, and Cyprian on the training and dress of maidens.]

MATRIMONIUM VIDE DE DIVORTIO

[Fol.] 109

[MARRIAGE (SEE DIVORCE.)]

- 10 Apostoli matrimonium contraxisse probantur Euseb: hist: eccl: l. 3. c. 30. græc: apud eundem uxores et liberos episcoporum nominatos passim videre est. ut l. 6. c. 42. de Chæremone et ejus uxore. et filium Demetriani Antiochensis episcopi Domnum sedem patris adeptum. Euseb: l. 7. c. 30.
- 15 græc: vide, et Socratem l. 1. c. 11. de Paphnutio qui corripit quosdam onera nimis gravia imponentes Ecclesiæ. Sed Socrates ubi mentionem facit matrimonii clericorum ait intelligi debere de iis qui uxorem duxerant, antequam munus Ecclesiasticum suscepissent, seu ita ipse scripserit, seu quis postea,
- 20 quod facile fieri potuit, ista de suo interposuerit. vide et eundem. l. 5. c. 22. græc: p. 698. et Cedren: p. 236.

[That the apostles contracted matrimony is proven by Eusebius. In the same author one may see frequent mention made by name of the wives and children of bishops. For example,

Chæremón and his wife. Domnus, the son of Demetrianus, Bishop of Antioch, secured the see of his father. See also Socrates on Paphnutius, who upbraids certain persons for putting unreasonably heavy burdens upon the Church. But Socrates, when he mentions the marriage of the clergy, says that this should be understood of those who had already married before they undertook their churchly duties; it is not clear whether he wrote this himself, or someone afterwards (a thing that might easily have happened) inserted these words representing his own opinion.]

Petrum et Paulum matrimonium contraxisse disertis verbis affirmat Ignatius et quid de matrimonio sentiat declarat epist: ad Philadelph: p. 94. 95. et Clemens Alexand: Strom: 3. pag. 448. et Felix qui presbyterium subministrabat sub Decimo cum Victoriâ conjugē ejus propter fidem extorris legitur factus apud Cyprian: epist: 19.

[Ignatius expressly declares that Peter and Paul contracted matrimony and sets forth his own opinion on marriage in his letter to Philadelphus, as does also Clement of Alexandria in his *Stromateis*. Felix, who was in charge of a presbytery under Decimus, was, as we read in Cyprian, sent into exile on account of his faith, together with his wife Victoria.]

and the Preists of England before the conquest. thire great impugner John Cremensis beeing detected himselfe of whor-
dom. Stow. Hen. I. y. 26. forbidden to marry by Anselme, much condemn'd therfor by an old writer Hen Huntington. Holinsh. p. 30 Hen. I. se also the absurd articles of the other synod. p. 34. See also Mat. Paris against forbidding mar-

Holinsh: p. 42

riage to the clergie. Speed. p. 432. and 448. vide Concil. Trident. l. 8 ad finem ubi Theologi Germani adjunctis Ferdinandi imperatoris et ducis Bavar. literis matrimonium clericorum defendunt.

- 5 [See Book 8 of the Council of Trent at the end where the German theologians uphold the marriage of the clergy, citing a letter of Ferdinand, Emperor and Duke of Bavaria.]

Polygamiam veterum Judæorum propter varia mysteria sub eâ latentia haud inconcessam fuisse ait Justin: mart:
10 Tryph: p. 364. et 371.

[Justin Martyr says that the polygamy of the Jews in ancient times was not forbidden on account of the varied mysteries that are involved in it.]

Gregorius nyssenus uxorem habere testatur tom. 3. de
15 virginitate. 116.

[Gregory of Nyssa is proven to have had a wife.]

Cur Papistæ matrimonia clero prohibent vide rationes astutas Concil. Trident. l. 5. p. 446. et 662 l. 7.

[Why the papists prohibit marriage of the clergy. See the
20 astute reasons of the Council of Trent.]

Spuridion Episcopus Cyprius vir sanctitatis famâ celebratissimus sub Constantino quamvis conjugem, et liberos haberet dicitur tamen οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο τὰ θεῖα χείρων. Sozom. l. 1. c. 11.

25 [Spuridion, Bishop of Cyprus, a man of widespread reputation for holiness under Constantine, though he had a wife and children is nevertheless said to have been none the worse for this reason in his saintliness.]

Mariage allow'd to preists in the councel of Vienne in france more then 900 yeares after Christ, the Popes legates beeing then present. Girard. Hist. France. l. 5. p. 300.

vide responsum Elizabethæ cum duce Andino nuptias
5 propter religionis differentiam amolientis Cam. p. 197.

[See the reply of Elizabeth when she tried to avert a marriage with the Duke of Anjou on account of the difference in religion.]

with one of a different religion dangerous. for hence
10 Gregory the 15th is so bold as to count Prince Charles a favourer of the Catholick cause, as he terms it, and of the Roman prælacie, because he sought in marriage a daughter of Spain. Du Chesne Hist. d'Angleterre. p. 1163. see also p. 1166. et 1167. et 1168.

15 The marriage with France also was no lesse dangerous if the conditions obtained by the Marquesse D'Effiat, and Richelieu be true. as amoung the rest that the children should be bred in the papists religion till 13 years old. Du Chesne. Hist. Angle. p. 1180. &c. et p. 1182. 1184.

20 Digamiam lege sanxit Valentinianus. Socrat: l. 4. c. 30. græc.

[Valentinian sanctioned by law a second marriage after the death of the first wife.]

Germani antiqui non una tantum uxore usu. Ariovisti enim
25 duæ fuerunt uxores Cæsar. comment. l. 1. ad finem prope de bell. gallic. et Childericus Francorum rex. Bernard Girard. Hist. Franc. l. 1. p. 27.

[The ancient Germans did not have one wife only. For

there were two wives of Ariovistus and the same was true of Childeric, King of France.]

Conjugal affection rare in the wife of Ed. I. in Palestine.

Quartam uxorem licet mortuis prioribus ducere apud Græcos non licet hinc Leonem philosophum imperatorem communione pepulit Nicolaus patriarch. Jus Græco-Rom, p. 103.

[It was not permissible among the Greeks to marry a fourth wife even though her predecessors were dead; for this reason the Patriarch Nicholas excluded from communion the philosopher-general Leo.]

the discommodities of marriage. See Chaucer marchants tale, and wife of Baths prologue.

Mariage with Papists dangerous to England appears by the oration of Fontidonius in the name Di luna the Spanish ambassador to the Council of Trent. wherein he professes che il suo rè si maritò Maria d'Inghilterra non ad altro fine che per ridur quell' Isola alla religione. Concil. Trident. l. 8. 691.

[Di Luna said his King married Mary of England for no other reason than to reduce that island to Catholicism.]

Ministris Ecclesiæ nullum jus fuisse apud Christianos antiquissimos ut interessent vel contractibus vel nuptiis celebrandis ostendit Seldenus Uxor Heb. l. 2. c. 28, toto, et 29. nempe in illas res Papæ, et Pontificuli se importunè satis immiscuere emolumentum inde sibi ac dominatum captantes partim ritus ethnicos ut in cæteris ferè, suscipientes, et vano quodam judicio æmulantes.

Vide titul.
de bonis
Ecclesiasticis

[Selden shows that ministers of the Church did not have the right among the earliest Christians of taking part in the cele-

[See the title
Ecclesiastical
Goods.]

bration of contracts or nuptials. For the popes and the cardinals became deeply involved in those matters, seeking for themselves gain and power, partly, as often in other matters, adopting heathen rites and rivalling them senselessly.]

CONCUBINATUS [CONCUBINAGE.]

[Fol.] 110

- 5 the cause of household disquiet. as it turn'd both wife and children against our Hen 2. Holinsh. p. 87.

Concubinam unam permitti in Ecclesiâ antiquâ Christianâ multis patrum testimoniis testatur Seldenus de jure nat. et gent. l. 5. c. 7. p. 573.

- 10 [Selden shows by many citations from the Fathers that one concubine was permitted in the early Christian church.]

Multos etiam clericos viros minime malos martyrium etiam passos, fœminas in domibus habuisse fatetur Cypriano adscriptus liber de singularitate clericorum. sect. 38.

- 15 [The Book on the celibacy of the clergy ascribed to Cyprian admits that many of the clergy, who were by no means bad men, and even suffered martyrdom, had women in their homes.]

4 concubinas habuit Carolus magnus. Girard Hist. Franc.

- 20 l. 4. p. 229

[Charlemagne had four concubines.]

concubinam uxori inducere, negotio cum pastoribus communicato haud se indignum existimavit Philippus ille Hassiæ princeps protestantium dux Thuan. hist. l. 41. p. 447

- 25 [Philip, Prince of Hesse, leader of the Protestants, did not think it improper to add a concubine to his wife, after communicating the step to the pastors.]

Carolus Martellus princeps bellicosissimus atque optimus Nothi dicti.
 concubinæ filius, quo natus Pepinus Caroli magni pater. Hist
 Franc.

[Charles Martel, a most warlike and noble prince, was the [so-called
 5 son of a concubine, and of him was born Pepin, the father of bastards.]
 Charlemagne.]

Ferdinandus Alphonsi Neapolitani regis optimi ex con-
 cubinâ filius regno successit.

[Ferdinand, the son of Alphonso, the noble King of Naples,
 10 by a concubine, succeeded to the throne.]

Les bastards estoient advouez, & partagez également avec in France.
 les legitimes, jusques au temps d'Hues capet en France.
 Girard Hist. France. l. 6. p. 333.

[Bastards were acknowledged and inherited equally with
 15 legitimate children in the time of Hugh Capet in France.]

Ils ne font point grande difference au pays d'Italie d'un in Italy.
 enfant bastard à un legitime. Philip. de Comines. l. 7. me-
 moires. c. 2. p. 515.

[They do not make much difference in Italy between a bas-
 20 tard and a legitimate child.]

DE LIBERIS EDUCANDIS VIDE DE SCIENTIÂ LITERARUM. [Fol.] III
 [THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN. SEE KNOWLEDGE OF LITERATURE.]

natura cujusque imprimis inspicienda nec torquenda alior-
 sum deum enim non omnes ad singula destinatus, sed ad suum
 quemque opus proprium unde Dantes e se 'l mondo la giù
 ponesse mente al fondamento che natura pone &c. vide Para-
 25 diso cant: 8.

[The nature of each one should be most carefully examined

and not forced into a different mould; for God does not destine all men for one thing, but for work that is appropriate to each. Thus Dante, "if the world below paid heed to the foundation laid by nature."]

- 5 hinc credibile est quod de Athanasio traditur puerum scil. inter pueros episcopum egisse puerosque in maris littore baptizâsse. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 11.

[We may for this reason believe the story that is told of Athanasius, namely, that as a boy he played the role of a bishop
10 with his comrades and baptized boys on the seashore.]

- not to labour, as most men doe to make them bold and pert while they are young which ripens them too soon, and true boldnes and spirit is not bred but of vertuous causes which are wrought in them by sober discipline to this purpose
15 Chaucer speaking of feasts, and revells and daunces such things maken children for to be too soon ripe and bold as men may see, which is full perillous &c. doctor of Phis. tale. fol. 58.

DE DIVORTIO VIDE 116. [DIVORCE.]

[Fol.] 112

- in judicia translatam esse divortii causam videtur ex quo
20 Canonici lucrum inde reportare auctoritatemque uberrimam posse didicerunt Hist. Concil. Trident. 67. p.

[Divorce cases seem to have been transferred to the courts from the time that the Canons learned how to secure gain and great authority therefrom.]

- 25 Questiones innumeræ de divortiis incertâ solutione tractantur Concil. Trident. l. 8. p. 729. &c. et 737. &c.

[Innumerable questions about divorce are treated with un-

certain solutions. See the Council of Trent, Book VIII, page 729, etc.]

ritus publici celebrandi matrimonii multis post apostolos seculis introducti sunt Concil. Trid. l. 8. 772.

- 5 [The public rites of the celebration of matrimony were introduced many centuries after the Apostles.]

Causæ matrimoniales ad civilem magistratum pertinebant priusquam ecclesiastici per socordiam principum earum judicia invasere. Concil. Trident. l. 8. 772. vide de bonis ecclesiasticis.

- 10 [Matrimonial cases used to belong to the jurisdiction of a civil magistrate before ecclesiastics, in consequence of the negligence of the princes, invaded the courts that passed upon them.] [see ecclesiastical goods.]

- Carolus Magnus uxorem Theodoram repudiat, non red-
15 ditâ ejus rei cuiquam ratione Girard. Hist Franc. l. 3. p. 146. et Hildegardam duxit.

[Charlemagne put away his wife Theodora without giving anyone a reason for that act, and married Hildegarde.]

- Post quinquennalem mariti absentiam, si incertum fuerit
20 ubi sit, uxori conceditur cum alio nuptias facere. Manuelis Patriarchæ constantinop: sententia. Jus Græco-Roman. p. 239. vixit autem hic patriarcha circa an. 1216.

- [After the husband has been absent for five years, if it is then uncertain where he is, the wife may contract a marriage
25 with another. This is the view of Manuel, Patriarch of Constantinople, who lived about the year 1216.]

Religionis causâ divortium fieri posse statuit Matthæus Monachus, sive orthodoxus ita vult non tantum si ab altero deseratur, in illo enim negotio, non simplex *εὐδοκία* infidelis

ad cohabitationem requiritur, sed utriusque *συνευδοξία* secundum Pauli sententiam; ait etiam ab Theodoto Patriarcha ita statutum vide lib. matrimonial. apud Jus Græco Roman.

p. 507.

- 5 [Matthew, the Monk, declares that a divorce may be had because of religion, if only the orthodox person so wishes and not merely if there is desertion by the other party; for in this type of case it is not simply the good repute of the heretic that is required for living together, but the mutual good repute
10 of both, according to the opinion of Paul.]

Guntarius archiepiscopus Coloniensis et Tergaudus Trevirensis Lotharium Lotharingæ ducem repudiâtâ Tirbergâ Vastradam inducentem approbaverunt. Thuan. l. 78. 655.

- [Gunther, archbishop of Cologne, and Tergandus, arch-
15 bishop of Trèves, approved the action of Lothair, duke of Lorraine, in divorcing Tirberga and marrying Vastrada.]

Pro divortio vide Bodin. repub. l. 1. c. 3.

[In defence of divorce see Bodin.]

- Renatus Lotaringæ dux repudiâtâ ob deformitatem, et
20 sterilitatem uxore Margaretâ vivente eâ Philippam superinduxit; nec tamen ejus ex Philippâ filius hæreditate dejectus. Thuan. hist. l. 24. p. 734.

- [René, duke of Lorraine, divorced his wife Margaret because of deformity and barrenness and married Philippa while
25 the former wife was still living; nevertheless his son by Philippa was not deprived of his inheritance.]

Belgiæ et protestantium defensor Wilhelmus Arausionensis, abdicâtâ a se ob mores uxore Annâ Mauritiæ Saxonis 7 viri

filiâ, Carlotam Borboniam Monpenserii filiam duxit. Thuan. hist. l. 60. p. 72.

[William of Orange, defender of the Dutch and Protestants, divorced on account of her behavior his wife Anna, daughter of
5 Maurice, Elector of Saxony, and married Charlotte Bourbon, the daughter of Montpensier.]

Joannes Basilii filius Moschorum dux, uxore repudiâtâ, quod, quoties vult, non regi solum sed cuivis Baro ab Herber. de Mosch: illi moribus patriis licet, novam ducit. Thuan.
10 hist. l. 72. p. 471.

[John, son of Basil, duke of Moscow, divorced his wife (the custom of his country permitting him not as king alone but any man to do this as often as he wished) and married again.]

Propter impedimentum naturale Vincentius Mantuæ princeps Alexandri Farnesii filiam repudiât aliâ superinductâ.
15 Thuan. l. 80. p. 703.

[On account of a natural impediment Vincent, prince of Mantua, divorced the daughter of Alexander Farnese and married again.]

20 Henricus 4tus Galliæ rex Margaritam uxorem ob mores quamvis cognationis obtentu repudiavit, multisque exemplis id sibi quoque licere demonstrat, quod alii ante se reges varias ob causas fecissent Thuan. hist. l. 123. p. 885.

[Henry the Fourth, king of France, divorced his wife Marguerite under the pretence of blood relationship but in reality
25 because of her behavior; and showed by many instances that that was permissible for him also which other kings before him had done for various reasons.]

Quodnam fuerit jus dominorum in servos. vide Justinian.
institut. l. 1. tit. 8. §. 1.

[The nature of the rights of owners over slaves.]

de manumissione Justinian. institut. l. 1. tit. 5. et 6.

5 [On manumission.]

servis refugium a duris dominis est datum lege civili, cum
hac pulcra ratione, quòd reipub. expedit ne suâ re quis malè
utatur. Justinian. institut. l. 1. tit. 8. §. 1.

[The escape of slaves from cruel owners was legalized by
10 the civil code, with this fine reason that it was an advantage
to the public weal that no one should misuse his property.]

To forbidd Polygamy to all hath more obstinat rigor in it
then wisdom. Hence Sir Walter Raugleigh well observes
that by such rigor the kingdom of Congo was unhappily
15 diverted from the christian religion, which it willingly at
first embrac'd, but after with great fury rejected, because
plurality of wives was deny'd them; I know not, saith he,
how necessarily, but more contentiously then seasonably. &c.
Hist. of the world, l. 2. c. 4. sect. 16.

20 Sebastianus Castalio Allobrox Bernardinum Ochinum se-
cutus, cujus dialogos latinos fecit, polygamiam adstruere
videtur. Thuan. Hist. l. 35. ad finem. p. 271.

[Sebastian Castalio, a Swiss, following Bernard Ochin,
whose dialogues he translated into Latin, seems to justify
25 polygamy. See Thuanus, *History*, p. 271.]

Britanni etiam post fidem receptam conjuges habuere complures, quo nomine a Gildâ reprehenduntur quam plurimas conjuges habentes, sed scortas &c. vid. epist. Gild. et ad finem; unius uxoris virum, quod ita apud nos contemnitur &c. ac si
 5 apostolus dixisset virum uxorum.

[The Britons, even after they received the faith, had several wives; on which account they are censured by Gildas as having as many wives or rather mistresses as possible. See the epistle of Gildas at the end: "The husband of one wife, words that
 10 we disregard (and treat) as if the apostle had said the husband of wives."]

De clandestinis matrimoniis pro irritis habendis vide Thuan. hist. l. 35. p. 268. 269. idem in Germaniâ sancitum. hinc Ferdinandi Austrii proles ex Velserrâ clam patre Cæsare
 15 suscepta pro non legitimâ est habita. Thuan. l. 71. p. 446.

[On regarding secret marriages as invalid see Thuanus. This view was sanctioned in Germany. For this reason the child of Ferdinand of Austria, born of Velserra without the knowledge of his father the Emperor, was held to be illegitimate.]

20 Philippus Hispaniæ rex sororis filiam ducit. Thuan. hist. Incestus
 l. 71. p. 442. &c. et supra et Ferdinandus Ferdinandi Cæsaris filius. idem. hist. l. 71. p. 446.

[Philip, King of Spain, married his sister's daughter, as did also Ferdinand, the son of the Emperor Ferdinand.]

ADULTERIUM [ADULTERY.]

[Fol.] 115

25 Protestantes, Aureliani, cum ea urbs penes eos erat, adulterium morte puniebant: quam rem aulici adeo graviter tu-

lere, ut semper se ideo a protestantibus alienos futuros professi sint. Thuan: l. 35. initio libri.

[The Protestants of Orleans, when that city was in their possession, punished adultery by death. This procedure so displeased the courtiers that they declared they would because of it be forever opposed to the Protestants.]

DIVORTIUM [DIVORCE.]

[Fol.] 116

Cur permitti debet ratio est, quia ut medici, et omnes fere fatentur, cujus sine amore est frigidus, insuavis, infœcundus, noxius, ferinus, fœdus. Sinibald: Geneanthropeias l. 1. tract
10 2. proœm. indignum itaque est vel utrumque vel immerentem saltem tam immani vinculo invitum constringi.

[Why it should be permitted. The reason is that, as physicians and practically all persons admit, lying together without love is cold, unpleasant, unfruitful, harmful, bestial, shameful.
15 It is therefore improper that either one or at least the underserving one should be bound unwillingly by so monstrous a fetter.]

DIVITIÆ [RICHES.]

[Fol.] 148

Contra divitias probè disserit Machiavellus divitias non esse belli nervos quod vulgo creditur. Discors. l. 2. cap. 10.
20 [Against riches Machiavelli argues soundly that they are not the sinews of war as is generally believed.]

PAUPERTAS [POVERTY.]

[Fol.] 150

Britannorum episcoporum paupertas celebris apud Severum Sulpitium tempore Constantii imper. sacræ hist: l. 2. p. 157.

[The poverty of the British bishops is celebrated in the *Sacred History* of Severus Sulpicius in the time of the Emperor Constantine.]

See Chaucer. no poverty but sin. wife of Baths tale. p. 36.

ELEEMOSYNÆ. VIDE DE BONIS ECCLESIASTICIS.

[Fol.] 151

[ALMS. SEE ECCLESIASTICAL GOODS.]

- 5 Edessenorum mira charitas in captivis Antiochensium redimendis vide apud Procopium Persic: 2. nam et meretrices ornatum suum ad id impendisse dicebantur, et rusticos jumenta sua vendidisse. p. 66. edit. græ.

[The wonderful charity of the people of Edessa in ransoming the captives at Antioch. See Procopius. For it was said that
10 the courtesans gave their jewelry for this purpose and the farmers sold their draught-animals.]

Eleemosynas nostras hominibus notas ne velimus esse suadet Chrysostom. in Gen: orat. 8. argumento verissimo. quod
15 homines plerumque ubi laudare debent, invident, non est ergo ut de humanâ laude multum speremus.

[Chrysostom by a very sound argument urges us not to wish our alms to be known unto men. Because men are apt to envy where they ought to praise, there is no reason why we should
20 hope much from human commendation.]

Eleemosynarum profusissimi non semper verè pii ut in Adelberto Eporregiæ marchione videre est, qui cum juvenis benignissimo in pauperes animo fuisse visus esset, adultus famæ ob perfidiam nequissimæ ferebatur. Cuspinian. in Be-
25 rengario. p. 223.

[Those who are most lavish in alms-giving are not always

genuinely pious. This may be seen in the case of Adelbert, marquis of Ivrea, who, when young, seemed to be most generously disposed towards the poor, but when grown up had the vilest reputation for faithlessness.]

- 5 Erronibus mendicis non dandum ut monet Atticus episcopus Const: τοῖς αἰσχυνομένοις τὴν αἴτησιν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῖς ἐμπορίαν διὰ βίου τὴν γαστέρα προτεθεικόσι. Socrat: l. 7. c. 25.

[One should not give to wandering beggars; as Atticus, bishop of Constantinople warns: "To those who are ashamed
10 to ask, but not to those who through life make their stomach a means of business."]

Eleemosynæ post mortem datæ in iis rebus perditis, et vanis numerat Ariostus quas ad circulum Lunæ volare fingit sine ullo dantium fructu. l'elemosina è, dice, che si lassa
15 alcun, che fatta sia dopo la morte. Cant: 34.

[Alms given after death. Ariosto reckons these among things lost and vain, which he pictures as flitting about the sphere of the Moon without any advantage to the givers. He says it is alms if one leaves something to make reparation after death.]

DE USURÂ [USURY.]

[Fol.] 160

- 20 usuram peccare in naturam, et in artem ait Dantes in naturam quia facit ut nummi pariant nummos qui est partus non naturalis, in artem quia non laborat &c. vide cant: 11. inferno. et Daniell: in eum locum.

[Dante says that usury is a sin against nature and against
25 art: against nature because it makes money beget money, which is an unnatural kind of birth; against art because it does no work, etc. See *Inferno*, canto 11, and Daniell thereon.]

of the popes cruell usurers or merchands call'd Caursini
see Speed. p. 532.

num licita sit latè disserit Rivetus. prælection. in decalog.
276. p. et affirmativam tuetur.

- 5 [Riveto comprehensively discusses its permissibility, and
upholds the affirmative view.]
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[III.] Index Politicus [Political Index.]

[Fol.] 177

RESPUBLICA [THE COMMONWEALTH.]

immunitatem officiorum civilium clericis edicto sanxit
Constantinus. Euseb: hist: l. 10. c. 7.

[Constantine by edict exempted the clergy from civil duties.]

- 10 the form of state to be fitted to the peoples disposition some
live best under monarchy others otherwise. so that the con-
versions of commonwealths happen not always through
ambition or malice. as amoung the Romans who after thire
infancy were ripe for a more free goverment then monarchy,
15 beeing in a manner all fit to be Ks.. afterward growne unruly,
and impotent with overmuch prosperity were either for thire
profit, or thire punishment fit to be curb'd with a lordly and
dreadfull monarchy; which was the error of the noble Brutus
and Cassius who felt themselves of spirit to free an nation but
20 consider'd not that the nation was not fit to be free, whilst
forgetting thire old justice and fortitude which was made to
rule, they became slaves to thire owne ambition and luxurie.

Inter religionem et rempub. divortium esse non potest.
Camden. Elizab. ad lectorem.

[There can be no divorce between religion and the State.]

Contrariæ sententiæ erat Hospitalius Galliæ cancellarius prudentissimus, multi, inquit, cives esse possunt qui minime sint christiani, et qui ab ecclesiæ gremio remotus est, non desinit esse pius civis, et pacate vivere possumus cum iis qui non eadem sacra nobiscum colunt.

Thuan. hist.
l. 29. p. 74.

[Of the contrary opinion was Hospital, the sagacious chancellor of France. Many, he says, can be citizens who are in no way Christians, and a man who is removed from the bosom of the Church does not cease to be a loyal citizen, and we can live peacefully with those who do not cherish the same faith.]

Respub. regno potior. perche delle repub. escano piu huomini eccellenti, che de regni. perche in quelle il piu delle volte si honora la virtù, ne regni si teme. &c. Macchiavel. arte di guerra. l. 2. p. 63.

[A commonwealth is to be preferred to a monarchy. Why do more excellent men come from republics than from kingdoms? Because in the former virtue (force) is honored while in the latter it is feared.]

AMOR IN PATRIAM [LOVE OF COUNTRY.]

[Fol.] 178

virtus ista cautè a philosophis petenda est non enim cæcus et carnalis patriæ amor ad rapinas, et cædes, et odium vicinarum gentium rapere nos debet, ut patriam imperio, opibus, aut gloriâ augeamus sic enim ethnici fecerunt Christianos autem inter se pacem colere oportet, et non appetere aliena hanc ob causam invehitur in philosophiam Lactantius l. 6. c. 6.

[This virtue should be sought by philosophers warily. For a blind and carnal love of country should not sweep us to deeds

of rapine and slaughter and hatred of neighboring nations in order that we may aggrandize our country by power, wealth, or glory; for so did the heathen act. Christians, however, ought to cultivate mutual peace and not covet other men's
 5 goods. For this reason Lactantius assails philosophy.]

of Sir Pierce de la Mere: see Holinsh. Ed. 3. p. 410. 411
 418. the Thomas of Woodstock D. of Gloster. in the reigne
 of Ri. 2. Holinsh Richard Fitz Allaine E. of Arundel for his
 whole lif noble and Memorable. and in his death also under
 10 Rich. 2. Holinsh.

LEGES. [LAWS.]

[Fol.] 179

Savonarola essendogli mandato una scomunica da Roma non l'ubbedì dicendo in sua difesa una bella parabola per la quale ei pruova che si dè piu tosto ubbedire alla intentione delle leggi che alle parole. l. 1. p. 48. 49 rinovation. della
 15 chiesa.

[Savonarola, having received his excommunication from Rome, disregarded it, using as his defense a pretty parable whereby he shows that one must obey the spirit rather than the letter of the law.]

20 Lambard saith that laws were first devis'd to bound and limit the power of governours, that they might not make lust thire judge, and might thire minister archeion. c. 3.

some say they ought to have reasons added to them. il legislatore che rende ragione del suo detto, diminuisce l'autorità sua, perche il suddito s'attacca alla raggione addotta,
 25 e quando crede haverla risoluta, pensa d'haver anco levata la virtù al precetto.

Concil.
 Trident.
 l. 6. p. 460.

[The lawgiver who gives the reason for his law diminishes his authority, because the citizen becomes engrossed in the reason given, and when he believes he has understood it, he believes also that he has deprived the precept of its virtue.]

- 5 Alfred turn'd the old laws into english. I would he liv'd now to rid us of this norman gibbrish. the laws of Molmutius. Sto. p. 80 as Holinsh. p. 15. and of Queene Martia. see Holinshed. in the raigne of Sisilius the son of Guintoline. p. 19. Inas also of the west saxons K: made many laws Holinshed. l. 6. c. 1.
10 and he it was that made that shamefull, and unworthy law of Peeter pence. renew'd also by the murderer Offa the Mercian so thinking to expiate his horrid sins. Holinshed. l. 6. c. 4.

De jure naturali, gentium et civili quid statuant jurisperiti: vide Justinian. institut. l. 1. tit. 2.

- 15 [The opinions of jurists on natural, international and civil law.]

Edward the Confessor reduc't the laws to fewer, pick't them, and set them out under name of the common law. Holinsh. l. 8. c. 4.

- 20 Lawyers opinions turn with the times for private ends. Speed. 614. 615. Rich. 2. but thire end is to be consider'd. p. 616.

- Kings of England sworne to the Laws see Rex. at thire crowning. King William the Conq. sworne solemnly the sec-
25 ond time in the church of St. Albans. which he presently broke. Holinsh. p. 10. Henry the .1. comming to the crowne granted also and confirm'd by charter. Holinsh. 181. and 183. Speed. p. 447. Rich. I. See Speed at his crowning. of K. John

vid. Subditus. promiseth to abolish the unjust laws of the Normans and to restore the laws of K. Edward. Holinsh. p. 28. Maud the emperesse, deniing the Londoners request in this point lost therby the faire forwardnesse she was in, to the crowne. Holinsh. Steph. p. 53. K. John at his absolution from the Popes curse, and interdiction promis'd the same. Holinsh. p. 180. see also p. 181. which refusing to performe cost him all the trouble that succeded. p. 183. & p. 186. Henry the 3d at the [truce] betwixt him and Lewis swore together with his protector the E. of Pemb. for him that he would restore all the rights and liberties before demanded of his father. Holinsh. p. 201. urg'd about it by the B. of Cantur. p. 204. 205. for the which deny'd Lewis the f. K. refuses to restore Normandy upon demand to Hen. 3. the same K demanded againe shiftingly answers p. 205. and begins to assaile his barons. ibid. upon a fifteen granted Hen. 3. confirms by parliament the 2 charters magna, and de Foresta. an. reg. 9. p. 207. but cancell'd by him most ignobly when he came to age. p. 208 Hubert de Burgh beeing cheife setter on. p. 209. but after beeing at full age freely of his owne consent an. reg. 21. granted & confirm'd these 2 charters. Holinsh. p. 220. also an. reg. 37. with sentence of excommunication against the breakers therof. p. 248. with particular execration which the K. used against him selfe if he broke them. ibid. yet afterwards sought to be absolv'd of it by the Pope. and breaks. p. 249. sworne to it againe with his son Prince Edward p. 258. and also Richard E. of Cornwall after his proud denial. p. 261. and curse denounc't on the breakers. 262. causes his

absolution to be read. 263. accepts againe the ordinances of Oxford. 265. renounces again. *ibid.* promises again beeing prisoner to the Barons. 268. and confirm'd by parl. at Marle-borow 274. vide subditus.

Parliam.
Oxfo.

Marle-
borow
parl.

MORES GENTIUM [FOREIGN MANNERS.]

[Fol.] 180

- 5 a dangerous thing, and an ominous thing, to imitate with earnestnesse the fashions of neighbour nations. so the english ran madding after the French in Edward confessors time. god turn the omen from these days

Sto. p. 94.
Speed.

REX [KING.]

[Fol.] 181

- modestia quidem principis, cum de mysteriis religionis ab
10 eruditis et fidelibus episcopis ad ejus auctoritatem refertur, valdè laudabilis est. sic Valentinianus cum de *ὁμοουσίᾳ* episcopi ad eum mitterent, vide quæ responderit. Hist: Miscel: l. 12. p. 351. et 354. vide quatenus Constantinus se dixerit esse episcopum. Euseb: l: 4. vit: Const: c. 24. at idem Constan-
15 tinus petentib. Donatistis ut judices de controversiis inter se et Carthaginis episcopum ortis daret, religiosissime respondit: petitis à me in seculo judicium, cum ego ipse cristi expectem judicium. Sigon. de occid. imp. l. 3.

ejus autho-
ritas in rebus
divinis

- [The self-control of a prince, when the mysteries of religion
20 are referred to his authoritative judgment by learned and faith-
ful bishops, is highly laudable. Thus Valentinian; when the bishops sent to him the question of "identical substance," see what his answer was. See how far Constantine declared him-
self to be a bishop. But the same Constantine when the Dona-
25 tists begged him to appoint judges to pass upon the disputes

[his authority
in things
divine.]

which had arisen between them and the bishop of Carthage, replied with deep piety: "You seek judgment from me in an age when I myself am looking for the judgment of Christ."]

in re divinâ tanquam *ὑποφύτης*, et interpretes Aidani præit
 5 populo suo rex Northumbriæ Osualdus, et explicat, quæ Aidanus minus feliciter expresserat propter linguæ imperitiam. Beda. et ex eo Holinshed.

[In a matter of religion Oswald, king of Northumbria, acted for his people as an expounder and interpreter of Aidan, and
 10 explained what Aidan had less happily expressed on account of his imperfect control of the language.]

concerning the dutie and office of an English K. how to governe read the dying counsaile of Hen. 4. to his son. Sto.

reges vix se mortales agnoscunt, vix humanum sapiunt, nisi
 15 aut quo die creantur aut quo moriuntur, illo die humanitatem, et lenitatem simulant, spe popularis auræ captandæ. hoc mortem ante oculos habentes male factorum conscientiam, quod res est, fatentur, se misellos homines esse. vide mortem Gul. 1. conquistoris Angliæ. apud Stoum nostrum. et abdi-
 20 cationem Ed: 2:

[Kings scarcely know themselves as mortals, scarcely have the human touch, except on the day of their coronation or on the day of their death. On the former they make a show of humanity and kindness, in the hope of catching the breeze of
 25 popular favor; on the latter, with death before their eyes and conscious of their misdeeds, they admit the actual fact that they are miserable human beings. See the death of William I,

conqueror of England, in our Stow, and the abdication of Edward II.]

reprehensionis justæ patiens egregie Theodosius senior ab Ambrosio reprehensus graviter et in ordinem redactus ob
 5 cædem Thessalonicensium. Hist: Miscel: l. 13. p. 376.

[The elder Theodosius was finely submissive to deserved blame when sternly rebuked and treated like an ordinary man by Ambrose on account of the massacre of the people of Thessalonica.]

10 Counsels unjust he shames not to reverse. thus did the worthy Ed. 1. that cruel statute which he had made quowaranto perceiving himselfe to incurre the hatred of his people therby. Holinsh. p. 230

ad subditos suos scribens Constantinus Magnus non alio
 15 nomine quam fratres appellat vide epist: Constantini ad Alexandrinos. Socrat: l. 1. c. 6. Vide et Euseb: de vitâ Constant: l. 3. c. 18. in fine. et l. 3. c. 58. in epist: Constantini ad populum Antiochenum initio, et fine. et alibi. Augustus imperii formator ne dominum quidem dici se volebat, et hoc enim
 20 dei est cognomen. dicam plane imperatorem dominum, sed quando non cogor ut dominum dei vice dicam; cæterum liberum illi, dominus meus deus unus est &c. Tertull: apologet: p. 31. edit: Rigalt: qui pater patriæ est quomodo dominus est? ibid:

25 [Constantine the Great, when writing to his subjects, uses no other term of address but 'brothers.' Augustus, the founder of the Empire, did not wish even to be called 'Lord'; for this is a title of God also. I will frankly call the Emperor 'Lord,'

but only when I am not forced to say 'Lord' in place of 'God.' For the rest, to him I am free; my one Lord is God, etc. In what sense is the father of his country Lord?]

De hærede constituendo. optimum esse si rex filium suum vide p. 195.

- 5 cui regnum post se traditurus sit sic instituat, ut credat patrem suum regni successionem non ætati ejus sed meritis destinare, nec se paternum imperium tanquam prædam hæreditariam, sed ut virtutis præmium accepturum; proinde ut secretò potiùs apud se statuatur, quàm publicè declaret quem sit regni hære-
- 10 dem relicturus, et velut in dubio relinquat ea operâ perficiet, ut ne puer nimis ferociter se gerat; minùsque adulatorum grege stipatus sit, nec vitæ patris insidias struat, cum in incerto sit fueritne alius a patre designatus cujus judicium assensus populi facile sequatur. hoc modo Joannes Ducas Bataza filium
- 15 reliquit Theodorum ad regni spem non certam nisi post patris mortem. ut scribit Nicephorus Gregor. l. 3. c. 1. the not observing this wrought our Hen. 2. a world of disquiet & danger. Holinsh. p. 76. hinc Elizabetha Mariam scoticam hæredem suam declarare noluit. Camd. p. 65. 67. 68. et amplius 106.

- 20 [On naming the heir. If the King intends his son to succeed him on the throne, the best course is to make his son believe that his father gives the succession not to his years but to his merits, and that he is to take over his father's post of authority not as hereditary booty but as a reward of excellence; that,
- 25 therefore, the father should rather privately determine than publicly announce whom he intends to leave as heir to the throne, and thus leave the matter somewhat in doubt. By this course he will save the youth from arrogant behavior, from a

crowd of flatterers, and from plotting against the life of his father, since it is not clear whether another has not been designated by his father, whose decision will be readily accepted by the people. In this way John Ducas Bataza left his son Theodore to a hope of the throne that was not sure except after the death of his father, as Nicephorus Gregory tells us. For this reason Elizabeth was unwilling to declare Mary of Scotland her heir.]

the crowning of Ks in England not admitted till thire oath receav'd of justice to be administerd, according to the laws. Stow & Holinsh. William conqueror. and other Ks. K. Rich. the 2. also renew'd his oath in parliament time in the church at Westmin. Stow. an. reg. 11. Richard the 1. Holinsh. p. 118. at large.

15 Solennitas coronandi Cæsaris Caroli quinti in Italia. apud Jovium. l. 27.

[The solemnity of the coronation of the Emperor Charles V in Italy.]

Unction refus'd by Henricus auceps a famous German Emperor. Cuspinian. in his life.

Crowning of French Ks. Sleidan. l. 19. 327.

Electio Germanorum imp. quando cæpta est fieri. Cuspinian. Otto 3: p. 254.

[When the election of German Emperors was first made.]

25 Conditiones Cæsari futuro accipiendæ apud Sleidan. extant l. 1. p. 15 &c.

[The conditions to be accepted by the future Emperor are on record in Sleidan.]

Conditiones itidem imperatori Græco futuro in se recipiendæ. Codinus Curopalat. de officiis Constantinopol. c. 17. de coronatione imperatoris.

[The conditions also to be accepted by the future Greek
5 Emperor.]

REX [KING.]

[Fol.] 182

adorari se primum Romanorum esse passum Dioclesianum scribit Sigonius de imp. occid: l. i. cum ante eum omnes Romani imperatores consulari tantum salutatione contenti fuissent. quod alii de Constantino asserunt.

10 [Sigonius tells us that Diocletian was the first of the Romans to allow himself to be worshiped; whereas before him all the Roman Emperors had been content with the consular salute. This statement others make about Constantine.]

Christiani antiqui quid senserint de hoc Justinus martyr
15 ad imper: Pium scribens declarat fundatâ super Christi doctrinâ sentiendi ut Cæsari demus quæ Cæsaris deo quæ dei sunt, *θεὸν inquit θεὸν μὲν μόνον προσκυνούμεν, ὑμῖν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα χαίροντες ὑπηρετοῦμεν* ubi plane προσκύνησιν soli deo, regibus πρόθυμον ὑπηρέτησιν tribuit. apolog: 2. p. 64.

20 [What the early Christians thought about this is made clear by Justin Martyr in a letter to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, the view being founded upon the teaching of Christ that we should give to Caesar what belongs to Caesar, but to God what belongs to God; "for this reason," he says, "we worship God
25 only, but in other matters we gladly serve you"; here clearly he grants "worship" to God alone, but to kings "willing service."]

Leges suas Justinianus alibi vocat oracula; et nostra divina constitutio. institut. l. 2. tit. 2. §. 9. et sacratissimum ærarium. ibid.

[Justinian elsewhere calls his laws oracles; and (speaks of)
5 our divine constitution, and most hallowed treasury.]

authoritatem regiam a Papâ non dependere scripsit Dantes Florentinus in eo libro cui est titulo Monarchia quem librum Cardinalis del Poggetto tanquam scriptum Hæreticum comburi curavit ut testatur Boccatus in vitâ Dantis editione
10 priore nam e posteriori mentio istius rei omnis est deleta ab inquisitore.

[Dante the Florentine in the work entitled "On Monarchy" wrote that the royal authority is not derived from the Pope. This book Cardinal Poggetto caused to be burned as heretical;
15 as Boccaccio states in the first edition of his Life of Dante, for in the second all mention of this fact was deleted by the inquisitor.]

officium et definitio imperatoris egregia est. Jus Græco-Romanum, l. 2. p. 178. ex lib. de jure qui est Basil. Constant.
20 Leonis: ubi ait τέλος τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ εὐεργετεῖν, καὶ ἡνίκα τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἐξατονήσῃ δοκεῖ κινδυνεύειν τὸν βασιλικὸν χαρακτῆρα. vide etiam Orland. innamorat. del Berni cant. 7. stanz. 3 un re se vuole il suo debito fare, non è re veramente ma fattore del popolo &c.

[There is an admirable definition of the function of an emperor: "A king exists to do good, and whenever he disregards
25 beneficence, he seems to debase the royal character." A king

wishes to do his duty, and he is not truly a king who cheats the people.]

the clergie commonly the corrupters of kingly authority turning it to tyrannie by thire wicked flatteries even in the
 5 pulpit as An. reg. Rich. 2. an. 21. stafford bishop of Exceter. in parliament time which was cause of great mischef to both K. and country

the right of Ks. to the goods of his subjects. the answer of Reginald to Ruscard the popes legat. Leg. all churches are
 10 the popes. Regin. truth, to defend, but not to use them to serve his owne turne, as wee say all is the princes, that is all is his to defend, but not to spoile. Holinsh. p. 253.

Severus Sulpitius ait regium nomen semper liberis gentibus de monarchiâ
 fere invisum damnatque factum Hebræorum quod præop-
 15 tarent libertatem servitio mutare. Hist: Sac. l. 1. p. 56.

[Severus Sulpicius says that the name of king has always [on monarchy.]
 been hateful to free peoples, and he condemns the willingness of the Hebrews to exchange liberty for slavery.]

the first original of a K. was in paternal authority. and
 20 from thence ought patterne himselfe how to be toward his subjects: Smith. Com-wel. c. 12.

the cause and reason of creating kings. see well express'd in Haillan Hist France. l. 13. p. 719.

no king can give away his kingdom without consent of the
 25 whole state. Holinsh. 191. as appears also by the letters of the parliament sent to the pope with consent of Edw. 1. concerning the realm of Scot. Holinsh. p. 311. So also it was answerd to Hen. 3 of France by the parlament at Blois.

Thuan. hist. 63. p. 186. nullo casu alienari a rege patrimonium coronæ posse, quippe cujus rex tantum sit usufructuarius proprietate penes regnum &c. ibid.

[In no case can the inheritance of the crown be alienated
5 from the king, even though the king be merely the holder and not the full owner of the office in possession of the kingdom, etc.]

whether Monarchy be a power absolute. Sir Tho. Smith answereth. that neither it nor any other kind of common
10 wealth is pure an absolute in his kind, no more then the elements are pure in nature, or the complexions, and temperatures in a body but mixt with other, for that nature will not suffer it. com-wealth Eng. c. 6. And in the 9 c. that the act of a k. neither approved by the people, nor establisht by act
15 of parliament is taken for nothing either to bind the k., his successors, or his subjects. instancing, in k. John who resignd his crowne to Pandulfus for Pope.

I re Aragonesi non hanno assoluta l'autorita regia in tutte le cose. Guicciardin. l. 6. Hist. p. 347.

20 [The royal authority of the kings of Aragon is not absolute in all matters.]

definition of Sir Tho. Smith is. A K. is who by succession or election commeth with good will of the people to his government, and doth administer the commonwelth by the laws of
25 the same and by equity, and doth seeke the profit of the people as his owne. and on the contrarie, he that coms by force, breaks laws at his pleasure, maks other without consent of the people, and regardeth not the wealth of the commons, but

the advancement of himself, his faction, and his kindred he defines for a tyrant. c. 7. See Arist. eth. 9. c. 10. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τύραννος τὸ ἐαυτῷ συμφέρον σκοπεῖ, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων.

[The tyrant seeks what benefits himself, the king what
5 benefits his subjects.]

I regni che hanno buoni ordini non danno imperio assoluto a gli loro re se non negli esserciti perche in questo luogo solo e necessaria una subita deliberatione &c. Fabricio appo Macchivel. arte di guerra l. 1. p. 15.

10 [Well-constituted kingdoms do not give absolute powers to their rulers except as regards their armies, because here alone is a quick decision necessary.]

SUBDITUS. VIDE REX. VIDE DE IDOLATRIÂ ET SEDITIONE.

[Fol.] 183

[SUBJECT: SEE KING, IDOLATRY, AND SEDITION.]

Papa Gregorius Italos juramento, quo Leoni Isauro obligantur, exolvit Sigon: reg. Ital. l. 3. p. 63.

15 [Pope Gregory released the Italians from the oath by which they were bound to Leo Isaurian.]

Papa subditos
juramento
fidei exsolvit
[The Pope re-
leased his sub-
jects from their
oath.]

Regnum Chilperico propter ignaviam abrogat Zacharias
Papa Francis sacramenti religione solutis. Sigon: reg. Ital:
l. 3. p. 74.

20 [Pope Zacharias deprived Chilperic of his throne on account of his slothfulness, releasing the Franks from their oath of allegiance.]

Ordines Belgii imperium Philippo abrogant, scripto etiam edito Hagæ, eique obedientiam renuntiare provinciæ jubentur. Thuan. l. 74. p. 513.

25 [The States General of Belgium declared Philip's authority

to be at an end (publishing the proclamation at The Hague) and the provinces were ordered to renounce obedience to him.]

England a free nation not only at home but from all claim whatsoever. from pope see Holinshead. 101., et 311. from
5 Emperour as appeares by meeting the emperour Sigismond with drawn sword. Hen. 5. Speed. p. 646.

Parlament by three estates churchmen Lords and commons first convocated by Charles Martell to elect him prince of the french about the year 730.

10 The commons of France give instructions to thir knights and burgesses. For when Bodin who serv'd for the country of Vermandois in the great Parlament at Blois 1576 had spokn somthing displeasing to the courtiers, they suborned som of that countrie to accuse him for going against thir
15 instructions. Thuan. hist. l. 53. p. 179.

to say that the lives and goods of the subjects are in the hands of the K. and at his disposition is an article against Ri. 2. in parl. a thing ther said to be most tyrannous and un-princely. Holinsh. 503.

20 the liberties of English subjects. vide de legibus. magna charta, and charta de forestâ subscrib'd and seal'd to by K. John betwixt stanes and Windsore Holinsh. p. 185. 186. but got to be made void by the Pope p. 189. but manfully rejected by the barons. ibid.

25 the Earl of Chester bare the sword of St. Edward before the K. in token that he was Earle of the palace, and had authority to correct the K. if he should see him swerve from
an office to correct the K.

the limits of Justice. Holinsh. Hen. 3d. 219. this sword is called by Speed Curtana. p. 603. Rich. 2.

Curtana.

the citizens of London toll-free throughout all England by the charter of Hen. 3d. Holinsh. p. 208. other thire liberties
5 confirm'd by Ed. 3. Holinsh. p. 343.

the 24 governours chosen at the parliament abuse thire liberty. Holinsh. p. 259. the charters and liberties confirm'd and seal'd by Edward 1. Holinsh. 306. and declar'd in parliament. ibid. certain earls undertak for him to seale and
10 confirm againe. p. 307. confirm'd again in parlament but the clause salvo jure coronæ offends the barons and the whole people 308. renews the confirmation of the charters. 309. ibid. and at Lincoln. 312. procures to be absolv'd of his oath by the pope 313. Ed. 3. assents to good part in parliament.
15 Holinsh. p. 361. but both Ed. 1. and Ed 3. assent and confirm absolutely saith Speed. about a dozen times by this K. 596. of Parliament Liberties. Holinsh. 452.

the Ld. Chauncellour the cheife justice and the Treasurer elected or depos'd by the parl. of ancient custom Lamb.
20 Archeion. out of Mat. Paris

Speed makes the beginning of Parlements in Hen. 1. days.
p. 449.

If the pope be not greater then a councel, then is no K. to be thought greater then the Parliament See de Conciliis.

25 Tenures of Fief or Feud thought to be brought in by Charles the great Girard. Hist. France l. 4 p. 229. although the original seem to be unjust. for that which was conquer'd land ought freely to be divided to the people according to

merit, & to hold only by his truth & fidelity to the commonwealth. Wherin doubtles the Roman Agrarian laws are more noble. Hence that Historian confesses p. 232. that they who hold in fief, are in a manner servants.

LENITAS [MILDNESS.]

[Fol.] 184

- 5 Lenitas nimia regi Sigeberto Orientalium Saxonum perniciosa Malmsbur. l. 1. c. 6. et Stow

[Excessive leniency was ruinous to Sigebert, King of the East Saxons.]

- prohibition of books not the wisest cours. punitis ingeniis
10 gliscit autoritas. and indeed wee ever see that the forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth that flyeth up in the faces of them that seek to chok and tread it out, wheras a book autorized is thought to be but the language of the time. Sir Fran. Bacon in a discours of church affairs.

- 15 [When talents are suppressed, tyranny spreads. (Tacitus.)]

Prohibition of books when first us'd. The storie therof is in the Councel of Trent l. 6. strait from the beginning p. 457. &c.

- Quid utilitatis ex adversariorum libris, si semotis odiis
20 caritatem, et æquitatem induamus, ad dei gloriam capi possit, illustri documento ostendit Thuanus, dum narrat Bibliorum versionem a Bibliandro, et Pellicano inchoatam, a theologis Hispanis eo usque fuisse probatam, ut illam ipsi suppressis verorum authorum nominibus edere non dubitarent. Thuan.
25 hist. l. 36. p. 287.

[Thuanus by a signal proof shows the advantage which can be gained for the glory of God from the books of one's adver-

saries, if putting away feelings of hate we clothe ourselves in charity and equity; for he tells us that the translation of the Bible, begun by Bibliander and Pellicanus, met with such approval from the Spanish theologians that they did not hesitate to publish it themselves, suppressing the names of the real authors.]

TYRANNUS. VIDE. 248. [TYRANT.]

[Fol.] 185

Sigerbertus Westsaxonum tyrannus leges patrias conculcans meritis luit pœnas Malmesbur. l. 1. Sto.

[Sigerbert, tyrant of the West Saxons, trampled upon the laws of his country and paid a deserved penalty.]

Richard the 2d. in his 21 yeare holding a violent parlament shorten'd his days. see in Sto. the violences of that parl. see other tyrannicall acts an. 22. and of this parl. Holinsh. 490.

his definition. see de Rege out of Sir Tho. Smith. 7. et 8. c. and Basil. distinguishes a tyrant from a K. breifly thus.
 15 *τοῦτο γὰρ διαφέρει τύραννος βασιλέως, ὅτι ὁ μὲν τὸ ξαυτοῦ πανταγόθεν σκοπεῖ, ὁ δὲ τὸ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ὠφέλιμον ἐκπορίζει.*
 Tom. i. 456.

[“In this respect a tyrant differs from a king; the one has in view at every point his own advantage, the other provides what is helpful to his subjects.”]

Tyrannicall practizes of Rich. 2. and his accomplices. see Holinsh. p. 456. an. reg. 11. 457. 458. 462. 487. see also the parl. Holinsh. 490. 493: blanck charters. 496. and other tyrannical actions. ibid. see also the articles against him in parliament. Holin. 502. also 508.

Aiding tyrants. the Black Prince, by aiding the cruel tyrant

Peeter of Castile brought himselfe to all the mischeifs that fell on his latter days and his fathers for besides the suspicion of poyson in the voiage, he brought himself into so deep debt, beeing defrauded of his soldiers pay by the ingrattfull tyrant,
 5 that he was forc't to raise that sharp taxation of fuage in Aquitain wherby he lost the country. see our writers. and Spe. p. 597.

whether it be lawfull to rise against a tyrant? Sir Thomas Smith prudently answers that the common people judge of
 10 that act according to the event, and successe. and the learned according to the purpose of the doers &c. Com-wealth of Engl. c. 5.

Ludovicus pius beeing made judge of a certain German tyrant, approves the people who had depos'd him, & sets
 15 his younger brother up in his stead. Girard. Hist France. l. 4. p. 248.

Scoti proceres missis ad Elizabetham legatis post Mariam regno pulsam jure id factum multis exemplis contendunt. Thuan. hist. l. 50. pag. 769.

20 [The Scottish nobles sent envoys to Elizabeth after Mary had been driven from the realm, and maintained by many examples that this had been done legally.]

of the deposing of a tirant and proceeding against him. Richard the 2d was not only depos'd by parliament, but sute
 25 made by the commons that he might have judgement decreed against him to avoid furdur mischeif in the realm. Holinsh. 512.

Petrus Martyr in 3 c. Jud. eis qui potestatem superiorem

eligunt certis quatenus legibus reipub. præficiunt, ut hodie electores imperii &c. licere, si princeps pactis, et promissis non steterit, eum in ordinem cogere, ac vi adigere, ut conditiones, et pacta quæ fuerat pollicitus, compleat, idque vel armis cum
5 aliter fieri non possit. citatque authorem Polydorum nostros homines aliquando suos reges compulisse ad rationem reddendam pecuniæ male administratæ.

[Peter Martyr declares that those who choose a superior magistrate and on definite terms make him ruler of the State,
10 as do today the Electors of the Empire, may, if the prince does not abide by his covenants and promises, treat him as an ordinary citizen and compel him by force to fulfill the conditions and covenants which he had promised, and that they may have recourse to arms if other means fail. To support this he
15 cites a statement of Polydorus that our people sometimes compelled their kings to give an account of the misuse of public funds.]

Ad un principe cattivo non è altro rimedio che il ferro. A
curare la malattia del popolo bastano le parole, e a quella del
20 principe bisogna il ferro. Macchiavel. discors. c. 58. l. 1.

[Against a bad ruler there is no remedy but the sword. To
cure the ills of the people, words are sufficient; to cure those of
the ruler, the sword is necessary.]

nec imperatorem perpetratis flagitiis urgere metuunt prin-
25 cipes Germaniæ quo quidem rex quivis Europæus neque major neque sanctior potest esse, ne quis facinus esse putet regem justas ob causas accusationibus appetere. vide Sleidan.
l. 18. 299.

[When the Emperor, than whom no king in Europe is greater or more revered, is guilty of wrong-doing, the Princes of Germany do not fear to bring pressure to bear upon him; let no one, therefore, think it a crime to make accusations
5 against a king for just reasons.]

vitam principum ærumnosam, et perpetuo sollicitam, etiam eorum, qui rem propius non intuentibus, felices videntur, describit Cominæus testis persæpe oculatus. Comines. l. 8. c. 13. p. 684. &c.

10 [Comines, again and again a keen-eyed witness, pictures the life of princes as distressful and continually anxious, even the life of those who appear to be happy, if one does not scrutinize the facts closely.]

*De monarchiâ Gallicâ ad tyrannidem Turcicam redigendâ
15 consilium Blesis fuisse initum a rege Car. 9, reginâ matre, aliis tradit Thuanus: et rationes ejus rei perficiendæ persanè commodas a Ponceto quodam explicatas fusè narrat. Hist: l. 57. p. 970*

20 [Thuanus tells us that King Charles IX, the Queen-Mother, and others took counsel together at Blois to make the French monarchy a Turkish tyranny; and he gives at length the very cogent arguments for doing this as set forth by a certain Poncetus.]

*Reges a subditis potestate exuti, aut minuti, nullâ reconcili-
25 ciatione ne interposito quidem juramento postea placantur. exempla recentis memoriæ extant Thuan. hist. l. 71. 423.*

[Kings whose power has been taken from them or restricted by their subjects, are not appeased later by any reconciliation,

even by the interposition of an oath of allegiance. Thuanus cites instances of recent occurrence.]

REX ANGLIÆ &C. [THE KING OF ENGLAND.]

[Fol.] 186

his right to France, and the falsehood of the Salick law shewing how divers Ks of France came in by the female side.
 5 see Holinsh Hen. 5. p. 545. 546. and Speed in Hen. 5. 638.
 but ratifi'd in full parliament at Paris by oaths of all the nobles. Speed. p. 657

Rex Galliæ parlamenti sui perpetui decretis parere necesse habet, ut scribit Claudius Sesellius, quod ille frænum regis
 10 vocat; de repub. Gallor. l. 1. ad quæstores etiam publicos rationes expensarum regiarum referuntur: quas illi potestatem minuendi habent, si immoderatas vel inutiles esse cognoverint. *ibid.*

[The King of France finds it necessary to obey the decrees of
 15 his standing Parliament, as Claudius Sesellius records, a body which the latter calls the bridle of the King. The accounts of the royal expenditures are referred to the State treasurers, who are empowered to reduce these if they find them to be excessive or inexpedient.]

20 the wealth of the crown without oppression of subjects may be seen in the expences which Q. Eliz. was at in maintaining warre with her monies in divers places abroad, and at the same time paying her debts at home. *Camd. vol. 2. p. 20.*

Mulieres a publicâ rerum administratione omni excludi
 25 solitas ostendit lib. cui titulo Franco Gallia apud Thuan. *hist. l. 57. p. 969.*

[A book entitled *Franco-Gallia*, cited by Thuanus, shows that women have regularly been excluded from all public administration of affairs.]

victu modico esse regem decere dicerem nisi apud Cus-
 5 pinianum legerem, Francos non ferre regem qui 10 drachmis
 vile pranderet obsonium vide in vitâ Berengarii. p. 221.

[I should say that the meals of a king ought to be simple, did
 I not read in Cuspinian that the Franks could not endure a
 king who had for luncheon cheap dishes at the cost of ten
 10 drachmas.]

Rex Hebræorum legibus non erat solutus vide Schickard.
 jus regium. Theor. 7.

[The King of the Hebrews was not exempt from the laws.]

Scotland was at first an elective kingdom for a long time
 15 vid: Hist. Scot.

France an elective kingdom either to choose or to depose.
 Bernard de Girard. Hist. Franc. faut noter, che jusques à
 Hues Capet, tous les rois de France ont esté eleuz par le
 François qui se reserverent ceste puissance, d'elire, e bannir,
 20 e chasser leur rois. l. 1. p. 19. in fol. et l. 3. p. 123 l'élection
 estoit conditionnelle. et p. 129. 134 vide lib. Franco-Galliæ
 titulo. apud Thuan. hist. l. 57. p. 969.

[One should note that to the time of Hugh Capet all the
 kings of France were elected by the French, who reserved this
 25 right to elect and reject and drive out their kings. The election
 was conditional.]

By Parliament of three estates, first then found out Charles
 Martel was chosen Prince of the French. Bern. de Girard.

l. 2. p. 109. and Pepin, King. l. 3. p. 134 Afterward Charles the Simple, though of the race of Charles the great, depos'd, and Robert crown'd in his stead by the French aymants mieux, as saith the History, avoir un nouveau roy habille homme, qu' 5 un hereditaire sot et idiot Girard. Hist Franc. l. 5. p. 298.

[...preferring a new king who was an able man to a hereditary fool and idiot.]

Read also the excellent speech of an ambassador from the french to Charles duke of Lorrain shewing reason why they 10 had rejected him the right heir to the crown, & chosen Hugh Capet. Girard. l. 6. p. 327. see also the like speech before of Pope Steevn, crowning Pepin. l. 3. 134.

Schola Sorbonica in cœtu 60 Theologorum pronuntiant contra regem pro defensione religionis arma capi posse. 15 Thuan. l. 94. 391

[The School of the Sorbonne with sixty theologians present declared that it is permissible to take up arms against the king in defense of religion.]

AULICI [COURTIERS.]

[Fol.] 187

what trust great courtiers may have in præsent pleasing the 20 K. with violence & undue courses against the people on præ-tence of maintaining regal right the downfall of Hubert may testifie. see Speed. see also of the Judges in Rich. 2. in the chapter Leges in this book.

See also an excellent description of such an Oligarchy of 25 nobles abusing the countenance to the ruin of royal sovranty Arcad. Sidney. l. 2. p. 119. &c.

Aulicorum bene merita citò frigescere ostendit lepidis
versibus Boiardus Poeta Italus in Orlando Inamorato. l. 2.
cant. 21^{mo}.

——— Ogni servir di Cortigiano

5 La sera e grata e la mattina e vano.

his addit ejus reformator Bernia Hetruscus

Si suole in Spagna un certo detto usare

(Certo quegli Spagnuoli han di be' tratti)

Ch'un servigio val piu che s'habbia a fare,

10 Che cento mila milion de fatti.

[Boiardo, an Italian poet, shows in witty verse that the serv-
ices of courtiers are quickly regarded as of slight value.

Every service of a courtier at night is appreciated.

And by the following morning is forgotten.

15 To these lines his reviser Berni of Tuscany adds

In Spain they are wont to say

(Surely these Spaniards have some pretty traits)

That a service still to be rendered

Is worth more than a hundred thousand million

20 already rendered.]

ASTUTIA POLITICA [POLITICAL ASTUTENESS.]

[Fol.] 188

homines per honores ferendi et evertendi artifex Leices-
trius vide de Waltero Essexio Camd. 264. Elizab. et de duce
Norfolcio qui ejus insidiis ad nuptias cum Mariâ Scotâ in-
ducto. vide et eundem p. 475. Sic alter Essexius iisdem dolis

25 periit Camd. vol. 2. 176.

[Leicester was an expert in injuring and ruining men by do-
ing them honor. See the instance of Walter, Earl of Essex, and

also of the Duke of Norfolk whom he sought to inveigle into marriage with Mary of Scotland. So the second Essex perished through the same wiles.]

such art us'd the stepdam of Plangus excellently set out by
 5 Sidney. l. 2. 356.

Randolphus Walsingham per literas monet ut ille Secretarii, ipse Legati technis jam tandem valediceret, et pœnitendo divinam misericordiam implorarent Camden. vol. 2. p. 27. ipsi tamen in repub. viri integri, et religionis studiosi
 10 habiti, quo quis ediscat quanto conscientia cum tumultu res politica tractetur.

[Randolph in a letter urged Walsingham to bid farewell at length to the intrigues of the Secretaryship, as he would to his own as Legate, and by penitence to implore divine pity. Yet
 15 both were regarded as men of honor in statecraft and devoted to religion; from which one may learn with what a troubled conscience affairs of government are handled.]

The wicked policies of divers deputies and governours in Ireland See Spenser dialogue of Ireland.

20 Promissorum fidem a principibus exigendam, quatenus eam præstari iis expedit. Ita Scotia regens protestantium legatis respondit. Thuanus. hist. l. 21. p. 647. cujus dicti serò eam pœnituit. p. 649. Fides promissorum lubrica

[Adherence to promises should be exacted from princes, in
 25 so far as it is expedient for them to grant it. This was the reply of the ruler of Scotland to the Protestant envoys. Too late she regretted this statement.] [Adherence to promises hazardous.]

Imperii aulici arcana, et lubricam fidem populo datam ex-

presse declarant illæ literæ monitoriæ ad Colinium missæ paulo ante lanienam Parisiensem quibus si paruisset non ita miserabili occisione cum suis periisset vide Thuan. hist. l. 52. statim ab initio. p. 805. 806.

5 [The secrets of the court and the untrustworthy character of a pledge given to the people are very precisely set forth in the warning letter sent to Coligny shortly before the massacre at Paris. Had he heeded the warning he would not have perished with his co-religionists in such a miserable slaughter.]

10 Hæc est prudentia seculi istius, quam politicam appellant: utile quod putant, non dubitant honesto præferre; quod utile judicant, necessarium esse statuunt, quod necessarium, licere: Rivet. in Exod. cap. 1.

[This is the so-called political wisdom of that age: they do
15 not hesitate to prefer the expedient to the honorable; what they regard as expedient is, in their judgment, necessary, and what is necessary is permissible.]

DE LEGIBUS EARUM DISPENSATIONIBUS ET INDULGENTIIS. [Fol.] 189

[LAWS, EXCEPTIONS THEREFROM AND INDULGENCES.]

Dispensationes in legibus humanis admittuntur propter legislatoris imperfectionem qui non satis providit omnia.
20 proinde in legibus dei non habent locum cui nihil occultum itaque dispensationes non possunt esse indulgentiæ ad peccatum sed honestissimis e causis natæ ipsæ proinde honestæ. alioquin indignæ prorsus quæ a deo concederentur. vide concil. Trident. quæ ab Joanne Verduno solide sunt disputata
25 p. 658. l. 7. edit Lond. adjungit dispensationem non esse aliud quam legis interpretationem.

[Exceptions are allowed in human laws on account of the imperfection of the legislator who has not fully foreseen everything. They have therefore no place in the laws of God, to whom nothing is hidden. Thus exceptions cannot be indulgences to do wrong, but having their origin in honorable reasons they are themselves honorable. Otherwise they are quite unworthy to be allowed by God. See the sound discussions of John Verdun at the Council of Trent. He adds that an exception is nothing but an interpretation of law.]

- 10 I re di Spagna severamente hanno proibito che a le Indie *Contra leges*
non possino passar avvocati e procuratori. Bocalini ragguai.
di Parnas. ragguai. 79. lo studio delle leggi per editto assai
noto non essendo tenuto per arte liberale, ma mestiere, ed arte
veramente mechanica, nel mondo introdotta per affliggere il
15 genere humano &c. *ibid.* vide et ragguai. 72.

- [The kings of Spain have strictly forbidden lawyers and *[Against laws.]*
proctors to go to the Indies. The study of laws being regarded,
according to a well known edict, not a liberal art but a trade
and a mechanical art, introduced into the world to afflict hu-
20 man kind etc.]

vide et vitam Petrarchæ a Thomasino Paduano scriptam ubi
Petrarcha juvenis legum studium aversatur.

[See also the Life of Petrarch by Thomasinus of Padua, in
which young Petrarch is reluctant to study law.]

- 25 ne occorrerebbono tanti interpreti, ne tanti legulei che
andassero con istiracchiamenti, or quà or là torcendo la spada
della giustizia già divenuta di piombo, schicherando tutto il
giorno le carte con trattati e consigli, e letture, e malanni, che

hanno appestata l'Italia in guisa che voglionvi i magazzini di libri, e non vi resta piu capo e via di cosa alcuna, truovandosi in qual si voglia caso mille dottrine, mille pareri, mille decisioni l'una contraria all' altra, fatte per interesse d'amicizie, o di roba, o d'honore, e tirate per forza di sottigliezze d'ingegno, e d'astutie. Pensieri di Tassone l. 7. quest. 8.

[Nor would it be necessary to have so many interpreters, so many law-men going about with their specious reasonings, bending here and there the sword of justice, already become of lead, soiling all day long papers with treatises and opinions and readings and woes which have so infested Italy that you need whole houses to store them, and you cannot make head or tail of anything; for every case you find a thousand theories, a thousand opinions, a thousand decisions, all conflicting with one another, handled with a view to protect a friend, self-interest, or honor, and arrived at by dint of cunning, and fine-spun reasoning.]

Scrive di piu anch'egli, che hoggidi pure in Ruvo citta dell' Apulia, i dottori di leggi non possono entrar in consiglio, ne avere uffici pubblici. E in Norcia terra dello stato Ecclesiastico, quando s'entra in consiglio si grida fuori i letterati, e i uffici non si danno ne a Dottori, ne a letterati, e con tutto ciò quella terra nelle passate calamitose penurie che afflissero Italia si governò tanto prudentemente che negli abitatori di essa ne alcuna delle ville di quel distretto sentirono gli incomodi di così generale estrema. E Lilio Gregorio Girardo in quel suo discorso che fece contra le lettere scrive che i Velitresi fecero una volta uno statuto che letterato alcuno nella città

loro non potesse havere ufficio. Il che secondo un altro scrittore decretarono similmente una volta i Lucchesi contra i dottori di legge. Tassoni *ibid.*

[He writes further that nowadays in Ruvo, a city of Apulia,
 5 doctors of law are not admitted into the Council, nor permitted to hold public offices. And in Norcia, which is within the Church's domain, when the council meets, all scholars are put out, and offices are not given either to Doctors or to scholars, and thereby that city, during the past calamities which af-
 10 flicted Italy, was governed so wisely that neither its inhabitants nor any of the rural districts around it felt the discomforts of such a general calamity. And Silvio Gregorio Giraldo in that discourse he wrote against literature says that the people of Velletri at one time enacted a statute providing that no
 15 literary man could hold an office in their city. The same, according to another writer, was once decreed by the people of Lucca against doctors of law.]

LIBERTAS [LIBERTY.]

[Fol.] 190

non est ut urbs amore libertatis ducta quamvis præclara facinora meditetur, eam tamen amissam recuperet. ut Crescentio Nomentano antiquam Romanæ reipub. formam re-
 20 ducere conanti male successit. Cuspin. Otto. 3. ut et postea Nicolao Rentio, qui tribunus pleb. vocari gestiit.

[It is not possible that a city moved by love of liberty should do splendid deeds and yet recover that liberty when once it
 25 has been lost. So Crescentius of Nomentum failed in his attempt to bring back the ancient constitution of the Roman

Republic. So also later Niccolo Rienzi who coveted the title of Tribune of the People.]

Quid jurisconsulti de libertate et servitute statuunt vide Justinian. l. 1. institut. tit. 3.

5 [For the opinions of jurists on liberty and slavery see Justinian.]

Libertati favet jus civile. vide Justinian. institut. lib. 1. tit. 6. §. 2. de servo instituto hærede sine libertate. et §. 5. causa manumissionis semel probata non retractetur. et vide ibid.

10 l. 2. tit. 7. §. 3.

[The civil code favors liberty. See Justinian's *Institutes* on making a slave heir without setting him free. The ground of manumission, once approved, cannot be called in question.]

Tyranni armorum studium in populo extinguere conantur. 15 i re passati temendo del impeto de popoli havevano atteso a disarmargli, et alienargli dagli essercitii militari &c. Guicciard. l. 2. verso la fine.

[Tyrants try to destroy in the people an interest in arms. Kings in the past, fearing the wrath of their subjects, had seen 20 to it that they were disarmed and alienated from military practice, etc.]

NOBILITAS [NOBILITY.]

[Fol.] 191

A dei spiritu derivanda non a majoribus aut legibus humanis, ut excelso animo Romanus martyr nobilis apud Prudentium.—absit ut me nobilem sanguis parentum præstet, 25 aut lex curiæ &c. et deinde dei parentis esse ab ore cæpimus, cui quisquis servit, ille verè est nobilis. Prudent: peristeph: Romani martyris supplicium.

[It should derive from the inspiration of God, not from ancestors or human laws; as the high-minded Roman martyr in Prudentius is noble: "Let not the blood of my parents make me noble or the law of the Curia, etc."; and then, "Our existence began with the words of God, our Father"; whoso serves Him, is truly noble.]

Dantes Florentinus optime tractat de verâ nobilitate canon. 4.

[Dante the Florentine speaks admirably of true nobility.]

10 See Chaucer wife of Baths tale fol. 36. and Romant of the Rose fol. 118.

And our English herald Guillim, though his office consist chiefly about titular dignity, and gentry by birth, yet confesses, speaking of those whose first ancestors were raised for thire worth, that if they vant of thire linage or titular dignity, and want thire vertues, they are but like base serving men who carry on thire sleeves the badge of some noble family, yet are themselves but ignoble persons. p. 410.

Dukes, counts, Marquises &c. were not hereditary at first, but only places of government, & office in the time of Charles the great. Girard. Hist. France. l. 3. p. 163. l. 6. 316. and so continu'd without much difference between gentlemen & nobles till the time of Charles the Simple. about the year 900. when this corruption (for so the historian calls it, though himself a french lord) took beginning and receav'd accomplishment afterward in the time of Hugh Capet. Girard. Hist. France. l. 6. p. 316. taking example from his usurpation, they made themselves proprietaries of those counties & duke-

domes which they had as offices, not inheritances. *idem.* l. 6.
 329. 330. except those who were natural lords, as of Nor-
 mandy, Toulouse, Flanders &c. *idem.* p. 333.

SEVERITAS [SEVERITY.]

[Fol.] 193

5 *morum severitas ad regnum aut imperium captandum pa-
 rum adjuvat. Sic Lambertus severus integritatis cultor licen-
 tioribus sui sæculi moribus formidabilis Italiæ principibus
 minimè acceptus est Cuspin. in Berengario. p. 222.*

[Strictness in morals is of little help in winning royal or im-
 perial power. Thus Lambert, an object of fear to the looser
 10 morals of his age on account of his unbending integrity, was
 quite unacceptable to the princes of Italy.]

REX [KING.]

[Fol.] 195

De regibus Britannis inquit Gildas, ungebantur reges, non
 per deum. p. 119. contra quàm nunc vulgus existimat, quos-
 cunque scilicet reges dei unctos esse.

15 [The Kings of Britain, says Gildas, are anointed, but not by
 God. Contrary to the opinion now popularly held, that all
 kings are the anointed of God.]

Si in principatu politico aliqua est servitus, magis proprie
 servus est qui præest, quam qui subest: August. de Civit.
 20 Dei. lib. 19. cap. 14.

[If there is in a form of government any slavery, it is prop-
 erly the ruler who is the slave, not the subject.]

Come dipoi si cominciò a fare il principe per successione, Successio.
 e non per elettione subito cominciarono gli heredi a degener-
 25 are da i loro antichi, e lasciando l'opere virtuose pensarono

che i precinpi non havessero a fare altro che superare gli altri di sontuosita e di lascivia e dogni altra qualità delitiosa Machiavell: discors. l. 1. c. 2.

[No sooner the ruler had begun to be hereditary instead of [Succession.]
5 being elected, than his heirs began to degenerate, and setting aside virtuous deeds they decided that all that princes had to do was to outdo others in luxury, lust, and in every other pleasure-affording quality.]

Si vedrà ancora per la lettione dell' historia romana come
10 si puo ordinare un regno buono; perche tutti gli imperadori che succederono all' imperio per heredità, eccetto Tito, furono cattivi, quelli che per adozione, furono tutti buoni, come furono quei cinque da Nerva a Marco. Machiavell. discors: l. 1. c. 10.

15 [By studying Roman history, one may also see how a good kingdom can be regulated; for all the emperors who inherited the empire, except Titus, were bad, while those who inherited it through adoption were all good, as were the five from Nerva to Marcus.]

DE RELIGIONE QUATENUS AD REMPUB: SPECTAT

[Fol.] 197

[RELIGION, HOW FAR IT HAS IN VIEW THE COMMONWEAL.]

20 Laudatissimos omnium inter mortales, eos esse qui vera Religione hominum mentes imbuunt, immo iis etiam laudatiores qui humanis legibus Regna et Respub: quamvis egregie fundarunt. Machiavel. discors l. 1. c. 10

[Machiavelli declares that the most highly praised of all
25 mortals are those who imbue the minds of man with true reli-

gion; more so even than those who, however admirably, have founded kingdoms and republics by human laws.]

Ecclesiastici et Politici regiminis confusionem (cum scilicet magistratus ministrum Ecclesiæ, minister Ecclesiæ magistratum agit) et religioni et reipublicæ pariter esse perniciosam ostendit Dantes Poeta Hetruscus in purgatorio. Cant. 16.

Soleva Roma, che'l bon mondo feo,
 Due soli haver; che l'una et l'altra strada
 facean vedere et del mondo, et di Deo
 10 L'un l'altro ha spento; et è giunta la spada
 Col pastorale; et l'un et l'altro in seme
 per viva forza mal convien che vada:
 Però che giunti l'un l'altro non teme.
 et paulo post.

15 Di hoggimai che la Chiesa di Roma
 per confonder in se due reggimenti
 cade nel fango; et se brutta, et la soma.

[That the fusion of ecclesiastical and political authority (when the magistrate acts as minister of the Church and the
 20 minister of the Church acts as magistrate) is equally ruinous to religion and the State is shown by Dante, the Tuscan poet, in the *Purgatorio*.

“Rome, when she turned the world to good used then
 To have two Suns, which one and other way—
 25 God's way and the world's way—made clear for men.

Now one has quenched the other, and the sword
Is joined into the crozier, and perforce
The two together go in ill accord;

And a little later:

- 5 Say thou henceforward that the Roman church,
Confounding in herself two governments,
Fallen in the mire, doth self and load besmirch.”]

Opiniones hominum de Religione, oportere in Repub: Vide Indicem
Theologicum
de Religione
non cogenda
vel sub bonis principibus liberas esse; quos dum laudat Ma-
10 chiavellus inter cætera bona inquit, videbis sub iis tempora
aurea. dove ciascuno può tenere et difendere quella opinione
che vuole discors. l. 1. c. 10

- [Machiavelli holds that in a republic the opinions of men
about religion should be free, even under good princes. In
15 praising such rulers he says among other good things, “You
will see under them the golden age where each man can hold
and defend the opinion of his choice.”] [See the Theo-
logical Index on
not compelling
religion.]

VIARIUS REIPUB: STATUS

[Fol.] 198

[DIFFERENT FORMS OF GOVERNMENT.]

- Machiavellus longè præfert Monarchiæ statum popula- Status
popularis
rem, adductis rationibus haud inscitis toto capite. 58. l. 1.
20 discors. et l. 3. c. 34. ubi disserit minus errare rempub: quam
principem in eligendis magistratibus suis aut ministris.

- [Machiavelli regards a republican form as far superior to a
monarchy, adducing weighty reasons throughout the whole
58th chapter of Book I of his *Discourses*; and again in chapter
25 34 of Book III, where he argues that a republic errs less than a
prince in choosing its magistrates or servants.] [Republican
form.]

Reducere rempub: ad ipsam gubernandi originem vel bonas leges ferendo vel magistratus in ordinem redigendo vel summam rerum ad arbitrium populi revocando sæpe prodest. vide Machiavel. discors: l. 3. c. 1. ubi ait saluberrimum id esse reipub: quemadmodum corpori misto &c.

[It is often of advantage to bring back a republican form to the actual beginnings of government either by enacting good laws or by demoting magistrates or by restoring the full control of affairs to the will of the people. See Machiavelli, *Discourses*, Book III, chapter 1, where he says that this is very wholesome for a commonwealth as it is for a body of many elements, etc.]

Gynæocratiam Reprehendit longa oratione ac rejecit Jacobus Kennedus Archiepiscopus Sanctæ Andreæ, Buchanan. Hist. Scot. L. 12. p. 403. Edit. Edinburg.

[James Kennedy, Archbishop of Saint Andrews, in a long address assails and rejects government by women.]

CENSUS ET VECTIGAL [PROPERTY AND TAXES.]

[Fol.] 220

Foderum, parata, et mansionaticum tributa erant a Carolo magno Italis imposita quibus ille jus suum in eos quoddam significari voluit. vide Sigon: reg: Ital: l. 7. 175. p. hinc fortasse regibus Angliæ quæcunque per loca iter facientibus tributum ejusmodi solvitur.

[Fodder, equipment and lodging were contributions imposed by Charlemagne upon the Italians; by these he wished to give a certain indication of his authority over them. For this reason perhaps a tribute of this kind is paid to the Kings of England wherever they journey.]

Fifteens and subsidies what they are see Camden. Elizab.
p. 80.

the cruel tribute exacted by Hardiknut to be given to his
shipmen stow speaks of, and his end was answerable. Sto.
5 94. read also the storie how K Ed. Confessor saw the devill
dauncing on the heap of monie exacted from his subjects,
wheron he sent all back to the owners. Sto. p. 95. against
unjust exactions with intent to enrich the K's coffers Canu-
tus the dane inveighs. Speed. in his life. the exaction of Hardi-
10 knute was thought to be devised by Godwin on purpose to
bring him in hatred with the people.

and Harold harefoot by exacting ship monie lost his sub-
jects love. Speed. in his life.

Peeter pence ordaind to be given to the Pope by Inas the Holinshed.
15 west-saxon the ignominious price of our damnation. vide l. 6. c. 1.
leges. an disanull'd by the noble Edward. 3. stow. an. 39.
but after by others permitted. Holinsh. p. 397 till Hen. 8.

K. John lost his subjects love by taxing & powling them.
Holinsh. p. 161. and the black prince lost the love and
20 obedience of his subjects in Guien by raising fuage. Holinsh.
p. 400. &c. Rich. 2. a farmer of his kingdom. Holin. 496.

promooters and exacters worthyly punisht in beginning
Hen. 8. an. 1. Sto. a good course also taken by Hen. 3d to
the same effect wherby punishing those that had bin fraudu-
25 lent under him in his offices by fines and accounts taken of
them, he spar'd his honest subjects of a subsidie. Holinsh.
p. 215. see also the moderation of Elizab. Camd. p. 107. et
vol. 2. p. 21.

Commissions out of Parliament devis'd by Wolsey demanding the sixt of every mans goods Holinsh. p. 891. without the knowlege of the K. which caus'd divers commotions the which the K. knowing the cause therof instantly pardon'd, utterly disavowing the unlawfull oppression of his commons.

Tributum a meretricibus corradi solitum, quod chrysargurum vocabatur, præclaro consilio, et commento sustulit Anastasius imp. ut fusè narrat Euagrius l. 3. hist: Eccl: c. 39.
 10 [The Emperor Anastasius, as Enagrius tells us at length, by a finely conceived plan abolished the tribute that formerly had been exacted from courtesans, the so-called chrysargurum.]

That no king or prince hath due power to raise a penny on his subjects without their consent Comines a great statesman and courtier affirms, and answers the common objections that the cause may be suddain, and secret. Memoires
 15 5. l. p. 403 &c.

Subsidies granted with condition not to be spent at the pleasure of the prince but by order and appointment of certain Lds appointed by the parliament, by them to be receav'd and kept. Rich. 2. Holinsh. 452. which also K. James of
 20 his own accord offer'd to the parliament in thire aids to be gather'd for recovery of the palatinat. Chesne. Hist. D'Angle. p. 1178. 1179. and in other pages

quodvis mare non liberum solitos enim εὐφημεῖσθαι imperatores Constantini urbis a navibus per fauces Ponti prætereuntibus testatur Gregoras Nicephorus l. 5. c. 3.

[Not every sea is free; this, according to Gregoras Nicepho-

rus, the Emperors at Constantinople were accustomed to say euphemistically of the ships that passed by through the entrance to the Black Sea.]

what the revennews of the custom house were to Q. Eliz. vide Rex Angliæ. 186.
 5 see Camd. Eliz. vol. 2. p. 21. [See the King of England, 186.]

Moderation in exactions, or subsidies gains more then rigor. seen in the Londoners forwardnes Sto. Eliz. in 88. and by the subsidies granted Camden. p. 55. vol. 2. et 56.

populus bene nummatus quietior, interest ergo regis ut
 10 ne populum exactionibus ad paupertatem redigat quando-
 quidem inopia si qua res alia Anglos in rebellionem præci-
 pitat ut ait inter alios Camden. Eliz. vol. 2. p. 224.

[A people well supplied with money is more quiet. It should
 therefore be the concern of the king not to reduce his people
 15 to poverty by exactions; since want, beyond anything else,
 drove the English into rebellion, as among others Camden
 says.]

RAPINA SEU EXTORSIO PUB. VIDE PAPA 42 IN INDICE ALTERO [Fol.] 221
 [GOVERNMENTAL ROBBERY OR EXTORTION. SEE POPE PAGE 42
 IN ANOTHER INDEX.]

William Rufus an extreme powler of his subjects Inso-
 much that he durst compell certain converted Jews to for-
 20 sake the faith of Christ beeing brib'd to that purpose by
 other Jews with a summe of mony. but see the wise and
 godly answere of a converted Jew to him wherwith he was
 confounded. Holinsh. p. 27.

King Ri. 1. to maintain his warrs unholilie in the holy
 25 land p. 119. 120. and p. 143. 144. other devises p. 145.

after his comming home. besides that of the scale lost with
 prætence of necessity to scale again. this devise of a new
 scale to bring in new fees Hen. 3d also practis'd a trick
 more befitting a cheater then a K. for which he is boldly
 5 reprov'd of his nobles p. 240. feins also a feare of warr in
 Gascoine from the Castilians 249. and through his whole
 reigne an improvident spender, and a shamlesse exacter.
 253. another shift. 251: 253.

Richard. 2. a continual poller. see 185 of this table. also
 10 Holinsh. 496. Henry the 7th not free of this fault in his
 latter days. Holinsh. 791. by Empston and Dudly. p. 794.
 His policie by shew of warrs to raise monies. Henry the
 8th lesse touch't with this fault then his prædecessors dis-
 claiming like a noble prince the exactions devis'd by Wol-
 15 sey without his privy. Holinsh. p. 892.

Emston & Dudly see Speed. p. 762. thire deaths. Speed.
 766.

a catalogue of the supply's, exactions, and wastings of
 Hen. 3. Speed. p. 537 ending in a most beggerly humor of
 20 inviting himself to feast on others cost, where to his diet
 he must be præsentend and his queen, and son with guifts if
 they would please him. Speed. p. 540.

by a noble ladie countess of Arundel gravely reproov'd
 Speed. p. 542.

25 Hen. 7 making of intendments for just and necessary
 warrs and therupon demaunding and obtaining great summs
 of his subjects, with a small parts therof florisht over a seem-
 ing præparation, and the remainder therof (peace insewing
 Speed. p. 752.

which he always foreknew how to bring about) was clearly his own without account. an unkinglik paltering which should be provided against in such cases by parliament.

Commotions for these reasons want not a stout captain
 5 as a plebeian wittily answerd the duke of norfolk (sent against the commons in Suffolk and asking that who was thire captain) that Poverty was thire captain with his cozin Necessity. Holin. p. 891. Hen. 8.

PESTILENTIA [PLAGUE.]

[Fol.] 230

pestilent: divinitùs immissa temporibus Justiniani, in quâ
 10 immanes quædam dæmonum formæ in obvios quosque gras-
 santium apparebant, qui etiam per somnum nonnullis dice-
 rent se quoque esse eorum in numero qui essent morituri
 hac peste. Procop: persic: l. 2.

[A pestilence was sent by Heaven in the times of Justinian,
 15 during which there appeared certain monstrous forms of
 demons attacking those whom they met; who also in dreams
 told some persons that they too were among those who were
 destined to die by this plague.]

GYMNASTICA [ATHLETIC GAMES.]

[Fol.] 240

Giostro et Torneamento ludi equestres a latinis inventi
 20 quorum leges et morem describit Niceph: Gregoras. l. 10.
 c. περὶ γενεσέως τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωάννου τοῦ νέου. eos ludos Sa-
 baudi nobiles primùm Græcos docuerunt ut testatur Canta-
 cuzenus l. 1. c. 42.

[The Latins invented the equestrian sports known as jousts
 25 and tournaments; the rules and procedure of these are de-

scribed by Nicephorus Gregoras, Book X, the chapter dealing with the birth of King John the Younger. According to Cantacuzene the Greeks first learned these sports from the nobles of Savoy.]

- 5 *Damnantur ab Innocentio Pontifice Sigon: l. 11. de regn. Ital: 273. et ab Eugenio. p. 283.*

[They are condemned by Pope Innocent and by Eugenius.]

SPECTACULA [SPECTACLES.]

[Fol.] 241

- Tertullianus in eo libro quem de spectaculis inscripsit damnat eorum usum et Christianis occludit, nec verò tantum argumentis agit (quæ solos ethnicos ludos convellunt) ut cauti et prudentis Christiani animum religione obstringere debuerit, quo minus poema aliquod dramaticum a potestâ non imperito concinnatum spectare ausit. illud tamen optimè facit in epilogo libri ut mentem Christiani ad meliora
- 10 h. e. divina et celestia spectacula quæ tot, et tanta homo Christianus animo præcipere potest de adventu Christi de futuro judicio densis coloribus contortis incitaverit. eundem prorsus lapidem volvit Cyprianus seu quis alius libro eâdem de re composito tom. 3. Et Lactantius l. 6. c. 20. argum-
- 20 tis nihilo firmitioribus rem scenicam universam in vitio ponit. nec semel quidem cogitasse videtur, corruptelas quidem theatricas meritò tolli debere, omnem autem idcirco rerum dramaticarum usum penitus aboleri nihil necesse esse, immo potius nimis insulsum esset quid enim in totâ philosophiâ
- 25 aut gravius aut sanctius aut sublimius tragœdia recte constitutâ quid utilius ad humanæ vitæ casus et conversiones

uno intuitu spectandos? idem etiam capite sequenti totam artem musicam videtur e medio sublatam velle.

- [In the work entitled *On Spectacles* Tertullian condemns their vogue and excludes Christians from them. In fact, it is not only with arguments (which excoriate the pagan games only) that he supports his obligation to bind with religious scruples the mind of a wary and prudent Christian from venturing to witness a dramatic poem, artistically composed by a poet in no wise lacking in skill. Still, in the epilogue of the work he very finely with all the flowers of rhetoric directs the mind of a Christian to better spectacles, namely, those of a divine and heavenly character, such as, in great number and grandeur, a Christian can anticipate in connection with the coming of Christ and the Last Judgment. Cyprian, or whoever wrote the book that deals with the same subject, rolls exactly the same stone. And Lactantius by arguments no whit stronger puts a stigma upon the whole dramatic art. He does not even once seem to have reflected that, while the corrupting influences of the theater ought to be eliminated, it does not follow that it is necessary to abolish altogether the performance of plays. This on the contrary would be quite senseless; for what in the whole of philosophy is more impressive, purer, or more uplifting than a noble tragedy, what more helpful to a survey at a single glance of the hazards and changes of human life? In the following chapter the same writer seems to be desirous of removing from social life the whole art of music.]

DE DISCIPLINÂ MILITARI [MILITARY DISCIPLINE.] [Fol.] 242

Edgars noble custome to defend the coast with his yearly
navie. K. Ed. the 3. commandment for the exercise of arms
in every shire. Stow Ed. 3. an. reg. 17. res nautica
[Naval affairs.]

Q. Elizabeths excellent care to furnish her fleet with im-
5 plements out [of] her own country. Camd. 70.

Si magistratus duci exercitus eruptionem, aut pugnam
certo cum periculo omnium imperabit videtur ex officio
imperatorio esse sententiam suam explicare, sin magistratus
belli expers obstinatius instabit, non tamen imperatori hono-
10 rificum est suum exercitum unius vel etiam populi ob in-
scitiam, et pertinaciam perdere exemplum vide in Malatesta
qui dictatori Florentino perniciosâ suadenti parere noluit
Jovius. l. 29. p. 170. &c.

[If a magistrate shall enjoin upon the commander of the
15 army a sally or a battle, it seems to be within the province of
the commander to explain his own opinion; but if the mag-
istrate, though he is without experience in war, shall obsti-
nately press his order, it is nevertheless not honorable for a
commander to destroy his army because of the ignorance and
20 stubbornness of one man or even of a whole people. See the
instance of Malatesta who refused to obey the ruinous counsel
of the Florentine dictator.]

justice and abstaining from spoile in the armie of Hen. 5.
Holinsh. p. 552. and the benefit therof. ibid. et 560.

25 Selymi milites etiam post victoriam adeo severis discipli-
næ legibus in officio permansere, ut in fertilissimo autumnò
horti sine custodibus tuto relinquerentur. Jovius l. 17. 359.

[The soldiers of Selim, even after a victory, remained so faithful to the strict rules of their discipline that in an autumn of abundant yield gardens were left without watchmen in perfect safety.]

- 5 Militum libidini obtemperare duces non debere, qui ad verum militiæ decus adspirent, et a justâ generosi animi probitate famam quærant latrocinantiumque militum immanitatem abominentur. et reliqua apud Jovium. l. 12. quæ Prosper Columna ad Bergomum in castris egregie concionatur.

- 10 [The passions of soldiers should not be countenanced by commanders who aspire to true military glory, and seek renown from the genuine integrity of a noble mind, and abhor the savagery of pillaging soldiers. And for the rest see Jovius, 15 what notable words Prosper Columna delivered in camp at Bergamo.]

the vantgard due to the Kentish men by ancient custome. Speed. in Harold. p. 416.

Avaritia quantum in bello noceat. vide Avaritia.

- 20 [The great harm done by avarice in time of war. See Avarice.]

- Quoniam populum universum in armis exerceri ad seditiones et tumultus periculosum est idcirco delectos quosdam fide, et moribus per singulas provincias paucos privilegiis
 25 quibusdam militaribus ornatos ad arma tractanda instructos esse oportere monet. Sesell. de repub. Galliæ l. 2.

excipiuntur
 provinciæ ad
 fines sitæ.
 infra.

[Since the training of a whole people in arms involves the peril of sedition and uprisings, Sesellius advises that a few in
 [Provinces near the borders are chosen. Below.]

each province, picked for their loyalty and high character and distinguished by certain military privileges, be trained to handle arms.]

the English standard. that of Harold was wrought with
5 gold and precious stones in form of an armed man. Speed.
p. 435. hist. Edward 3 at Cressy erected his standard of the
dragons gules Speed. p. 590

of Castles whether profitable in England see Holinshed
descript. of England 2 book. c. 14.

10 And of fortresses in generall. Che le fortezze general-
mente sono molto piu dannose che utili discorre Machiavell:
discors: l. 2. c. 24

[Macchiavelli says that it is useful that fortifications be not
too expensive.]

15 Quæ regiones aut provinciæ ad fines regni sitæ sunt, iis
non solum omnibus armorum usus et assidua exercitatio
permittenda est sed etiam præmiis et immunitatibus ad bel-
licas artes incitandi sunt. Sessel. de repub. Galliæ.

[All the regions or provinces bordering on the frontiers of a
20 kingdom should not only be allowed the use of arms and
constant exercise therein, but also be spurred on to the arts of
warfare by rewards and immunities.]

The office of Knighthood Harding sets out in Arturs
round table to use thire bodies to defend where law would
25 not redresse. Cronicle in Arture.

Provision for souldiers after the warrs to be consider'd.
Spenser dialogue of Ireland from p. 84. &c.

Meliúsne sit inferre bellum an expectare hostem disputat Machiavellus discors: l. 2. c. 12.

[Machiavelli discusses whether it is better to take the offensive in war or to await the foe.]

- 5 Peditum Robur longe plus in bello valere quam equitum disserit Machiavellus Discors: l. 2. c. 18.

[Machiavelli argues that in war strength in infantry is far more effective than strength in cavalry.]

DE BELLO [WAR.]

[Fol.] 243

- not to be furnisht out by rapine and pilling the people.
10 as that voiage of R. the first to the holie land most unholily set out with monie dishonorably and impiously got. see Holinsh. R. 1. p. 119. 120.

of holy warre as they call it. to fight with Turks, & Saracens. See Gower. l. 4. fol. 61. 72.

- 15 Militia mercenaria quâ quis mercede conductus cuilibet opem fert, damnatur, a Zuinglio. Sleidan. lib. 3. p. 36. et l. 4. 60. et a repub Bernensi. Sleidan. l. 6. p. 89.

- [The use of mercenary forces with which a hired commander brings aid to any chance person is condemned by
20 Zwingli and by the Republic of Berne.]

- victoria non in viribus aut peritiâ militari sita est, sed ut, qui bellum suscipit, deum propitium habeat. præclare itaque Trajanus dux ad Valentem imperatorem qui eum dictis incesserat eo quod contra Gothos missus cum exercitu male
25 pugnasset. οὐκ ἐγὼ, inquit, ὁ βασιλεὺς ζητῶμαι. tu autem victoriam prodidisti qui deo bellum infers. nam Arrianus erat Valens. Theodorit. hist. l. 4. c. 29. vide et. c. 30.

[Victory depends not on military strength or skill but upon the favor shown by God to him who undertakes war. Finely, therefore, did Trajan, when in command, say to the Emperor Valens who used abusive language to him because, when sent
5 against the Goths, he had fought with no success: "Not I, O King, have been defeated; it is you who lost the victory, you who war against God." For Valens was an Arian.]

moderate and Christian demeanour after victory see in Hen. 5. after the winning of Harflew.

10 *Divitias esse belli nervos negat Machiavellus et vulgi ea de re opinionem refellit. discors: l. 2. c. 10.*

[Machiavelli denies that riches are the sinews of war, and refutes the popular opinion about this matter.]

Non esse cujusvis Reipub fines imperii bello proferre alias-
15 que gentes in suam ditionem redigere. immo periculosum esse nisi et illa respub: probe instituta sit et illi novi imperii acquisitio recte administretur, prudenter ostendit Machiavellus discorsi l. 2. c: 19:

[It is not for every republic to extend its territories by war,
20 and to bring other peoples under its sway. Machiavelli sagaciously shows that this policy is fraught with danger unless the republic in question is well ordered and administers justly the newly acquired territory.]

DE BELLO CIVILI [CIVIL WAR.]

[Fol.] 244

the danger of calling in foraine aids besides the storie of
25 the Saxons & Danes comming in, is evident by the purpose of Lewis reveal'd by the Count of Melun to the Barons of

England. Holinsh. p. 193. also by his and his Frenchmens carriage toward the English. Holinsh. p. 197. 198.

Germani principes Cæsari fidem, officiumque renunciant religionis ergo quam ille evertere conatus est. vide Sleidan.

5 l. 17. p. 296. &c.

[The German princes renounced their allegiance and their obligations to the Emperor on account of their religion which he attempted to subvert.]

et Galli protestantes de sententiâ suorum ministrorum &c.

10 vide Concil Trident. p. 408. Thuanus. hist. l. 24. p. 732. vide de rege
et Jurisconsultorum, et Theologorum. 186

[Also the French Protestants at the advice of their ministers, [See King, 186.] and jurists, and theologians.]

et Scoti ecclesiæ reformatores, Thuan. hist. l. 21. p. 647.

15 [Also the Scottish Reformers.]

erat et Magdeburgicæ obsidionis tempore scriptus liber, et in Galliâ denuò editus an. 1574 multis rationibus et exemplis amplificatus, in quo licere ostenditur subditis vim etiam a magistratibus extra leges illatam vi repellere. Thuan.

20 hist. l. 57 p. 909.

[At the time of the siege of Magdeburg there was written a book (later, in the year 1574, published in France with many additional arguments and instances) in which it is shown that subjects have the right to repel by force any other force
25 exerted against them illegally, even by magistrates.]

Bellum non religionis causâ, cuiquam inferre se Tyranni simulant, sed in quosdam sub eo obtentu sibi rebelles. Carolus 5tus multas protestantium civitates his insidiis decepit, vide Ecclesia.

atque ab armis continuuit. Hist. Concil. Trident l. 2. p. 179.

[Tyrants pretend that they do not make war upon any one [See Church.] for the sake of religion but upon certain persons who cloak their rebellion by that pretext. Charles V by this trickery
5 deceived many Protestant states, and kept them from taking up arms.]

Iis qui religionis causâ se armis defendunt multi se aliis de causis non optimis callide se adiungunt Concil Trident.
p. 408.

10 [To those who for the sake of religion defend themselves by arms, many persons for other reasons, by no means the best, cunningly attach themselves.]

DE FÆDERATIS [ALLIES.]

[Fol.] 245

Our league and union with the Scots a thing most profitable, & naturall ever by the Pope sought to be hinderd. See
15 Ascams Toxophilus l. 1. p. 38.

by the Cardinal of Scotland. Speed. p. 794.

de Fœdere cum protestantibus quibusvis non omnia speranda. ut de illis rebus quæ ad *Franciscopolim transacta * newhaven.
sunt compertum est. Camden. Elizab. 82 et passim cum
20 Anglis astute actum qui Henrico 4to suppetias tulerunt, periculis maximis objecti, huc illuc raptati, vide ubi Essexius ad Rothomagum castra ponit, et Norrisius in Britannia. Cam. vol. 2. 49. 50. sed et prioribus expeditionibus videre est, ex quo rex ille Anglorum auxilia petiit. apud Camden. et vol.
25 2 p. 61. 64. 65. 77. 79. 89. 90.

[From a compact with Protestants as such not all things may be hoped for. This is clear from the course of events at New-

haven. There is evidence of craftiness in the fate of the English who brought help to Henry IV, exposed, as they were, to the greatest perils, and shifted hither and thither; see where Essex pitched a camp at Rouen, and Norris in Britain. But this may
5 be seen in the case of earlier expeditions also from the time when that monarch sought the help of the English.]

Hollandi operam Anglis pulchram navant pontificiorum Hispanorum classe profligatâ quæ Anglorum ad res turbandas erat ab Albano instructa. Camden. Eliz. p. 232. Arau-
10 sionensis consilia Joannis Austriaci de invadendâ Angliâ detegit Elizabethæ, quæ vixdum aliquid de istâc re persenserat. Cam. Eliz. 267. vide et Camden. p. 274 Elizab.

[The Dutch rendered splendid assistance to England at the time of the destruction of the Spanish Catholic fleet which
15 had been assembled by Alva to play havoc with the English. The Prince of Orange disclosed to Elizabeth, who as yet knew nothing of the threat, the plans of John of Austria to invade England.]

Ed. 6. aids the protestants abroad Hayward. Ed. 6. p.
20 115.

Che si possa fidare piu d'una confederatione o lega fatta con una repub: che di quella fatta con un principe dimostra Macchiavell: discors: l: 1. c. 59.

[That a confederation or league entered into with a republic
25 is more to be trusted than one entered into with a prince is shown by Machiavelli.]

DE SEDITIONE VIDE IDOLOLATRIA. ET ECCLESIA. ET BELLO CIVILI [Fol.] 246
 [SEDITION, SEE IDOLATRY, CHURCH, CIVIL WAR.]

Contra eos qui rem evangelicam per seditionem et tumultum promovere aggrediuntur, pulchrè Lutherus apud Sleidan. p. 69. l. 5.

[Luther finely inveighs against those who attempt to spread
 5 the Evangelical Faith by sedition and uprisings.]

Contra omnem seditionem sanctissime et prudentissimè tum ad plebem tum ad magistratum scribit Lutherus uti causas pariter seditionis recidant. illi patienter expectando, et arbitris dilectis rem pacatè transigendo. magistratus op-
 10 primere expilare, divexare crudeliter populum tandem si desinat. Sleidan l. 5. p. 71. &c.

[In opposition to all forms of sedition Luther writes now to the people, now to the magistrates, urging them both to remove its causes; the people by waiting patiently and by handling the situation peacefully, through chosen arbiters, the
 15 magistrates by desisting at length from cruel oppression of the people through robbery and plundering.]

Cæsar protestantium proceres se defendentes multis criminibus onerat rebellione scil. et magistratus contemptu. &c.
 20 Sleidan. l. 17. 292. 293. &c. ut hodie fit.

[The leaders of the Protestants when they defended themselves were overwhelmed by the Emperor with many accusations, to wit, rebellion, contempt of magistrates, etc., as happens today.]

25 Populi tumultus libertatis recuperandæ occasio sæpe fuit, ideóque nec reprehendendi, quia justas ob causas et quærelas

plærunque fiunt. teste Machiavello. Io dico, che coloro che dannono i tumulti tra i nobili et la plebe, mi par che biasimino quelle cose che furono prima cagione di tenere libera Roma. perche buone leggi nascevano da quei tumulti, &c.

5 discors. l. 1. c. 4.

[The uprisings of a people have often furnished an opportunity to recover liberty. They are therefore not to be censured because they are apt to arise from just causes and complaints. Witness Machiavelli: "I say that those who condemn clashes
10 between the nobility and the common people seem to me to be condemning the very things that were mainly responsible for Rome's freedom. For good laws were brought about by those clashes," etc.]

DE URBE OBSIDENDÂ ET OBSESSA [SIEGES.]

[Fol.] 247

Quo modo Hicardus Brixiam undique oppugnatam defen-
15 derit paucis militibus contra duos exercitus vide Jovium l. 18. p. 349.

[See Jovius for the way in which Hicardus with a few soldiers defended Brescia, then completely invested, against two armies.]

20 Quo modo Veronam M. Antonius Columna adversus Gallos et Venetos defenderit vide Jovium lib. 18. 397. &c.

[See Jovius for the way in which M. Antonio Colonna defended Verona against the French and Venetians.]

TYRANNUS. [TYRANT.]

[Fol.] 248

Utrum liceat à tyranno deficere. Rinaldo Conte de Caserta
25 habendo Manfredi re di Napoli Cominesso adulterio con la

moglia del Conte, mando a Roma al papa è al re Carlo d'angioia che vi furono insieme, un suo amico che proponesse avanti al Collegio, s'era lecito ad un vassallo In tal caso risentirsi del suo re e mancargli di fede; il che fu deciso e da
 5 cavaglieri e da letterati, che come il vasallo è tenuto spendere la vita e'l sangue per lo re suo, così a l'incontro il buon re è tenuto d'osservare leanza col vassallo, e offendendolo in così atroce Ingiuria, e lecito al vassallo mancargli di fede; perche in tal caso il re perde il titolo di re, e si veste il nome
 10 di tiranno. Angelo di Costanzo. histor. di napoli l. 1. p. 16.

[Whether it is permissible to revolt against a tyrant. Rinaldo, Count of Caserta, Manfred king of Naples having committed adultery with his wife, sent to Rome, to the Pope and King Charles of Anjou, who was also there, a friend of
 15 his to inquire before the college if it was right for a vassal in such a case to bear resentment against his king and be disloyal to him. Kinglets and scholars both concurred that as the vassal is expected to give his life and blood for his king, even so a good king is expected to be loyal to his vassal; and the king
 20 having offended him with such an atrocious injury, it is lawful for his vassal to be disloyal, for in such a case the king loses the title of king and takes on the name of tyrant.]

DE RE NAUTICÂ ET NAUFRAGIIS. [NAVIGATION AND SHIPWRECKS.] [Fol.] 249

The evill custom in England, of seiseing all shipwracks as forfeit to the Lord of the Mannor, or the inhabitants of
 25 that shoar, where the ship was wrackt, was also among the Greeks of Constantinople, but condemn'd & forbidden by a

severe edict of Andronicus Comnenus the Emperour, though otherwise a most cruell tyrant. see Nicetas Choniates his life, page 209th of his history. Edit: Paris. fol.

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Additions to the Commonplace Book

[IV. "Index Legalis."]

[*A Legal Index from the Columbia MS.*]

1. Relegatus. [Exile.]

Relegatus potest Testamentum facere. L: 5. D. de reb: dubijs.

[An exile can make a will. L(ex) 5 D(igest) de reb(us) dubiis. (D. 34. 5. 5)]

5 2. Judicium. [Trial.]

In Regno scil: Imp: sine figurâ Judicij, ex rescripto Principis tota "facti veritate inspecta" proceditur, præsertim in Civilibus.

[In the Holy Roman Empire process may be without the form of a trial, according to the rescript of the Prince "by an
10 examination into the truth of the facts," particularly in civil cases.]

Judicium dicitur a citatione ad finem Sententiæ, et continet litem causam et instantiam sub se.

[A trial is so termed from the summons to the end of the
15 judgment, and contains the cause of action and the litigation within itself.]

Judicium est ministratio justitiæ, quæ fit a Judice in causâ propositâ coram eo. Quæ causa est vel civilis vel criminalis.

[A trial is the administration of justice which is performed by a judge in a cause laid before him. Which cause is either civil or criminal.]

Partes si volunt omittere ordinem judicarium in toto processa possunt, et fit arbitramentum; non autem possunt in aliquo actu tantum.

[If the parties wish to omit the court process wholly, they can, and an arbitration occurs; but this is not possible in every transaction.]

10 3. Sententia. [Judgment.]

Arbitri sententia nisi scripta est per ipsum lecta nulla est L. 1. C. de sententijs ex periculo rec: In jure Canonico etiam sine scripto valet cap: 43. Extr: de test: et attest: Ans.

15 [The judgment read by the arbiter is null of itself unless it is written, Lex 1 Codex de sententijs ex periculo recitandis. In the canon law it is valid even without writing, caput 43 (in an unidentified work by Anselmo? concerning testators and witnesses).]

4. Materia et Materiâ. [Raw material and product.]

20 Quod statutum est de materiâ, regulariter non censetur Statutum de materiato L: 18. b: 3. D. de pign: act: aliàs si eadem sit utrinque ratio; ut ubi prohibetur frumentum extra territorium vendi, prohib: etiam farina. Hel: ad C. ad liberandum 17. col: 2 de Judzsis.

25 [What is provided concerning materials is not ordinarily considered to be provided concerning manufactured articles,

Lex 18 b=§ 3 Digest de pigneraticia actione. Except the same reasoning affects both, as, where it is prohibited for grain to be sold outside the territory, it is prohibited also for flour, Hel [? canonist] ad Codex ad liberandum 17 column 2
5 De Judaeis.]

5. Causa civilis et criminalis. [Civil and criminal case.]

Instantia causarum criminalium non durat ultra biennium lites civiles intra triennium; exceptis quæ pertinent ad fiscum et publicas functiones, ad legata fidei commissa et libertates
10 quæ intra annum finienda sunt, a tempore litis contestatæ—L: properandum C. de judicijs.

[The litigation of criminal causes may not extend beyond two years, civil suits within three years; excepted, those cases which pertain to the fisc and public affairs, to legacies, fidei-
15 commissa, and suits for freedom which have to be completed within a year from the time of joinder of issue—Lex 'Properandum' Codex de iudiciis. (C. 3. 1. 13).]

Causa civilis dicitur illa, quando principalitèr agitur in iudicio ad commodum privatum; sive ex delicto descendat sive ex
20 contracta; criminalis, quando principalitèr agitur ad commodum publicum, ex delicto scilicet.

[That cause is termed civil which primarily is sued at court for a private aim, whether it derives from delict or from contract; criminal, which primarily is sued for a public aim,
25 namely, from delict.]

Ubi oritur accusatio criminalis ad poenam, ibi etiam actio in

factu ad interesse, ubi non oritur actio civilis, ibi nec criminalis; aliquando utraque simul cumulantur ex officio scilicet Judicis qui coget ad restitutionem, non principaliter cumulantur duæ actiones. L: 1: D: de concuss: Li fin: D: de his effud:

5 aut dejec:

[Where a criminal accusation for a penalty arises, there also an action on the case for damages lies; where a civil action does not exist, there, neither a criminal. Though occasionally both are cumulated by the office, for example of the judge,
10 who directs restitution, two actions are not ordinarily cumulated. Lex 1 Digest de concussione; Lex in fin Digest de his qui effuderint aut deiecerint. (D. 47.13.1) (D. 9.3?)]

Potest agi criminalitèr etiam si priùs actum sit civilitèr, si una actio tendat ad vindictam, altera ad rem familiarem, et una
15 prius finiatur quàm altera incipiatur. Leg: unicâ C. Quando Civilis Ao. [Anno?]

[There can be a criminal suit even if there first has been a civil trial, if the one action leads to a penalty, the other to a property recovery, and if the one is finished before the other
20 is begun. Lex unica Codex Quando civilis actio criminalis præiudicet. (C. 9.31.1)]

6. Testamentum. [Will.]

Testamentum primum tollitur a secundo L: Sancimus Cod: de test: nisi ponatur clausula in primo ut non tollatur L: 12: ss:

25 3. D Leg. 1.

[A first will is rescinded by a second, *Lex 'Sancimus' Codex de testamentis* (C. 6.23.27); unless a clause is inserted in the first that it be not rescinded, *Lex 12*, paragraph 3, *Digest De Legatis et fideicommissis I.* (D. 30.12.3)]

5 7. Injuria. [Wrongful Injury.]

In querelâ Injur: requiritur appositio loci et temporis cum sollemnitate libellorum L. libellorum H.* de accus: nisi constat per confessionem partis, aut sit in casu blasphemix.

[In the trial on injury an agreement of the place and the time
10 with the formalities of the pleas is required, *Lex 'Libellorum' Digest de accusationibus et inscriptionibus*, unless this appears by the confession of the party, or if it be a case of blasphemy. (D. 48.2.3)]

Actor æstimat juramento injuriam, Judex taxat tertiam par-
15 tem Actori duas curiæ; olim totam actori. ss in *Summa Inst: de injur:*

[The plaintiff fixes the amount of damage by oath, the judge decrees the third part thereof to the plaintiff, two thirds to the court; formerly the whole to the plaintiff. *Summa Inst. de iniuriis.* (From a mediæval *Summa* on the *Corpus Iuris.*)]
20

Taxatio facienda secundam qualitatem injuriantis injuriati loci et temporis.

[The amount decreed is to be made according to the nature of the damage to the party injured, the time, and place.]

[Table]

Civilis causa et criminalis 5. Judicium 2. Injuria 7. Materia et materiatum 4. O ordo Judi [] R. Relegatus 1. S Sententia 3. Testamentum 6.

[V. A Separate Note from the Columbia MS.]

English Phrases derivd from the Latine tongue &c:

5 A Coat *bedaubd* with Gold &c.

Virgil: Per Tunicam squalentem Auro.

The words seem to be alike improper; but the Latin is thus vindicated by Servius; and from thence our Phrase arises *Squalens*, significat copiam densitatemque auri, in *Squam-*
 10 *mosum* spoliū nitenti. Quicquid igitur nimis inculcatum obsitumque aliquā re erat, ut incuteret videntibus facie novā horrorem, id squalere dicebatur. Vid: Macrob: Lib:6.Cap.7.

[*Bedaubed* refers to abundance and thickness of gold, as “shining in bedaubed booty.” Thus whatever was overladen
 15 and covered in an object, and had so striking an appearance as to make those who beheld it change countenance, was said to be bedaubed.]

To be *warm* i.e. to be wealthy, in which sense the word is often used. Lucius Quintus Prætor, cū de Provinciā nuper
 20 reverterat æger, assidenti Amico dixerat, Frigidus se habere manus; renidens ille ait; Atquin eas de Provinciā *Calidas* pauld ante revocasti; in the sense above mentioned. Macrob: L.7. Cap:8.

[Lucius Quintus the Praetor, when he returned ill from his province told a sympathetic friend "his hands were cold," but the friend replied wittily, "At least you brought them back warm from the province."]

[VI.] Index Theologicus.

[From several cross references in the Commonplace Book, we know that Milton compiled a similar collection of notes on theological subjects, sometimes called the Theological Index, sometimes the "other" Index. No trace of this manuscript has ever been found, but from the cross references it is possible to compile the following list of a few headings, including a page reference in one case. The work was probably of fair size.]

DE BONIS ECCLESIASTICIS [ON CHURCH PROPERTY.]

DE CONCILIIS [ON COUNCILS.]

ECCLESIA [THE CHURCH.]

DE IDOLATRIA [ON IDOLATRY.]

PAPA [Fol.] 42 [THE POPE, page 42.]

DE RELIGIONE NON COGENDA [ON NOT COMPELLING RELIGION.]

Milton's Outlines for Tragedies

[I. ON OLD TESTAMENT THEMES]

[I. On the Theme of "Paradise Lost"]

[*First Draft.*]

the Persons

Michael.
 Heavenly Love
 Chorus of Angels
 5 Lucifer
 Adam } with the serpent
 Eve }
 Conscience
 Death
 10 Labour }
 Sicknesse }
 Discontent } mutes.
 Ignorance }
 with others }
 15 Faith
 Hope
 Charity.

20

[*Second Draft.*]

the Persons

Moses
 Justice
 Mercie
 Wisdome
 Heavenly Love
 Hesperus the Evening Starre
 Chorus of Angels
 Lucifer
 Adam
 Eve
 Conscience
 Labour }
 Sicknesse }
 Discontent } mutes
 Ignorance }
 Feare }
 Death }
 Faith
 Hope
 Charity.

[*Third Draft.*]

Paradise Lost

The Persons

Moses *προλογίζετ* recounting how he assum'd his true bodie,
 that it corrupts not because of his [*being*] with god in the
 5 mount declares the like of Enoch and Eliah, besides the
 purity of the place that certaine pure winds, dues, and clouds
 præserve it from corruption whence he hasts to the sight of
 god, tells they cannot se Adam in this state of innocence by
 reason of thire sin

10 [Act 1.]

Justice	} debating what should become of man if he fall
Mercie	
Wisdome	

Chorus of Angels sing a hymne of the creation

15 Act 2.

Heavenly love
 Evening starre
 Chorus sing the mariage song and describe Paradice

Act 3.

20 Lucifer contriving Adams ruine
 Chorus feares for Adam and relates Lucifers rebellion and fall.

Act 4.

Adam }
 Eve } fallen

Conscience cites them to Gods Examination

5 Chorus bewails and tells the good Adam hath lost

Act 5.

Adam and Eve, driven out of Paradise præsentèd by an angel
 with

	Labour	}	mutes to whome he gives thire names likewise winter, heat Tempest &c.
10	greife		
	hatred		
	Envie		
	warre		
	famine		
15	Pestilence		
	sicknesse		
	discontent		
	Ignorance		
	Feare	}	enterd into the world
20	Death——		

Faith }
 Hope } comfort him and instruct him
 Charity }

Chorus breiffly concludes.

[*Fourth Draft.*]

Adam unparadiz'd

The angel Gabriel, either descending or entring, shewing since this globe was created, his frequency as much on earth, as in heavn, describes Paradise. next the Chorus shewing the
5 reason of his comming to keep his watch in Paradise after Lucifers rebellion by command from god, & withall expressing his desire to see, & know more concerning this excellent new creature man. the angel Gabriel as by his name signifying a prince of power tracing paradise with a more free office
10 passes by the station of the chorus & desired by them relates what he knew of man as the creation of Eve with thire love, & mariage. after this Lucifer appeares after his overthrow, bemoans himself, seeks revenge on man the Chorus prepare resistance at his first approach at last after discourse of enmity
15 on either side he departs wherat the chorus sings of the battell, & victorie in heavn against him, & his accomplices, as before after the first act was sung a hymn of the creation. heer again may appear Lucifer relating, & insulting in what he had don to the destruction of man. man next & Eve having by this time
20 bin seduc't by the serpent appeares confusedly cover'd with leaves conscience in a shape accuses him, Justice cites him to the place whither Jehova call'd for him in the mean while the chorus entertains the stage, & is inform'd by some angel the manner of his fall heer the chorus bewailes Adams fall. Adam
25 then & Eve returne accuse one another but especially Adam layes the blame to his wife, is stubborn in his offence Justice appeares reason with him convinces him the chorus admon-

isheth Adam, & bids him beware by Lucifers example of impenitence the Angel is sent to banish them out of paradise but before causes to passe before his eyes in Shapes a mask of all the evils of this life & world he is humbl'd relents, dispaire. at
 5 last appeares Mercy comforts him promises the Messiah, then calls in faith, hope, & charity, instructs him he repents gives god the glory, submitts to his penalty the chorus briefly concludes. compare this with the former draught.

Other Tragedies

10 [2.] Adam in Banishment

[3.] The flood [or] The Deluge.

[4.] Abram in Ægypt.

[5.] Abram from Morea, or Isack redeemed.

the oiconomie may be thus the fift or sixt day after Abrahams
 15 departure, Eleazer Abrams steward first alone and then with the chorus discours of Abrahams strange voiage thire mistresse sorrow and perplexity accompanied with frightfull dreams, and tell the manner of his rising by night taking his servants and his son with him next may come forth Sarah her self, after
 20 the Chorus or Ismael or Agar next some shepheard or companie of merchants passing through the mount in the time that Abram was in the mid work relate to Sarah what they saw hence lamentations, fears, wonders, the matter in the mean while divulg'd Aner or Eshcol, or Mamre Abrams Confederats
 25 come to the hous of Abram to be more certaine, or to bring news, in the mean while discoursing as the world would, of

such an action divers ways, bewayling the fate of so noble a man faln from his reputation, either through divin justice, or superstition, or coveting to doe some notable act through zeal. at length a servant sent from Abram relates the truth, and last
 5 he himselfe comes in with a great Train of Melchizedec whose shepherds beeing secret eye witnesses of all passages had related to thir master, and he conducted his freind Abraham home with joy.

[6.]

Sodom.

10

the Scene before Lots gate

the title Cupids funeral pile. Sodom Burning

the Chorus consists of Lots Shepherds com in to the citty about some affairs await in the evening thire maisters return from his evening walk toward the citty gates, he brings, with him
 15 2 yong men or youths of noble form after likely discourses præpares for thire entertainment by then supper is ended, the Gallantry of the town passe by in Procession with musick and song to the temple of Venus Urania or Peor and understanding of tow noble strangers arriv'd they send 2 of thire choycest
 20 youth with the preist to invite them to thire citty solemnities it beeing an honour that thire citty had decreed to all fair personages, as beeing sacred to thir goddesse. the angels beeing askt by the preist whence they are say they are of Salem the preist inveighs against the strict raigne of Melchizedeck Lot
 25 that knows thire drift answers thwarty at last of which notice given to the whole assembly they hasten thither taxe him of præsumption, singularity, breach of citty customs, in fine offer

violence, the chorus of Shepherds præpare resistance in thire
maisters defence calling the rest of the serviture, but beeing
forc't to give back, the Angels open the dore rescue Lot, dis-
cover them selves, warne him to gather his freinds and sons in
5 Law out of the citty, he goes and returns as having met with
some incredulous, some other freind or son in law out of the
way when Lot came to his house, overtakes him to know his
buisnes, heer is disputed of incredulity of divine judgements &
such like matter, at last is describ'd the parting from the citty
10 the Chorus depart with thir maister, the Angels doe the deed
with all dreadfull execution, the K. and nobles of the citty
may come forth and serve to set out the terror a Chorus of
Angels concluding and the Angels relating the event of Lots
journey, & of his wife. the first Chorus beginning may relate the
15 course of the citty each evening every one with mistresse, or
Ganymed, gitterning along the streets, or solacing on the banks
of Jordan, or down the strëam. at the preists inviting the
Angels to the Solemnity the Angels pittying thir beauty may
dispute of love & how it differs from lust seeking to win them
20 in the last scene to the king & nobles when the firce thunders
begin aloft the Angel appeares all girt with flames which
he saith are the flames of true love & tells the K. who falls
down with terror his just suffering as also Athanes id est
Gener Lots son in law for dispising the continuall admonitions
25 of Lots then calling to the thunders lightnings & fires he bids
them heare the call & command of god to come & destroy a
godlesse nation he brings them down with some short warn-
ing to all other nations to take heed

[7.] Dinah vide Euseb. præparat Evang.1.9.c.22.
the Persons

	Dina	Hamor
	Debora rebeccas nurse	Sichem
5	Jacob	Counselers 2.
	Simeon	Nuncius
	Levi	Chorus.

[8.] Thamar Cüephorusa [Tamar Pregnant.]

where Juda is found to have bin the author of that
10 crime which he condemn'd in Tamar, Tamar excus'd
in what she attempted

[9.] the golden calfe. or the massacre in Horeb.

[10.] the Quails num. 11.

[11.] the murmurers. Num. 14.

15 [12.] Corah Dathan &c. Num. 16. 17.

[13.] Moabitides Num. 25.

Moabitides or Phineas

the Epitasis wherof may lie in the contention first between the
father of Zimri & Eleazer whether he to have slain his son with-
20 out law. next the Embassadors of the Moabites expostulating
about Cosby a stranger & a noble woman slain by Phineas. it
may be argu'd about reformation & punishment illegal & as
it were by tumult after all arguments drivn home then the
word of the Lord may be brought acquitting & approving
25 Phineas.

- [14.] Achan. Josue 7. et 8.
- [15.] Josuah in Gibeon. Josu. 10
- [16.] Gideon Idoloclastes Jud. 6. 7. [Gideon the Idolbreaker.]
- [17.] Gideon persuing Jud. 8.
- 5 [18.] Abimelech the usurper. Jud. 9.
- [19.] Samson pursophorus or Hybristes, or Samson marriing
or in Ramath Lechi Jud. 15. [Samson the Fire Carrier
or Insolent.]
- [20.] Dagonalia. Jud. 16.
- 10 [21.] Comazontes or the Benjaminites or the Rioters. Jud. 19.
20. &c.
- [22.] Theristria. a Pastoral out of Ruth. [The Reaping
Woman.]
- [23.] Eliadæ Hophni and Phinehas. Sam. 1. 2. 3. 4.
15 beginning with the first overthrow of Israel by the
Philistines, interlac't with Samuel's vision concerning
Eli's familie.
- [24.] Jonathan rescu'd Sam. 1. 14.
- [25.] Doeg slandering Sam. 1. 22.
- 20 [26.] the Sheepshearers in Carmel a Pastoral. 1 Sam. 25.
- [27.] Saul in Gilboa 1 Sam. 28. 31.
- [28.] David revolted 1 Sam. from the 27 c. to the 31.
- [29.] David Adulterous 2 Sam. c. 11. 12.

- [30.] Tamar. 2 Sam. 13.
- [31.] Achitophel 2 Sam. 15. 16. 17. 18.
- [32.] Adoniah. 1 Reg. 2.
- [33.] Salomon Gynæocratomenus or Idolomargus aut Thy-
 5 siazusæ. Reg. 1. 11. [Solomon Woman-governed, or
 Idol-mad; or the Women Sacrificing.]
- [34.] Rehoboam 1 Reg. 12 wher is disputed of a politick re-
 ligion
- [35.] Abias Thersæus 1 Reg. 14. [Abijah (?) Sought for.]
 10 the queen after much dispute as the last refuge sent to
 the profit. Ahias of Shilo receavs the message. the
 epitasis in that shee hearing the child shall die as she
 comes home refuses to return, thinking therby to
 15 elude the oracle. the former part is spent in bringing
 the sick Prince forth as it were desirous to shift his
 chamber and couch as dying men use his father tell-
 ing him what sacrifize he had sent for his health to
 Bethel and Dan, his fearlesnesse of Death and puting
 his father in mind to set to Ahiah the chorus of the
 20 Elders of Israel bemoning his vertues bereft them
 and at an other time wondring why Jeroboam bee-
 ing bad himself should so greive for his son that was
 good. &c.
- [36.] Imbres or the Showrs. 1. Reg. 18. 45.
- 25 [37.] Naboth *συκοφάντης*. 1 Reg. 21. [Naboth calumni-
 ated.]

[38.] Ahab. 1. Reg. 22.

beginning at the synod of fals profets ending with
relation of Ahab's death his bodie brought. Zedekiah
slain by Ahabs freinds for his seducing (See Lavater
2 Chron. 18.)

[39.] Elias in the mount. 2 Reg. 1. *Ὁρειβάτης*. or better Elias
Polemistes. [Elijah the Mountain Ranger, or the
Warrior.]

[40.] Elisæus Hydrochóos. 2 Reg. 3. Hudrophantes Aquator
[Elisha the Water Pourer, the Water Prophet, or the
Water Bringer.]

[41.] Elisæus Adoradocétos [Elisha refusing gifts.]

[42.] Elisæus Minutes sive in Dothaimis 2 Reg. 6 [Elisha the
Informer, or in Dothan.]

[43.] Samaria Liberata 2 Reg. 7. [Samaria Delivered.]

[44.] Achabæi Cunoboroomeni. [The sons of Ahab eaten by
dogs.] 2 Reg. 9. the scene Jesrael. beginning from the
watchmans discovery of Jehu till he go out in the
mean while message of things passing brought to
Jesebel &c. lastly the 70 heads of Ahabs sons brought
in and message brought of Ahaziah brethren slain on
the way c. 10:

[45.] Jehu Belicola. 2 Reg. 10 [Jehu Worshipper of Baal.]

[46.] Athaliah 2 Reg. 11.

[47.] Amaziah Doryalotus. 2 Reg. 14. 2 Chron. 25 [Amaziah
Captive.]

- [48.] Hezechias πολιορκούμενος 2 Reg. 18. 19. infra
 Hesechia beseig'd. the wicked hypocrisy of Shebna
 spoken of in the 11 or therabout of Isaiah & the com-
 mendation of Eliakim will afford ἀφορμὰς λόγου [*occa-*
 5 *sion of discussion*] together with a faction that sought
 help from Ægypt
- [49.] Josiah Aiazomenos. 2 Reg. 23. [Josiah Bewailed.]
- [50.] Zedechiah νεοτερίζων. [Zedekiah Revolting.] 2 Reg. but
 the story is larger in Jeremiah.
- 10 [51.] Salymων Halosis [Taking of Jerusalem.]
 which may begin from a Message brought to the citty
 of the judgment upon Zedechiah and his children in
 Ribla, and so seconded with the burning and destruc-
 tion of citty & temple by Nabuzaradan. Lamented by
 15 Jeremiah.
- [52.] Asa or Æthiopes. 2 Chron. 14 with the deposing his
 mother, and burning her Idol.
- [53.] Duræ the three children Dan. 3.

[II. ON NEW TESTAMENT THEMES]

[1.] Baptistes

20 the Scene. the Court

Beginning from the morning of Herods birth day. Herod by
 some counselor or els the Queen may plot under prætense of
 begging for his liberty to seek to draw him into a snare by his

freedom of speech persuaded on his birth day to release John Baptist, purposes it causes him to be sent for to the court from prison, the Queene hears of it, takes occasion to passe wher he is on purpose, that under prætence of reconsiling to him, or
 5 seeking to draw a kind retraction from him of his censure on the marriage, to which end she sends a courtier before to sounde whether he might be persuaded to mitigate his sentence which not finding she her selfe craftily assays, and on his constancie founds an accusation to Herod of a contuma-
 10 cious affront on such a day before many peers; prepares the K. to some passion, and at last by her daughters dancing effects it: there may prologize the spirit of Philip Herods brother. it may also be thought that Herod had well bedew'd himself with wine which made him grant the easier to his wives
 15 daughter. some of his disciples also as to congratulate his liberty, may be brought in, with whom after certain command of his death many compassioning words of his disciples bewailing his youth cut off in his glorious cours he telling them his work is don and wishing them to follow Christ his maister.

20 [2.] Christ born

[3.] Herod massacring. or Rachel weeping Math. 2

[4.] Christus patiens

The Scene in the garden beginning from the comming
 thither till Judas betraies & the officers lead him away
 25 the rest by message & chorus. his agony may receave
 noble expressions.

[5.] Christ bound

- [6.] Christ Crucifi'd
- [7.] Christ risen.
- [8.] Lazarus Joan. 11.

[III.] BRITISH TRAG[EDIES]

- 5 [1] Venutius husband to Cartismandua.
- [1a] the cloister king Constans set up by Vortiger
 - 2 Vortimer. poison'd by Roëna Vortiger marrying Roena
see Speed. reprov'd by Vodin archbishop of London
Speed.
 - 10 3 Vortiger immur'd. the massacre of the britains by Hengist
in thire cups at Salisbryr plaine Malmsbryr.
 - 4 Sigher of the east saxons revolted from the faith. and re-
claim'd by Jarumanus
 - 5 Ethelbert of the east angles slaine by Offa the mercian k.
 - 15 see Holinsh. l. 6. c. 5. Speed in the life of offa & ethelbert
 - 6 Sebert slaine by Penda after he had left his kingdom. see
Holinshed. 116. p.
 - 7 Wulfer slaying his tow sons for beeing Christians.
 - 8 Osbert of Northumberland slain for ravishing the wife of
Bernbocard and the Dans brought in. see Stow. Holinsh.
 - 20 1. 6. c. 12. and especially Speed l. 8. c. 2.
 - 9 Edmond last k. of the Eastangles martyr'd by Hinguar the
Dane. see. Speed. l. 8: c. 2.

- 10 Sigebert tyrant of the west Saxons. slain by a Swinheard.
- 11 Edmund brother of Athelstan. slaine by a theefe at his
owne table. Malmesb.
- 12 Edwin son to Edward the yonger for lust depriv'd of his
5 kingdom. or rather by faction of monks whome he
hated together the impostor Dunstan.
- 13 Edward son of Edgar murderd by his stepmother to which
may be inserted the tragedie stirrd up betwixt the monks
and preists about mariage.
- 10 14 Ethelred son of Edgar a slothfull k. the ruin of his land by
the Danes.
- 15 Ceaulin k. of west saxons for tyrannie depos'd, and ban-
ish't & dying
- 16 the slaughter of the monks of Bangor by Edelfride stirrd
15 up as is said by Ethelbert, and he by Austine the monke
because the Britains would not receave the rites of the
Roman Church. See Beda. Geffrey Monmouth. and
Holinshed p. 104. which must begin with the convoca-
tion of British clergie by Austin to determin superfluous
20 points which by them were refused.
- 17 Edwin by vision promis'd the kingdom of Northhumber-
land on promise of his conversion and therin establish't
by Rodoald K. of Eastangles.
- 18 Oswin k. of Deira slaine by Oswie his freind k of Bernitia
25 through instigation of flatterers. See Holinshed. p. 115.

- 19 Sigibert of the Eastangles keeping companie with a person
excommunicated, slaine by the same man in his house
according as the bishop Cedda had foretold.
- 20 Egfride k. of the Northumbers slaine in battell against the
5 Picts having before wasted Ireland and made warre
for no reason on men that ever lov'd the English, fore-
warnd also by Cutbert not to fight with the Picts.
- 21 Kinewulf k. of the west Saxons slaine by Kineard in the
house of one of his concubins.
- 10 22. Gunthildis the danish ladie. with her husband Palingus
and her son slaine by appointment of the traitor Edrick
in k Ethelreds days. Holinshed. 7 l. c. 5. together with
the massacre of the danes at Oxford. Speed.
- 23 Brightrick of west Saxons poyson'd by his wife Ethelburga
15 Offa's daughter who dyes miserably also in beggery af-
ter adultery in an nunnery Speed in Bithric.
- 24 Alfred in disguise of a minstrel discovers the danes negli-
gence sets on with a mightie slaughter about the same
tyme the devonshire men rout Hubba & slay him.
- 20 A Heroicall Poem may be founded somewhere in Alfreds
reigne. especially at his issuing out of Edelingsey on the
Danes. whose actions are wel like those of Ulysses.
- 25 Athelstan exposing his brother Edwin to the sea. and re-
penting.
- 25 26 Edgar slaying Ethelwold for false play in woing wherin
may be set out his pride, lust, which he thought to close

by favouring monks and building monasteries. also the disposition of woman in Elfrida toward her husband.

- 27 Swane beseidging London and Ethelred repuls't by the Londoners
- 5 28 Harold slaine in battel by William the norman the first scene may begin with the ghost of Alfred the second son of Ethelred slaine in cruel manner by Godwin Harolds father. his mother and brother disuading him.
- 29 Edmund Ironside defeating the danes at Brentford with his combat with Canute
- 10 30 Edmund Ironside murder'd by Edrick the traitor and reveng'd by Canute.
- 31 Gunilda daughter to k. Canute and Emma wife to Henry the third Emperour accus'd of inchastitie is defended by her English page in combat against a giantlike adversary. who by him at 2 blows is slaine &c. Speed in the life of Canute
- 15 32 Hardiknute dying in his cups an example to riot.
- 33 Edward Confessors divorcing and imprisoning his noble wife Editha Godwins daughter wherein is shewed his over-affection to strangers the cause of Godwins insurrection, his slacknesse to redresse the corrupt clergie and superstitious prætence of chastitie. wherein Godwins forbearance of battel prais'd and the English moderation of both sides magnifi'd
- 25

[IV.] SCOTCH STORIES OR RATHER
BRITISH OF THE NORTH PARTS

[1.] Athirco slain by Natholochus whose daughters he had
ravisht and this Natholochus usurping theron the kingdom
5 seeks to slay the kindred of Athirco who scape him & conspire
against him he sends to a witch to know the event. the witch
tells the messenger that he is the man shall slay Natholochus
he detests it but in his journie home changes his mind, & per-
forms it &c. Scotch Chron. English. p. 68. 69.

10 [2.] Duffe, & Donwald
a strange story of witchcraft, & murder discover'd, & reveng'd.
Scotch story. 149. &c.

[3.] Haie the plowman
who with his tow sons that were at plow running to the battell
15 that was between the Scots & Danes in the next feild staid the
flight of his countrymen, renew'd the battell, & caus'd the vic-
torie &c. Scotch story. p. 155.

[4.] Kenneth
who having privily poison'd Malcolm Duffe, that his own son
20 might succeed is slain by Fenela. Scotch hist. p. 157. 158. &c.

[5.] Macbeth
beginning at the arrivall of Malcolm at Mackduffe. the matter
of Duncan may be express't by the appearing of his ghost.

M^r John Miltons
C H A R A C T E R
OF THE
Long Parliament
AND
ASSEMBLY of DIVINES.
In MDCXLI.

Omitted in his other Works, and never before Printed,
And very seasonable for these times.



L O N D O N :
Printed for *Henry Brome*, at the *Gun* at the West-
end of *St. Pauls.* 1 6 8 1.

To The Reader

THE Reader may take notice, That this Character of Mr. Miltons was a part of his History of Britain, and by him designed to be Printed: But out of tenderness to a Party, [whom neither this nor much more Lenity has had
5 the luck to oblige] it was struck out for some harshness, being only such a Digression, as the History it self would not be decomposed by its omission: which I suppose will be easily discerned, by reading over the beginning of the Third Book of the said History, very near which place this Character is to
10 come in.

It is reported (and from the fore-going Character it seems probable) that Mr. Milton had lent most of his Personal Estate upon the Publick Faith; which when he somewhat earnestly and warmly pressed to have restored [observing how all in
15 Offices had not only feathered their own Nests, but had enriched many of their Relations and Creatures, before the Publick Debts were discharged] after a long and chargeable Attendance, met with very sharp Rebukes; upon which at last despairing of any Success in this Affair, he was forced to return
20 from them poor and friendless, having spent all his Money, and wearied all his Friends. And he had not probably mended his worldly condition in those days, but by performing such Service for them, as afterwards he did, for which scarce anything would appear too great.

Mr. John Miltons Character of the Long Parliament In 1641.

OF these who sway'd most in the late Troubles, few words as to this point may suffice. They had Arms, Leaders, and Successes to their wish; but to make use of so great an Advantage was not their skill.

5 To *other* causes therefore, and not to the want of Force, or Warlick Manhood in the *Britains*, both those, and these lately, we must impute the ill Husbanding of those fair Opportunities, which might seem to have put Liberty so long desired, like a Bridle into their hands. Of which other causes equally
10 belonging to Ruler, Priest, and People, above hath been related: which, as they brought *those Antient Natives* to Misery and Ruine, by Liberty, which, rightly used, might have made them happy; so brought they *these of late*, after many Labours, much Blood-shed, and vast expence, to Ridiculous Frustration:
15 in whom the like defects, the like Miscarriages notoriously appeared, with Vices not less hateful or inexcusable.

For a Parliament being call'd, to Redress many things, as 'twas thought, the People with great Courage, and expectation to be eased of what Discontented them, chose to their behoof
20 in Parliament, such as they thought best affected to the Publick Good, and some indeed Men of *Wisdom* and *Integrity*; the

rest, [to be sure the greater part,] whom Wealth or ample Possessions, or bold and active Ambition [rather than Merit] had commended to the same place.

But when once the superficial Zeal and Popular Fumes that
5 acted their *New Magistracy* were cool'd, and spent in them, straight every one betook himself, setting the Common-wealth behind, his private Ends before, to do as his own profit or ambition led him. Then was Justice delayed, and soon after deny'd: Spight and Favour determined all: Hence Faction, thence
10 Treachery, both at home and in the Field: Every where Wrong, and Oppression: Foul and Horrid Deeds committed daily, or maintain'd, in secret, or in open. Some who had been called from Shops and Ware-houses, without other Merit, to sit in Supreme Councils and Committees, [as their Breeding was]
15 fell to Huckster the Common-wealth. Others did thereafter as Men could sooth and humour them best; so he who would give most, or under Covert of Hypocritical Zeal, insinuate basest, enjoyed unworthily the Rewards of Learning and Fidelity; or escaped the punishment of his Crimes and Misdeeds.
20 Their Votes and Ordinances, which Men lookt should have contained the Repealing of Bad Laws, and the immediate Constitution of better, resounded with nothing else, but new Impositions, Taxes, Excises; Yearly, Monthly, Weekly. Not to reckon the Offices, Gifts, and Preferments bestowed and shared
25 among themselves: They in the mean while, who were ever faithfullest to this Cause, and freely aided them in Person, or with their Substance, when they durst not compel either, slighted, and bereaved after, of their just Debts by greedy Se-

questrations, were tossed up and down after miserable Attendance from one Committee to another with Petitions in their hands, yet either mist the obtaining of their suit, or though it were at length granted, [mere shame and reason oft-times extorting from them at least a shew of Justice] yet by their Sequestratours and Sub-committees abroad, Men for the most part of insatiable hands, and noted Disloyalty, those Orders were commonly disobeyed: which for certain durst not have been, without secret compliance, if not compact with some Superiours able to bear them out. Thus were their Friends confiscate in their Enemies, while they forfeited their Debtours to the State, as they called it, but indeed to the Ravening Seizure of innumerable Thieves in Office: Yet were withal no less burthened in all extraordinary Assesments and Oppressions, than those whom they took to be disaffected: Nor were we happier Creditours to what we call'd the State, than to them who were Sequestred as the States Enemies.

For that Faith which ought to have been kept as Sacred and Inviolable as any thing holy, *The Publick Faith*, after infinite Sums received, and all the Wealth of the Church not better employ'd, but swallowed up into a private *Gulph*, was not ere long ashamed to confess Bankrupt. And now besides the sweetness of Bribery, and other gain, with the love of Rule, their own Guiltiness, and the dreaded name of *just Account*, which the People had long call'd for, discovered plainly that there were of their own number, who secretly contrived and fomented those Troubles and Combustions in the Land, which openly they sate to remedy; and would continually finde such

work, as should keep them from being ever brought to that *Terrible stand*, of laying down their Authority for lack of new business, or not drawing it out to any length of Time, tho' upon the Ruine of a whole Nation.

- 5 And if the *State* were in this plight, *Religion* was not in much better; to Reform which, a certain number of Divines were called, neither chosen by any Rule or Custome Ecclesiastical, nor eminent for either Piety or Knowledge above others left out; only as each Member of Parliament in his private
10 Fancy thought fit, so elected one by one. The most part of them were such, as had Preach'd and cryed down, with great shew of Zeal, the Avarice and Pluralities of Bishops and Prelates; that one Cure of Souls was a full Employment for one Spiritual Pastour how able soever, if not a charge rather above humane
15 strength. Yet these Conscientious men (ere any part of the work done for which they came together, and that on the Publick Salary) wanted not boldness, to the Ignominy and Scandal of their Pastor-like Profession, and especially of their boasted Reformation, to seize into their hands, or not unwillingly to
20 accept [besides one, sometimes two or more of the best Livings] Collegiate Masterships in the Universities, rich Lectures in the City, setting Sail to all Winds that might blow Gain into their covetous Bosoms: By which means these great Rebukers of Non-Residence, among so many distant Cures, were not
25 ashamed to be seen so quickly Pluralists and Non-Residents themselves, to a fearful Condemnation doubtless by their own Mouths. And yet the main Doctrine for which they took such pay, and insisted upon with more vehemence than Gospel, was

but to tell us in effect, that their Doctrine was worth nothing, and the Spiritual Power of their Ministry less available than Bodily Compulsion; perswading the Magistrate to use it, as a stronger means to subdue and bring in Conscience, than Evangelical perswasion: Distrusting the Virtue of their own Spiritual weapons, which were given them, if they be rightly called, with full warrant of sufficiency to pull down all thoughts and imaginations that exalt themselves against God. But while they taught compulsion without convincement, which not long before they complained of, as executed unchristianly, against themselves, these intents are clear to have been no better than Antichristian: setting up a Spiritual Tyranny by a Secular power, to the advancing of their own Authority above the Magistrate, whom they would have made their Executioner, to punish Church-Delinquencies, whereof Civil Laws have no cognizance.

And well did their Disciples manifest themselves to be no better principled than their Teachers, trusted with Committeeships and other gainful Offices, upon their commendations for Zealous, [and as they stickt not to term them] Godly men; but executing their places like Children of the Devil, unfaithfully, unjustly, unmercifully, and where not corruptly, stupidly. So that between them the Teachers, and these the Disciples, there hath not been a more ignominious and mortal wound to Faith, to Piety, to the work of Reformation, nor more cause of Blaspheming given to the Enemies of God and Truth, since the first Preaching of Reformation.

The People therefore looking one while on the Statists,

whom they beheld without constancy or firmness, labouring doubtfully beneath the weight of their own too high undertakings, busiest in petty things, trifling in the main, deluded and quite alienated, expressed divers ways their disaffection; 5 some despising whom before they honoured, some deserting, some inveighing, some conspiring against them. Then looking on the *Church-men*, whom they saw under subtle Hypocrisie to have Preached their own Follies, most of them not the Gospel, Time-servers, Covetous, Illiterate Persecutors, not 10 lovers of the Truth, like in most things whereof they accused their Predecessors: Looking on all this, the People which had been kept warm a while with the counterfeit zeal of their Pulpits, after a false heat, became more cold and obdurate than before, some turning to Lewdness, some to flat Atheism, put 15 beside their old Religion, and foully scandalized in what they expected should be new.

Thus they who of late were extoll'd as our greatest Deliverers, and had the People wholly at their Devotion, by so discharging their Trust as we see, did not only weaken and 20 unfit themselves to be dispensers of what Liberty they pretended, but unfitted also the People, now grown worse and more disordinate, to receive or to digest any Liberty at all. For Stories teach us, that Liberty sought out of season, in a corrupt and degenerate Age, brought *Rome* itself into a farther Slavery: For Liberty hath a sharp and double edge, fit only to be 25 handled by Just and Vertuous Men; to bad and dissolute, it becomes a mischief unweildy in their own hands: neither is it compleatly given, but by them who have the happy skill to

know what is grievance, and unjust to a People, and how to remove it wisely; what good Laws are wanting, and how to frame them substantially, that good Men may enjoy the freedom which they merit, and the bad the Curb which they need.

5 But to do this, and to know these exquisite proportions, the *Heroick Wisdom* which is required, surmounted far the Principles of these narrow Politicians: what wonder then if they sunk as these unfortunate *Britains* before them, entangled and oppress with things too hard, and generous above their strain

10 and temper? For *Britain*, to speak a truth not often spoken, as it is a Land fruitful enough of Men stout and courageous in War, so is it naturally not over-fertile of Men able to govern justly and prudently in Peace, trusting only in their Mother-Wit; who consider not justly, that Civility, Prudence, love of

15 the Publick good, more than of Money or vain Honour, are to this Soyl in a manner Outlandish; grow not here, but in minds well implanted with solid and elaborate Breeding, too impolitic else and rude, if not headstrong and intractable to the industry and vertue either of executing or understanding true

20 Civil Government. Valiant indeed, and prosperous to win a field; but to know the end and Reason of winning, unjudicious and unwise: in good or bad Success alike unteachable. For the Sun which we want, ripens Wits as well as Fruits; and as Wine and Oyl are Imported to us from abroad: so must ripe Under-

25 standing, and many civil Vertues, be imported into our minds from Forreign Writings, and examples of best Ages, we shall else miscarry still, and come short in the attempts of any great Enterprise. Hence did their Victories prove as fruitless, as their

losses dangerous; and left them still conquering under the same grievances, that men suffer conquered: which was indeed unlikely to go otherwise, unless men more than vulgar bred up, as few of them were, in the knowledge of Antient
5 and Illustrious Deeds, invincible against many and vain Titles, impartial to Friendships and Relations, had conducted their Affairs: but then from the Chapman to the Retailer, many whose Ignorance was more audacious than the rest, were admitted with all their sordid Rudiments to bear no mean sway
10 among them, both in Church and State.

From the confluence of all their Errors, Mischiefs, and Misdemeanours, what in the eyes of Man could be expected, but what befel those Antient Inhabitants whom they so much resembled, Confusion in the end?

15 But on these things, and this Parallel, having enough insisted, I return to the story which gave us matter of this Digression.

Toland's Additions to the History of Britain

1. [Vol.X,page 19,line 20, *for* "name"] Name not found in any Register of French Kings
2. [P.24,l.4, *for* "recollecting his Navy"] finding means to recollect his Navy
- 5 3. [P.56,l.8, *for* "*Iland*. To whom the Senate"] *Iland*. By which is manifestly refuted that which *Eutropius* and *Orosius* write of his conquering at that time also the *Orcades* Ilands lying to the North of *Scotland*; and not conquer'd by the *Romans* (for aught found in any good Author) till above
10 forty Years after, as shall appear. To *Claudius* the Senat,
4. [P.81,l.6-7, *for* "Under *Adrian* . . . Iland,"] But *Hadrian* next entring on the Empire, they soon unsubdu'd themselves. *Julius Severus*, saith *Dion*, then govern'd the Iland,
5. [P.81,l.8, "but" *is omitted*.]
- 15 6. [P.81,l.15, *for* "no"] as his manner was to do in other Frontiers of his Empire, where great Rivers divided not the Limits. No
7. [P.83,l.25, *for* "frugal, temperate"] frugal and temperate
8. [P.84,l.7, *for* "he put to death *Perennis* the Captain of his
20 Guard"] he deliver'd up to thir care *Perennis* the Captain of his Guard, for having in the *British War* remov'd thir Leaders, who were Senators, and in thir places put those of the Equestrian Order.

9. [P.84,l.12, *for* "and was fain"] and though afterwards he severely punish'd the Tumulters, was fain

10. [P.87,l.10, *for* "had wip't"] had whip't

11. [P.93,l.9, *for* "*Helena*, a mean Woman"] a mean
5 Woman, *Helena*, the Concubine of *Constantius*,

12. [P.98,l.14, *for* "name"] Name. *Orosius* who liv'd at this time writes, that *Ireland* was then inhabited by *Scots*. [*With a marginal note,*] Oros.l.i.cap.2.

13. [P.179,l.25, *for* "neither they then we"] neither they nor
10 we

14. [P.241,l.28, *for* "Monks."] Monks and Fryers.

15. [*Toland added probably on Milton's authority the following marginal notes.* P.57,l.11] Eutropius [P.91,l.9] Oros. l.7.cap.25. [P.93,l.10] Oros. l.7.25.cap. Cass. Chron. [P.204,l.28]
15 Suithune [*and at* P.290,l.28, *for* "*Mat. West.*" reads] Malms. [*and omits "Ingulf" at* P.292,l.3.].

[For an account of other Miltonic corrections in the *History of Britain*, see the Notes.]

Essays from the Columbia Manuscript Perhaps by John Milton

Of Statues & Antiquities.

The things to be sought for are these following: Statues clothed & naked, but the naked ones are of greatest value, Heads of all sorts that can be found, marbles carved with halfe round figures, which are called Basso, Relevo, Pili of Marble
5 historied, which are like troughs of Marble carved with figures, Vazes, Altars, or pedestalls with any kinde of carved work on them, or if the vazes be plaine, they are to be esteemed. Likewise beasts of all kindes for tombes or sepulchers, The most ancient are to be desired, for as for those done in latter
10 times, of the Easterne Emperors they are of small value. Inscriptions of all sorts, & if a statue have an inscription on the pedestall or Bases, it is the more rare. or if a pedestall be standing with anie inscription on it, & neare it by digging, a Statue chance to be found it is of the like value. Besides all these, there
15 are to be provided manie great blocks of severall grecian marbles to mend & repaire the statues, & other things afore-said. All things of Brasse work that can be found, as Statues, heads, peices of Basso Relevo, and likewise all little figures in brasse or lampes, vazes Instruments for sacrifice, medalls or
20 whatsoever else can be gotten, if they be of metall, are of great value.

The places in greece where these things are to be found are infinite, but reduced to these 3 generall heads. 1st Peloponnesus round about near the sea coast, where any ancient city hath bin, which will appeare by the ruines, & neare a port
 5 where ships may come, are to be searched especially in Elis, where was anciently that famous Temple of Jove Olympius, in honour of whome, were Celebrated the Olympian games, here were an infinity of Statues both of brasse & marble & other rarities dedicated, for besides that all that were Victors
 10 in those games, had their Statues erected, all the common wealths, principalitys & famous cityes of greece dedicated their choisest Statues, rarities, & richest things. & to that purpose were many treasuries built; where these things were kept, & shewed by the Guardians to all strangers that came. the
 15 Temple being filled, there was a spacious place called the Alti, or sacred grove of Jupiter, as full as they could stand one by another, this place being found, the ruines will direct one where to dig, & here must needs be had an infinite number & all good, nothing being dedicated in that place but the works
 20 of the most excellent Masters, within the land may many things of these kindes be had, but the conducting of them by carts & draggs wilbe more chargeable; as in Phocis, a part of Achaia, lying on the gulf of Corinth, now called Lapanto, are the ruines of Apolloes temple, & oracle of Delphos in
 25 which were the works of old grecian Sculptours comparable both in number & excellency to that of the Olympian Jove aforesaid. Likewise on the other side of the Isthmus, as far as Athens where yet remaineth standing a great part of the

Temple of Pallas, in which are manie excellent Sculptures of Basso Relevo, & on the sea shore are lyeing certaine lyons of marble much bigger then the living.

All along the coast of Asia near the sea, from Cnidus standing on the point of Doris even as far as Ilium, must needs yeild
 5 abundance of Antiquities there remaining the ruines of many famous grecian cities, as of Halycarnassus, Heraclea, Ephesus, Colophon, Smyrna, Trajanopolis, &c. & further into the land Pergamus, where many excellent things may be had, only the
 10 charge wilbe more, by carryeing them to the sea, as aforesaid.

In the Islands Cyclades now called Archipelago, are many rare things to be found, for in some of them divers broken statues have bin seen lyeing above ground. The Island of Delos was the mart of all Greece where yett remaineth the ruine of
 15 Apolloes temple. neare unto which by digging, many Statues of the best ancient sculptours may bee had, & the like in Samos, Icaria, Patmos, Paros, Amorgos &c. the particulars of which shunning prolixity, I omitt, as for those Islands there belonging to the Venetians, as Zant, Cephalonia, Candy &c. I doubt
 20 there is little to be gotten in them, haveing bin often searched.

The meanes to gett these things are these, there must be a passe or safe conduct from the Great Turk procured by the Ambassadors at Constantinople authorizing and securing the man employed in all the aforesaid places, to search, dig up,
 25 & transport these things only for curiosity, for the Turkes must not know that they are of any value, he that is employed must alwayes weare poor apparell, for by that meanes the Turkes will imagine the things he seeks for to be of no great

estimation, he must have letters of recommendation to the English consuls, & merchants factours at every place where he goeth, with bills of exchange, & letters of credit, for the digging, carryeing, or buyeing, of the things aforesaid, he
 5 must never be without great store of Tobacco, & English Knives, to present the Turks with all, who are governours of places, & other officers, with whome he shall have to doe; for these small presents, together with his shew of poverty, will save him from many Troubles which other wise might hap-
 10 pen, the men that he employes to dig, he must pay by the day, and if he meet, with any Statues or Colossus's to great to be carried away whole, he must employ men to saw them asunder with Iron Sawes & sharp sand, he must use a great frame with tackles & pullies to load these on dragges or carts, he must be
 15 very carefull to gather together all the smallest bits & fragments that are found or digged up neare to any Statue, & put them up in boxes, which he must give to the masters of the ships, to be safely delivered here. he must provide Magazines or storehouses, in the port townes, which lye most convenient
 20 for his purpose, where the things are to be kept, untill they be transported, the best things being put in cases of boards, & th'other in the ballast, he must take heed not to load these in any ship where butts of oyle lye on the top of them, for many things have bin spoyled by that meanes, he must send home
 25 bills of lading, expressing every thing that he sendeth, with the name of the Master, & of the ship, he must as often as he can send letters of what things he hath gathered, & what he hath sent, & of all other occurrents belonging to this businesse.

A breif description of Genoa.

The city is seated upon the declining of a rocky hill & hath its prospect towards the south, so as from the sea the most part thereof may be plainly discerned.

The circuit of the same is little lesse then 6 Italian miles.

- 5 The towne walls are fair, strong, & built of stone.

The 2 gates of St. Tomaso & Del Arco (seated towards the sea) are so large, as they seem to be fortresses.

- The haven is fair & larg enough, to receive a Navy of ships, it is narrow at the entrance, & a Mole or Peer is—it into the
10 sea, at the point whereof there is a blockhouse well furnished with Artillery.

- This mole defends the harbour from all windes, the S. W. except. Within this Haven & within this Mole (on the west side of the harbour opposite to the Mole) there is an Arsenall
15 able to receive 18 or 20 Gallies, but whether any ordnance be there planted for the defence of the Haven & it, I know not.

- Half a mile without the Towne westward at a point close unto the sea, there is a watch Tower erected, called Torre della Luminaria, wherein there is nightly a light turning, for a
20 mark to them that are at sea, & between it & the mole, all the ships that enter the Harbour must passe, there is also a blockhouse furnished with Artillery, distant from the blockhouse upon the Mole about 3 quarters of an Engl. mile.

- The King of Spaine hath continually in Genoa 13 gallies
25 (for his service) in his pay which are in the charge & under the command of one of the family of D'Oria a Genovese.

Additional Correspondence

LXXI. BRAMHALL TO MILTON

[Bramhall wrote to his son on May 9, 1654: "That lying abusive book was written by Milton himself. . . . But I desire not to wound the nation through his sides, *yet I have written to him long since about it roundly*. It seems he desires not to touch upon that subject. *That silly book which he ascribed to me, was written by one John Rowland . . .*"]

LXXII. MILTON TO CHRISTOPHER MILTON.

[I would] faine speake with you, for there is an
[estate at revers]ion to be sold for ever & there will be
[five hundred pounds] worth aforded & if all things be
10 [well approved] you lay out your mony for what parte of
[it you wish & lea]ve the rest. I would speake with you
[soon when you will] finde I am

Your ever lo: brother

[Please to] bring me 4 or 5

J: M

15 [. . .] Conv* bonds

[Jan. 1657/8?]

LXXIII. MRS. MERIAN TO MILTON.

[Mrs. Clarke (Deborah Milton) told Birch on March 24, 1737/8, that "that lady, going over to Ireland, and resolving to take Milton's daughter with her, if he would give his consent, wrote a letter to him of her design, and assured him, that
20 '*as chance had thrown his daughter under her care, she would treat her not otherwise than as his daughter and her own companion.*'"]

[After 1669]

LXXIV. MYLIUS TO MILTON

Nobilissime Domine Miltoni.

Diu desideravi reditum vestrum et alloquium, cui si tempus commodum determinare placuerit, adero et me paucis expediam, cum rationem temporis magni vobis constare sciam.

5 Salveas à tuarum virtutum æstimatore et admiratore

[Mylius]

[Oct. 16, 1651]

LXXV. MYLIUS TO MILTON

Domino Miltonio

Tuas heri ad me datas, hodie accepi, et perlectas relegi eo
 10 libentius quod prout tui in me amoris et animi, in quo præ
 cæteris expectationis et cunctationis hactenus meæ spem et
 fiduciam collocavi, indices et testes fuerint insignes: Faxit altis-
 simus, ut exordio huius novi anni pro more Germanico exo-
 dium tandem moræ, et remoræ omnis breve optatum, optatis-
 15 simam etiam finitam* expeditionem videam, et te cum ea
 præsens præsentem intueri et amplexari gratiasque si non con-
 dignas saltem ex mente nuda et pura veritate natas agere et
 referre possim, voto devoto, quo te ex cephalalgia et inflamma-
 tione oculorum laborantem veluti ægrè audio, DEO intimo
 20 corde commendo, qui te restituat et sospitem Reip. patriæ
 bono diutissimè conservet, et in te eum, quem hactenus vivis
 documentis expertus eum, adfectum manu properanti, mente
 constanti

erga Tuum tibi totum vindicatum

25 [Jan. 1, 1652]

Mylium.

LXXIV. MYLIUS TO MILTON

Most Noble Mr Milton

I have long desired your return, and a conversation, for which, if it please you to set a suitable time, I will come and express myself briefly, for I know that time is a matter of importance with you. Greetings from an admirer and valuer of your virtues, Mylius.

[Oct. 16. 1651]

LXXV. MYLIUS TO MILTON

To Mr. Milton,

I received today your letter of yesterday, and read it twice, the more pleasurably because it contained marked evidences and proofs of your affectionate feelings toward me, on which beyond all else I have based thus far hope and trust in my prolonged waiting. May the Lord bring it to pass that as this New Year begins, in German fashion, I may see the longed for speedy finale of every delay and hindrance, as well as the ardently desired completion of my mission; and that therewith I may be able to see you face to face, and embrace you, expressing in words and deeds thanks that, if not wholly adequate, at least spring from a sincere and truthful soul. With an affectionate prayer (for I hear, and am as it were ill myself in hearing, that you are suffering from headache and sore eyes) I commend you with all my heart to God, that he may restore you to health and for the good of your country and the Commonwealth keep you safe for many, many years, preserving in you that prompt-handed, steadfast-minded good will, which I have thus far experienced in actual instances towards your devoted Mylius.

[Jan. 1. 1651/2]

Fugitive, Lost, and Projected Works of John Milton

[I. VERSE]

[1. Poems written at the age of ten years. 1618.]

[2. Lines noted down for an unknown poem.]

Fixe heere yee overdaled sphears
that wing the restlesse foote of time

[3. "ARTHUR, in imitation of the ILIAD."]

[4. "ALFRED, in imitation of the ODYSSEY."]

[5. Lines, later used in *Paradise Lost*, Book IV, 32 ff., but composed for the beginning of a tragedy not finished.]

[Satan.] O Thou that with surpassing Glory Crown'd!

Look'st from thy Sole Dominion, like the God
Of this New World; at whose sight all the Stars
Hide their diminish'd Heads; to thee I call,

5 But with no friendly Voice; and add thy Name,
O Sun! to tell thee how I hate thy Beams

That bring to my remembrance, from what State
I fell; how Glorious once above thy Sphere;
Till Pride and worse Ambition threw me down,

10 Warring in Heaven, against Heaven's Glorious King.

[6. Lines translated from Euripides, *Supplices*, 438 ff., for the title page of *Areopagitica*, 1644.]

- This is true Liberty when free born men
 Having to advise the public may speak free,
 Which he who can, and will, deserv's high praise,
 Who neither can nor will, may hold his peace;
 5 What can be juster in a State then this?

Euripid. Hicetid.

- [7. Lines adapted from Juvenal, *Satires*, I, 15–16, for the title page of the second edition of *The Readie and Easie Way*, 1660.]

—————et nos

Consilium dedimus *Syllæ*, demus populo nunc.

- [*E'en we have given counsel to Sulla—to the people now.*]
 [8, etc. See the Notes for other supposedly lost verses, and for poems that may have been planned by Milton.]

II. PROSE

- [1. Cancelled passage in the first issue of *Animadversions*, 1641, lost, and possibly merely a repetition.]
 [2. A proposed reply to Lilburne and the Levellers, 1649, probably never written.]
 [3.] *Heads* [concerning the Insurrections in Essex, 1650, never printed, and apparently lost.]
 [4.] A translation of the *Intercursus Magnus*, [lost.]
 [5. Lost State Papers.]

- [6.] *Idioma Linguae Latinæ*, [an unfinished and lost Latin Dictionary in three MS volumes.]
- [7.] *A Greek Thesaurus*, [unfinished and lost.]
- [8.] *A Defence of Himself*, [completed, but never printed, and now lost.]
- [9, etc. Other known and supposed lost writings are discussed in the notes, together with references to his lost drawings, musical compositions, etc.]

Book Inscriptions

FROM PRESENTATION COPIES

[1. *From a volume of tracts represented to Patrick Young, the King's Librarian, 1645.*]

Ad doctissim[um] virum, Patri[cium] Junium Joanne[s]
Miltonius hæc sua, unum in fa[s]culum conjecta mittit, paucis
h[u]jusmodi lectorib[us] contentus.

[*To the most learned man, Patrick Young, John Milton*
5 *sends these works of his, bound in one volume, content with*
readers of this sort though few.]

[2. *From a volume of tracts presented to John Rous for the Bodleian Library, 1646.*]

Doctissimo viro, probóque Librorum Æstimatori Joanni
Rousio, Oxoniensis Academiae Bibliothecario, gratum hoc sibi
fore testanti Joannes Miltonius opuscula hæc sua in Biblio-
10 thecam antiquissimam atque celeberrimam adsciscenda libens
tradit, tanquam in memoriae perpetuæ fanum, emeritamque,
uti sperat, invidiæ, calumniæque vacationem; si Veritati, Bonó-
que simul Eventui satis litatum sit. Sunt autem

De reformatione Angliæ lib. 2.

15 De Episcopatu Prælati lib. 1

De ratione politiæ Ecclesiasticæ lib. 2.

Animadversiones in Remonstrantis Defensionem—lib. 1

Apologia—lib. 1

Doctrina, et disciplina divortii lib. 2

20 Judicium Buceri de Divortis lib. 1

Colasterion lib. 1

Tetrachordon in aliquot præcipua scripturæ loca de Divortio
instar lib. 4

Areopagitica, sive de libertate Typographiæ Oratio
De Educatione Ingenuorum epistola

- 5 Poemata Latina, et Anglicana seorsim

[*To the most learned man and upright judge of books, John Rous, Librarian of Oxford University (who said this would please him), John Milton gladly sends these his pamphlets, to be received into that most ancient and celebrated library, as*
10 *into a temple of immortal fame and a vacation (as he hopes) exempt from envy and calumny, if Truth and Good Fortune alike be propitious. . The titles follow . . .*]

[3. *From a copy of Eikonoklastes, presented to the Earl of Carbery, 1650.*]

For my very good Friend Mr. William Thomas at Laherne,
to be presented to the Earle of Carbery.

[4. *From a copy of the Poems of 1645 presented to Peter Heimbach, 1655 or 1656.*]

- 15 Viro vere Egregio Poetæ Eleganti. Florido Oratori. Acuto
Philosopho. P. ab Heimbach. IC. Amico suo J. Milton. Auth.
[*John Milton, the author, to his friend the truly outstanding gentleman, elegant poet, flowery orator, keen philosopher, Peter von Heimbach, counsellor-at-law.*]

[5. *From a copy of Paradise Lost, given to Francis Rea, 1667.*]

- 20 For my loving Friend Mr. Francis Rea Booke-binder in
Worcestershire.

FROM AUTOGRAPH ALBUMS

[1. *From the Album of Count Camillus Cardouin, 1639.*]

—if Vertue feeble were

Heaven it selfe would stoope to her.

Cœlum non animum muto dum trans mare curro.

Joannes Miltonius Anglus.

5 Junii 10^o 1639.

[*"I change my sky but not my spirit when I cross the sea."*]

[2. *From the Album of Christopher Arnold, 1651.*]

Ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τελειοῦμαι

Doctissimo Viro, meoque fautori humanissimo, D. Christophoro Arnoldo dedi hoc, in memoriam cum suæ virtutis, tum mei erga se studij. Londini. An: D. 1651. Novem: 19.

10

Joannes Miltonius.

[*"My strength is made perfect in weaknes."* To the most learned man, and my most cultured champion, Mr. Christopher Arnold, I have given this, in memory of his virtue and my zeal towards him.]

[3. *From the Album of John Zollikofer, 1656.*]

15

ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τελειοῦμαι

Londini. 26. Sept.

Joannes Miltonius.

[*"My strength is made perfect in weaknes."* 2. Cor. xii, 9.]

The Cabinet-Council :
Containing the 'Cheif ARTS
OF
EMPIRE,
And MYSTERIES of
STATE;
DISCABINETED

In *Political and Polemical Aphorisms*,
grounded on *Authority*, and *Experience*;

And illustrated with the choicest
Examples and Historical
Observations.

By the Ever-renowned Knight ,
SIR WALTER RALEIGH ,
Published
By JOHN MILTON, Esq;

Quis Martem tunicâ testum Adamantinâ dignè scripserit ?

London, Printed by *The. Newcomb* for *The. Johnson*
at the sign of the Key in *St. Pauls Churchyard*,
near the West-end. 1658.

Milton's Introduction to Raleigh's "Cabinet Council"

[From his Edition of Sir Walter Raleigh's
Cabinet-Council, 1658.]

To the READER.

Having had the *Manuscript* of this *Treatise*, Written by Sir
Walter Raleigh, many years in my hands, and finding it lately
by chance among other Books and Papers, upon reading there-
of, I thought it a kinde of injury to withhold longer the work
5 of so eminent an Author from the Publick; it being both an-
swerable in Stile to other Works of his already Extant, as far
as the subject would permit, and given me for a true Copy by a
Learned Man at his Death, who had Collected several such
peices.

Marginalia

I. NOTES IN MILTON'S FAMILY BIBLE

1. [On a blank page before *Genesis* I, i]

John Milton was born the 9th of December 1608 die Veneris
half an howr after 6 in the morning

Christofer Milton was born on Friday about a month before
Christmass at 5 in the morning 1615

- 5 Edward Phillips was 15 year old August 1645

John Phillips is a year younger about Octob.

My daughter Anne was born July the 29th on the fast at
eevning about half an howre after six 1646.

- 10 My daughter Mary was born on Wedensday Octob. 25th on
the fast day in the morning about 6 a clock 1648.

My son, John was born on Sunday March the 16th about
half an hower past nine at night 1650

My daughter Deborah was born the 2d of May being Sun-
day somewhat before 3 of the clock in the morning. 1652.

- 15 my wife hir mother dyed about 3. days after. And my son
about—6. weeks after his mother.

- 20 Katherin my daughter, by Katherin my second wife, was
borne the 19th of October, between 5 and 6 in the morn-
ing, and dyed the 17th of March following, 6 weeks after
hir mother, who dyed the 3rd of feb. 1657.

2. [On II *Kings*, V, 6, “behold”] and behold

3. [On *Nehemiah*, xiii, 31 “. . . Remember me, O my God,
for good.”] Amen

4. [On *Romans* xv, 6, "glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." the God and father.
5. [On *I. Corinthians* xiii, 12 "wee see through a glasse, darkely" where the margin offers the reading "in a riddle" *for "darkely"] *the Best text.

II. NOTES IN MARY MILTON'S BIBLE

- [1.] Anne my Daughter was born, July the 29th the day of the monthly fast between six & seavn, or about half an hour after six the Ev'ning 1646.
- Mary my Daughter was born on Wednesday Octob. 25
 10 on the Fast Day in the morning about 6 a Clock 1648.
- My son John was born on Sunday March the 16th about halfe an howre past nine at night 1650.
- My Daughter Deborah was born the 2d of May, being Sunday somewhat before 3 of the Clock in the morning
 15 1652.
- [2.] S.S. vocatur Liber sacerdotalis ab Ambrosio.
 Dionysius vocat Scripturam substantiam Sacerdotii nostri.
 Sacræ Scripturæ sunt Dei ad homines litteræ.
 Struxit è S.Script. atque in primis è S.Paulo Ambrosius
 20 Doctrinam suam, Vitæ Innocentiam, Comitatem mixtam, Morum Gravitatem, Spiritum Episcopalem, imo Apostolicum.

[The Book of Holy Scripture is called priestly by Ambrose. Denis calls the Scriptures the basis of our priesthood. The Holy Scriptures are the letters of God to men. Ambrose constructed
 25 from the Holy Scriptures, and first of all from St. Paul, his

doctrine; innocence of life together with mildness; gravity of conduct, and an episcopal, yea, an apostolic spirit.]

III. NOTES ON PINDAR

From *Pindari Olympica, etc.*, Saumur, 1620.

1. (FLYLEAF). [*De Pindaro.*]

Τέσσαρες εἰσὶν ἀγῶνες ἐν Ἑλλάδι, τέσσαρες ἱροί:

Οἱ δὺὸ μὲν θνητῶν, οἱ δὺὸ δ' ἀθανάτων:

5 *Ζηνὸς, ἡ Λητοῖδ' αἶσα, ἡ Παλαίμονος, ἡ Ἀρχεμοροῖο:* *

Ἄθλα δὲ τῶν, κοτινὸς, μῆλα, σέλινα, πίτυς.

* Olympia * Pythia * Isthmia * Nemea

Πινδαρον οὐ ποθέοντι τόσον βοιωτίδες ὕλαι. Mosch: Idyll: 3.

Spondanus Annot: in Hom: p: 65 citat hoc Pindari dictum

10 *θεοῦ θέλοντος, καὶ ἐπὶ ῥιπὸς πλέοις;* Deo secundo vel naviges in vimine. dubitat tamen utrum sit Pindari.

Idem et in Pindarum et in Aristophanem scripsit scholia.

Vide Schol: Aristoph. pag. 2.

[“Four are the Games in Hellas, the four are holy. Two
15 (were founded) by mortals and two by immortals: by Hercules,¹ by Apollo,² by Palaemon,³ and by Adrastus.⁴ The prizes are wild olive, apple, celery, and pine.” (These are in order) Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean.

Spondanus in his notes on Homer, page 65, cites the following saying of Pindar “With the help of God, even if you sail
20 in a basket”; but he doubts if it be Pindar’s.

The same man wrote scholia on Pindar and Aristophanes, see the second page of the scholia on the latter.]

2. [Leaf a iii, verso. *Epistola dedicatoria Joh. Benedicti*. Lucianum inter oratores etc.]

5 Lucianus a Benedicto editus.

[Lucian has been edited by Johannes Benedictus.]

De Pindaro.

3. [Leaf e ii, verso. Simonidem etc.]

Simonides Pindari praeceptor:

[Simonides was Pindar's teacher.]

10 4. [In matrimonio etc.]

Pindari pietas.

[The piety of Pindar.]

5. [Leaf e iii, verso. ob hunc versum *Λιπαραι κτλ.*]

Citatur hoc ab Eustathio in Iliad: B pag: 215. lin: 2.

15 [This verse is cited by Eustathius on Iliad II etc.]

6. [Nec vivo tantum etc.]

Pindari etiam mortui honor:

[Reverence for Pindar even after his death.]

OLYMPIA I, Strophe I.

7. [Page 1. *Ἀριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ.*]

20 Hinc Lucian: in Timone, *αἰθόμενον γὰρ πῦρ* [κτλ.]

[Hence Lucian in the Timon has the phrase "kindled fire"]

8. [P. 2. *Comment.* Vixit cum Simonide etc.]

Simonides avarus Arist: Ethic: ad Nicom: lib: 4 cap: 2 de

liberali homine disserens, ait, quòd talis est τῷ Σιμωνίδῃ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος

[Simonides was avaricious; Aristotle in the *Nicomachean Ethics* IV, 2 discussing the liberal man, says, he is not the sort
5 to suit Simonides.]

9. [P. 3. Comment. Optima autem aqua . . . ex eo elemento nata . . . omnia.]

Aquæ præstantia Lycophron pag: 28 vocat ἄλὰ θυναιάν

[The preeminence of water.—Lycophron speaks of the
10 mighty sea.]

10. [P. 4. Commentary.

Νυξ τέλεθεν, πάντες δ' ὕπνω γλυκὺ δῶρον ἔλοντο

Ἐν μέγαρῳ δμῶες, καὶ τέκτονας οὐκ ἔτ' ἐπ' ἔργον

Ἐξήγειρε φίλος πόνος. (1) ἴδιος πόνος.]

15 Hæc carmina habentur in epitaphio Jo: Flemingi authore Gerarto Falkenburgio, quod epitaphium Callimacho adiunxit Bonaventura Volcanius. In eiusdem Flemingi epitaphio sunt hæc verba,—ξάν τ' ἐξείλετο ζῶάν, ubi Ger: Falkenburgius visus est imitari illud Moschi Idyll: 4 καὶ ἐκ φίλον εἴλετο θυμὸν. Sic
20 Hom: Oduss: α p. 23. l. 11. Νόστον πευσόμενον πατρὸς φίλου—quod communiter transferunt Reditum sciscitaturum patris sui.

[“Night came and all the serving women took the sweet gift of sleep in the hall, nor yet had their dear (*i.e.*, peculiar) toil
25 roused the craftsmen to work.” These verses are used in the epitaph on John Fleming, written by Gerard Falkenburg, which Bonaventura Volcanius added to his edition of Calli-

machus. In Fleming's epitaph are the words "if he seize his life," where Falkenburg seems to imitate that Fourth* Idyll of Moschus, "And he took their life." So Homer, Odyssey, I, which is usually rendered "seeking news of the return of his
 5 own dear father."]

Antistrophe 1.

11. [P. 8. *παίζομεν* (et in versione) ludimus.]

Ludere quæ vellem calamo permisit agresti Virg. Ecl: 1 Ludere, i. canere, ut ait Cerda et *παίζειν* hîc idem significare contendit.

10 [Vergil in the first Eclogue (line 10) says, He has permitted me to play what I like on rustic pipe, where play means sing, as Cerda says and he contends that the Greek has the same meaning here.]

Epode 1.

12. [P. 9. *γαϊόχοι Ποσειδῶν* κτλ.]

15 Tzetzes Lycoph: Cass: p: 32 citans hunc locum scribit
Τοῦ γαϊόχοι ἐράσαστο Ποσειδῶν.

13. [P. 10. Comment. de equis Eumeli,]

Homerus ἐν τῇ *Βοιωτίᾳ* has equas omnibus aliis equis præfert, quibus Græci in Troiano bello sunt usi.

20 [Homer in the Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* II, 763) prefers these mares of Eumelus to all the other horses the Greeks used in the Trojan War.]

14. [P. 12. Comment. Sic *θαυματὰ* pro *θαυμαστὰ*]

Quo modo accipit Eustathius in *Iliad*: 2. pag. 303 lin: 26.

Strophe 2.

15. [P. 14. μείων γὰρ αἰτία]

Sic παῦροί τινες infra Od: 10 Str: 2. et μείων pro οδύεις Pyth: Od: 1, Str: 5.

Antistrophe 3.

16. [P. 23. ἐρῶντας]

5 Tzetzes Lyc: Cass: p: 32 citans hunc locum scribit μνηστῆρας.

Strophe 4.

17. [P. 30. Comment.]

Cicero Tusc: quæst: lib: 1 de Diagora filiorumque ejus victoriis Olympicis loquens, Magna (inquit) hæc, et nimirum fortasse Græci putant, vel tum potius putabant.

10 [Cicero, speaking of Diagoras and the Olympic victories of his sons, says, "Great deeds were these, and indeed the Greeks certainly think so, or rather did then."]

Epode 4.

18. [P. 35. βέλος]

Ut Pindarus cantica sua Lyrica telis comparat, sic Lycophron

15 Cass: p: 148 telum lyræ comparat.

[As Pindar compares his lyric songs to shafts, Lycophron in his Cassandra compares a shaft to a lyre.]

19. [P. 35. τὸ δ' ἔσχατον]

20 vide Eurip: in Hecubâ pag: 33 ubi Agamemnonis vocem appellat ὁσάττην ὄπα: ad quem locum Scholiastes huius Pindarici dicti mentionem facit.

[See Euripides, *Hecuba*, where he calls the voice of Agamemnon "the voice of the last," at which place the scholiast makes mention of this Pindaric saying.]

Olympia II, Strophe 1.

20. [P. 38. Comment. "montis imago."] Nomen.

Antistrophe 1.

21. [P. 41. Comment. Oculum Siciliæ vocat.]

Ἑμοῖς φαέεσσι ἵσον πεφλαμένε θυμῷ Ἀνθρ. Gerart: Falkenburgius in epitaphio Joh: Flemingi.

Antistrophe 3.

5 22. [P. 52. Comment.]

Καὶ γὰρ ὁ τρέχων, ἔαν δέκα δολίχους δραμῶν, τὸν ὑστερον ἀφῇ, τὸ πᾶν ἀπώλεσε. Chrysost. T. 4: in Proæmio ad Philip. p. 3. l. 8. Ubi Dunæus pro δέκα legit ἑνδεκα, quia duodecies metam flecebant.

10 ["Thus the racer, who makes ten turns, if he lose the last loses all," says Chrysostom. There Dunæus reads eleven for ten, because they turned around the post twelve times.]

Antistrophe 4.

23. [P. 58. Comment. φλέγει. hoc est λάμπει]

Παιδικοί θ' ὕμνοι φέρονται Amatorique hymni resplendent. Ex

15 Bacchylidis carmine de Pace.

Vide Eustathium in Iliad: E pag: 387 et 388 disserentem de igne, qui apparuit supra caput et scutum Diomedis: ubi per ignem lucem intelligit. E contra Lucæ cap: 22 Vers: 56 φῶς pro igne sumitur.

20 ["The songs of love burn bright." See Eustathius on Iliad V, discussing the flame that appeared above the head and shield

of Diomedes, where by fire he understands a light. On the other hand in Luke 22: 56 light is used for fire.]

Strophe 5.

24. [P. 61. *φωνᾶντα*]

Eustath: in Iliad. *ἰῶτα* pag. 685 lin: 5 videtur hic legisse
5 *φωνεῦντα*.

25. [P. 62. Comment.]

Pindarus intellectu difficilis.

Pindarus Nem: Od: 3 ep: 4 se comparat aquilæ et alios sui temporis poetas graculis. Vide et Nem: Od: 5 *στροφ:β*.

10 [Pindar is difficult to understand.—Pindar in the third Ne-mean compares himself to an eagle and the other poets of his age to jackdaws.]

Olympia III, Strophe 1.

26. [P. 68. *Μοῖσα*]

Vide Infra Od: 10 str: 1 Jo: Bened: notas in hæc verba *ῶμοῖσ'*
15 *ἀλλὰ σὺ*

Olympia IV, Strophe 1.

27. [P. 83. *ὀβρίμου*]

Tzetzes in Lycophr: Cass: p: 38 citat hunc locum et legit
ὀμβρίμου

Epode 1.

28. [P. 87. Version: Erginum.]

20 Ergini mater fuit *Βούδεια*. Vide Eustath. in Iliad. *Π*: p: 1100.
1: 18.

[The mother of Erginus was Budeia. See Eustathius on *Iliad*, XVI.]

29. [P. 88. cano capillo.]

Contrarium est illud Anacreontis.

Τρίχας γέρων μέν ἐστι

Τὰς δὲ φρένας νεάζει

- 5 [The opposite is that saying of Anacreon, "he is old in hair, but a youth in heart."]

Olympia V, Strophe 1.

30. [P. 90. ἀπήνγη *curru mulari.*]

Moschus Idyll: 2 Versu 83 vocat etiam a bobus tractum currum ἀπήνγην. ubi dicit Jovem mutatum fuisse in bovem, sed non

- 10 talem ὅστις ἱπποδομηθεὶς ἐρύσσει πολύφορτον ἀπήνγην.

[Moschus (II.) calls a chariot drawn by cattle an apene, where he says that Jupiter was changed into a bull, but not such a one as drew an ox cart.]

Epode 1.

31. [P. 94. Comment. Vide hymnum Callimachi in Jovem.]

- 15 Vers: 34 Νέδῃ δέ σε δῶκε κομίσσει Κεῦθμον ἔσω Κρηταῖον (ἵνα κρύφα παιδεύοιο).

B: Vulc: in Annotat: ad hæc citat hunc Pindari locum.

Strophe 2.

32. [P. 102. σθένος ἡμόνων]

- 20 Sic Virg: Æneid: 4 ubi describitur Dido venatum proficiens. Massylique ruunt equites et odora canum vis. Sic et Hor: Sermon: 1: 1 Sat: 4—Des nominis huius honorem, pro, Hoc nomen, sc: Poetæ nomen. et Sermon: 1: 2 Sat: 1 Virtus Scipiadæ et mitis sapientia Læli. Sic etiam Hom: *Βοιωτία, Βίη Ἑρακλεείῃ.*

Παφλαγόνων δ' ἡγεῖτο Πυλαιμένεος λάσιον κῆρ. (1) ὁ Πυλαιμένης.

Hom: Ibid: *Εἰ μὴ νῦν ἔλθουσα διακρινέει μένος ἀνδρῶν.* Hom: II:

2.—κατὰ δῶμα βίης Ἔτεοκληείης. Hom: Iliad: 4.—πεπιθεῖν μεγάλας φρένας Αἰακίδαο. II: 9. p: 641 σθένος Ἰδομενῆος Iliad 13 pag: 898.

5 246. Πτηνῆς ὡς ὄμμα πελείας Soph: in Aiace fol: 5 pag: priore ubi sic Scholia, ὄμμα πελείας περιφραστικῶς ἢ πέλεια. /—μένε' ἀνδρῶν Χαλκεοθωρήκων. Iliad: δ'. pag: 377. Οἱ δὲ μένος χειρῶν ἰθὺς φέρον

—Iliad: E pag: 438.—Κλυταμνήστρας λέχος. Eurip: in Oreste, pag: 62. 1. Κλυταμνήστραν. Vide Scholiasten. Νίκης πείρατα

10 Iliad: H pag: 536 lin: 25. 1. νίκη ut ait Eustathius. Ἰς ἀνέμου. Hom: Iliad. o. pag. 1025. lin. 28. Πατροκλῆος λάσιον κῆρ. Iliad.

II p: 1099. lin. 17. ἴς ποτάμοιο. Iliad. φ p: 1328. l: 37. ἱερὴ ἴς Τηλεμάχοιο. Odys: β. p. 104. l: 53. et Od: γ. p. 121 l: 9. Medeam vellet cum pingere Timomachi mens. Auson: epigr: 121. item

15 de ratione puerperii pag. 178 et 179 Quartâ in sede viget primi indulgentia solis, Suadet et infusus teneros coalescere fœtus. Ubi Infusus construitur cum Indulgentia solis.

[“Strength of mules” (as a locution for “mules”). So Vergil, *Æneid*, IV, 132, where Dido is described setting out for the
20 hunt, “the Massylian horsemen rushed on and the keen smelling strength of dogs.” So also Horace, *Satires* I, iv, “Give the honor of this name” for “this name,” that is, the name of poet; also *Satires* II, i, “the virtue of the Scipios and the mellow wisdom of Lælius.” So also Homer, *Iliad*, II, 658, “the strength of
25 Hercules”; “the hairy chest of Pylamenes led the Paphlagonians” for Pylamenes, *Iliad*, II, 851; “if night coming on had not separated the might of men,” *Il.* II, 387: “In the home of the strength of Eteocles,” *Iliad*, IV, 386; “to persuade the great

- heart of Ajax' son," *Iliad*, IX, 184; "the might of Idomeneus," *Iliad*, XIII, 248; "like the eye of the winged pigeon," Sophocles, *Ajax*, 140, where scholiast explains "eye of the pigeon" as periphrastically "a pigeon"; "the force of bronze-cuirassed men,"
- 5 *Iliad*, IV, 447; "he bore the strength of hands," *Iliad* V, 506; "the bed of Clytemnestra," Euripides, *Orestes*, 20, for Clytemnestra, according to the scholiast; "the ends of victory," *Iliad*, VII, for Victory, as Eustathius says; "the force of the wind," *Iliad*, XV, 383; "the hairy chest of Patroclus," *Iliad*, XVI, 554;
- 10 "force of the river," *Iliad*, XXI, 356; "holy strength of Telemachus," *Odyssey*, II, 409, and III, 364. "When the mind of Timomachus wished to paint Medea," Ausonius, *Epigram*, 121 (XXIII, xxi, I); also his *On Gestation and Birth* (*Eclogues*, VII, viii, 19-20), "In the fourth house the indulgence of the
- 15 first sun is strong, And its powerful influence makes the babe take form": here *infusus* is construed as a single idea with *indulgentia solis*, feminine unless equivalent to *sol*.]

Olympia VI, Epode 2.

33. [P. 105. ἃ δὲ φοινιχόχροον]

Citat hunc locum B. Vulcanius in An: in Callim: Hym: in
20 Jovem Vers: 15.

Epode 3.

34. [P. 110. Dicta Delus.]

dicebatur etiam Ortygia.

[(Called Delos)—it was also called Ortygia.]

Olympia VII, Strophe 1.

35. [P. 123. Diagoras noster Rhodius.]

Diagoras gaudio mortuus Cic: Tusc. qu: lib. 1 hæc ait. Hanc sententiam significare videtur Laconis illa vox [etc., etc.]

[Diagoras died of joy. Cicero in the Tusculans tells the story, a Spartan thought Diagoras might well die for he could not
5 go to the sky, and two of his sons won Olympic victories in one day.]

Epode 1.

36. [P. 127. Nullum praeterire diem quin Rhodus sole illustratur.]

In hoc sensu exponunt aliqui Claram Rhodon. Horat: Carm:
10 lib: 1 Od: 7.

[In this sense, that no day passes on which the sun does not shine on Rhodes, some explain the epithet Bright applied to Rhodes by Horace. *Carm.* I, vii, 1.]

Olympia VIII, Strophe 4.

37. [P. 158. Comment.]

15 Strophe 5^{ta} Odes 8^a Pythiorum huic strophe persimilis est.
[The 5th strophe of the eighth Pythian is very like this strophe.]

Olympia IX, Strophe 1.

38. [P. 163. Comment.]

Adjectiva in tribus generibus suis adverbiascunt.

20 [Adjectives form adverbs in their own three kinds.]

Antistrophe 1.

39. [P. 165. Comment.]

Velox Pindari ingenium.

[The swift invention of Pindar.]

40. [P. 166. χαμαιπετής]

Pyth: Od: 6 Str: 3 paulo aliter usurpatur.

[Used somewhat differently in Pythian VI, Strophe 3.]

Strophe 2.

41. [P. 169. Comment.]

- 5 hunc locum citat Eustathius II: A pag: 72 lin: 50 Ubi innuere videtur non solum Neptunum sed etiam Apollinem Herculi Pylum oppugnanti restitisse.

[Eustathius cites this where he seems to indicate that both Neptune and Apollo resisted Hercules besieging Pylus.]

Antistrophe 2.

- 10 42. [P. 170. ἄτερ δ' εὐνᾶς]

Eustath II: A citat hunc locum in expositione τοῦ, ὀλέχοντο δὲ λαοί pag: 18 lin: 24.

[Eustathius on *Iliad* I, 10, cites this passage in explanation of "the people was perishing."]

Epode 2.

- 15 43. [P. 173. μέλαιναν]

Anacreontis melos εἰς τὸ δεῖν πίνειν sic incipit Ἡ γῆ μέλαινα πίνει quod sic vertit H: Stephanus, Fœcunda terra potat.

[The song of Anacreon begins "The black earth drinks" which Stephanus renders "The fruitful earth drinks."]

Strophe 4.

- 20 44. [P. 178. Comment.]

Strophe præcedente hoc modo laudatur Opus.

[The hero Opus is praised thus also in the preceding strophe.]

Olympia X, Antistrophe 1.

45. [P. 187. Locri.]

Locri Zephyrii 1^o scriptis legibus usi sunt.

[The Zephyrian Locrians were the first to use written laws.]

Antistrophe 3.

46. [P. 193. Comment.]

5 Lycophr: Cass: pag: 12 *Κρόνου παρ' αἰπὺν ὄχθον*: Gul: Canterus in Annotation: ad illa verba, citat hunc Pindari locum.

47. [P. 197. Comment.]

Discus quid.

[What the discus is.]

Olympia XIII, Strophe 1.

10 48. [P. 215. Comment. Corinthum.]

Hom: ἐν βοιωτίᾳ vocat Corinthum ἀφνειον.

[Homer in the Catalogue of Ships, *Iliad* II, 570, calls Corinth wealthy.]49. [P. 215. *χοῦρος*]15 *χοῦρος* Ionica vox.

[This is an Ionic form for "boy."]

Olympia XIII, Epode 1.

50. [P. 217. Comment. "Horæ floribus copiosæ antiquitus solertia inventa."]

Corinthiorum inventa.

20 [The skilful inventions of the Corinthians.]

Epode 2.

51. [P. 222. festum lampadodromicum.]

Lycophron Cass: pag: 118 vocat λαμπαδούχρον δρόμον

[Lycophron (Cass. 734) gives a slightly different name to the feast of torch racing.]

Strophe 3.

5 52. [P. 224. Sed quæritur quomodo hæc quæ Colchiden incoluit ut Corinthia laudetur.]

Hanc solutionem Fl: Tzetzi acceptam refert, qui eadem scribit Lycophr: Cass: 35 ubi Medea vocatur Κυταίη id est Κολχική. Κυταία γὰρ πόλις Κολχίδος.

10 ["It may be asked why she who dwelt in Colchis is praised as a woman of Corinth"—This solution one credits to Tzetzes, who says, when Medea is called by Lycophron Cytæcean, "that is, Colchian, for Cytæa is a city of Colchis."]

Antistrophe 4.

53. [P. 231. ἀνερύη]

15 Vide Bonaventuram Vulc: in Callim: hymn: in Dianam, versu 91, qui legit ἀνερύειν vel αὐ ἐρύειν non ἀνερύειν.

Pythian Odes.

54. [P. 245. Title.]

Daniel Heinsius orationem scripsit Pindari Pythiis præmissam, eique adiunxit primæ Pythiorum Odæ fusam interpretationem.

20

[Daniel Heinsius wrote a preface to the Pythian Odes of Pindar, and thereto affixed a full interpretation of the first ode.]

Pythian I, Strophe 1.

55. [PP. 248, 252, 253. Selected side notes.]

Catane Ætna cognominata.

5 Musica spiritus tam bonos quam malos placat.

Improbi Musicam aversantur.

Numerus certus pro incerto.

[Catana called Ætna. Music pleases both good and bad spirits. The bad hate music. Certain used for uncertain number.]

Epode 1.

10 56. [P. 254. Typho.]

De Typhonis sepulturâ dissensio. Vide Tzetzem Lycop: pag: 179.

[For the dispute about the burial place of Typho, see Tzetzes on Lycophron.]

Antistrophe 3.

15 57. [P. 261. Comment.]

τιμὴ et βασιλεία. Sic Hom: Iliad: A ᾧ τε Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκε, cui Jupiter regnum dedit.

[Honor and Kingship are the same, thus Homer in the first Iliad, "To whom Zeus gave the glory or kingdom."]

Strophe 5.

20 58. [P. 269. μείων ἔπεται μῶμος]

Hom: Il: 3 Menelaus commendatur quod ἐπιτροχάδην ἀγόμευε παυρὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ μάλα λεγείως.

[Menelaus is commended by Homer, *Iliad*, III, 213, because he spoke trippingly but clearly a few words.]

59. [P. 272. Comment.]

Alphonsi Arragonum regis dictum.

5 [A saying of Alphonso King of Aragon.]

Antistrophe 5.

60. [P. 272. Comment.]

εὐτράπελος in malam partem.

Pythian II, Strophe 1.

61. [P. 275. μεγαλοπόλεις]

Syracusæ ex aliis quatuor civitatibus conjunctis conditæ per
10 Archiam Corinthium.

[Syracuse was founded by uniting four other cities, by Archias the Corinthian.]

Epode 1.

62. [P. 278. Cyniran.]

Veneris Paphiæ templum a quo conditum.

15 [Who founded the temple of Venus at Paphos.]

Strophe 2.

63. [P. 280. ὦ Ηρας κτλ.]

Ixionis ingratitude. Duo Ixionis flagitia.

[Ixion's ingratitude; his two crimes.]

64. [P. 281. merita mors dicitur, in *Odyss.*, etc.]

20 de Oreste ibi loquitur Poeta.

[The poet speaks of deserved death in connection with Orestes.]

Epode 2.

65. [P. 284. ἀνευ χαρίτων]

Suscipere liberos ἀνευ χαρίτων.

[To beget children without the smile of the graces.]

Strophe 3.

66. [P. 285. Comment.]

5 Aretius reprehensus.

[Aretius reproached.]

Pythian III, Antistrophe 1.

67. [P. 298. hanc notam X.]

X nota apud scoliasten quid significet.

[What the sign X means in the scholiast.]

Antistrophe 2.

10 68. [P. 303. πέμψε χασιγνήταν]

Vide Eustath: Iliad: Z pag: 495 lin: 11 de illis qui interficiuntur a Dianâ.

[See Eustathius on *Iliad*, VI, on those who are slain by Diana.]*Strophe 3.*

15 69. [P. 306. ἐπαιδοῖαι.]

'Επαιδοῖαι celeberrima inter veteres remedia nunc inter Christianos obsoleta.

[Incantations were famous remedies among the ancients, now disused among the Christians.]

Antistrophe 3.

70. [P. 306. *μισθῶ τελ.*]

Æsculapius auro corruptus mortuum ad vivos revocavit.

[Aesculapius, bribed by gold, recalled the dead to life.]

Antistrophe 4.

71. [P. 311. *Ματρὶ τελ.*]

5 Rhea Thebis noctu a virginibus colebatur.

[Rhea was worshipped nocturnally by Theban maidens.]

Strophe 4.

72. [P. 313. Comment.]

Peleus et Cadmus mortalium fœlicissimi.

[Peleus and Cadmus were the happiest of mortals.]

Pythian IV, Epode 1.

10 73. [P. 325. *πρώραθεν τελ.*]

Eurypylus glebam Euphemo dare dicitur quòd Triton sub huius formâ hoc fecit.

[Eurypylus is said to give the land to Euphemus because Triton did this under his guise.]

Antistrophe 2.

15 74. [P. 327. Arcesander.]

Acesander scribo ex scholiis Fl. Tzetzis in Lycophr: Cass: p: 144 ubi sic scribit *Ἀχεσάνδρος* [τελ.]

[I write Acesander from the scholia of Tzetzes on Lycophron's Cassandra where he spells it so.]

Epode 5.

75. [P. 343. λευκαῖς φρεσὶ.]

λευκαὶ φρένες Shallow brained Callimachus Hymno in Dianam vocat' Ερύμανθον Λευκότατον ποτάμῳν.

[That is "shallow brained." Callimachus in the Hymn to
5 Diana calls the Erymanthus the shallowest river.]

Epode 7.

76. [P. 353. Comment.]

Duplex finis Argonauticæ navigationis.

[The double end of the Argonautic expedition.]

Antistrophe 8.

77. [P. 357. Orpheus, etc.]

10 Orpheus Argonauticam expeditionem conscripsit eique interfuit.

[Orpheus sang of the Argonautic expedition, and was a member thereof.]

Epode 8.

78. [P. 358. Alcmanis more.]

15 Vide apud Eustath: in Iliad E. pag: 462 lin: 1 quare hæc figura tribuatur Alcmani.

[See Eustathius, on *Iliad* V, wherefore this figure is ascribed to Alcman.]

Strophe 9.

79. [P. 360. ἐμβόλου]

20 Argonautici pro anchoris lapidibus utebantur.

[The Argonauts used stones as anchors.]

Strophe 11.

80. [P. 368. Ἰάσων κτλ.]

Modus arandi cum bobus ignem spirantibus Jasoni a Medeâ monstratus.

[A way of plowing with oxen breathing fire was taught
5 Jason by Medea.]

Epode 11.

81. [P. 372. κλέψεν τε κτλ. καὶ Λημνιάϊ]

Σὺν ἀντί τοῦ μετὰ βοτῆείας—Λημνιάϊ γυναικες ἀνδροφόνου

[(Milton here writes side notes or headings in Greek, a point of form, and) The women of Lemnos were mankillers.]

Pythian V, Strophe 1.

10 82. [P. 384. ἄχραν κτλ.]

E contrario *πρωτον* legitur pro *ἄχρον* Vide Eustath. in Iliad. Z pag. 476.

Epode 1.

83. [P. 387. solum Cyrenaeum, etc.]

Call: hym: in Apoll: v: 65 vocat πόλιν βαθύγειον

15 [Callimachus in the Hymn to Apollo, 65, calls Cyrene the city of deep earth.]

Strophe 3.

84. [P. 394. ὃ καὶ βαρεῖαν]

Hic locus citatur a B. Vulc: in Annot. suis in Call: hym: in Apoll: vers: 46: ubi etiam est recapitulatio artium Apollinis.

20 [This passage is cited by B. Vulcanius on Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*, 46, where also is a list of Apollo's arts.]

Pythian VI, Strophe 1.

85. [P. 404. ἐριβρόμου κτλ.]

Lycophr: Cass: p: 72 ὅτι ἅπαντα δ' ἄλγῃ δέξεται κωκυμάτων ubi ἅπαντα construendum est cum γῇ subaudito, et per vocem γῇ sola Græcia est intelligenda. sic et hîc, si loci sensus ferret, per
 5 γθονὰ sola pytho possit intelligi.

[Lycophron says all of the land will receive the sorrows of wailing, where all is to be construed with earth understood, and by the word earth, Greece only is meant. So also here if the idea of location would allow such a meaning, by earth,
 10 Pytho (that is, the land of Delphi) alone could be understood.]

Pythian VIII, Antistrophe 1.

86. [P. 416. Porphyrio.]

Quære historiam Porphyrii apud Tzetzem i. Lycophronis Scoliasten pag: 16: col: 2:

[Seek the history of Porphyrio in Tzetzes, scholiast on Lyco-
 15 phron.]

Strophe 5.

87. [P. 427. Comment.]

huic strophe et parti sequentis antistrophes strophe 4^{ta} Odes 8^{va} Olymp: persimilis est.

[To this strophe and part of the next antistrophe, the fourth
 20 strophe of the eighth Olympian Ode is very similar.]

88. [P. 429. ἡδρην]

potius χαρὰν vide Isth: Od: 6 ep: 2:

Pythian IX, Strophe 2.

89. [P. 436. τίς νιν ἀνθρώπων τέχεν;]

τίχτειν viro tribuitur Ol: Od: 7 Epod: 4.

[The verb to give birth is used with masculine subject.]

Antistrophe 2.

90. [P. 438. κείρεν Dor. pro κείρειν]

5 Vide R: Franklin *περὶ ὀρθοτονίας* lib: 1: cap: 13 in exceptione primâ ad 2^{am} regulam.

Epode 4.

91. [P. 448. ὀλίιο—Nereus.]

Call. hym: in Jovem vers: 40 Nereus ponitur pro mari.

Hom: Il: A Thetis dicitur θυγάτηρ ὀλίιο γέροντος. pag: 112

10 lin: 11.

[In Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*, Nereus is put for the sea; in Homer's *Iliad* I, 538, Thetis is called the daughter of the old man of the sea.]

Antistrophe 5.

92. [P. 450. γάμον κτλ.]

15 de hac constructione Vide Olympiorum finem.

[On this construction see the end of the Olympians.]

Pythian X, Antistrophe 2.

93. [P. 458. χάλκεος οὐρανός]

Homerus in initio Iliad: Ἄ aureum facit cœlum, cum dicit

Οἱ δὲ θεοὶ πᾶρ Ζηνὶ καθήμενοι ἡγορόωντο Χρυσέῳ ἐν δαπέδῳ.

20 [Homer at the beginning of *Iliad* IV, makes heaven golden,

when he says, The gods assembled about Zeus, seated in a golden plain.]

Epode 2.

94. [P. 459. Testatur autem Callimachus.]

Eiusdem fragmentum est etiam hoc, Φοῖβος Ἵπερβορέοισιν
5 ὄνων ἐπιτέλλεται ἱροῖς.

[Another fragment of the same is this "Phœbus rose upon the Hyperborean sacrifices of asses."]

Pythian XI, Strophe 1.

95. [P. 467. ἀριστόγονον]

potius scribendum ἀριστογόνον, τὰ γὰρ προπαροξύτονα πάθος
10 δηλοῦσι.

Strophe 4.

96. [P. 475. dixit quispiam.]

Innominati testimonium.

[The testimony of an unnamed man.]

Pythian XII, Antistrophe 1.

97. [P. 481. Gorgones . . . unico oculo utebantur.]

15 et unico dente Vide Fl: Tzetzem p: 136, c: 1.

[The Gorgons used a single eye, according to the commentator; and but one tooth, says Tzetzes, on Lycophron.]

Nemean I, Antistrophe 2.

98. [P. 495. Chromio.]

Sic Diomedes laudatur robore et consilio Iliad: 9. p: 151.

20 Τυδείδῃ, πέρι μὲν πολέμῳ ἄριστος.

[Thus Diomedes is praised for strength and wisdom, etc.]

Nemean II, 3.

99. [P. 507. Ὠρίωνα]

Ὠαρίωνα, ut legit Eustathius in Homer. Odys. ε. pag. 224.
lin: 25.

[Eustathius on *Homer, Odyssey*, V, spells the name Oarion.]

Nemean III, Antistrophe 1.

5 100. [P. 512. ἄρχε]

Sic κατάρχομαι cum Accusativo construitur apud Euripid: in Hecubâ pag: 37—κατάρχομαι νομὸν βαρχεῖον ut legit Scholias-tes, qui hunc locum etiam citat.

[So κατάρχομαι is construed with the accusative by Euripides
10 in *Hecuba*, as the scholiast reads it, who cites this passage in Pindar.]

Antistrophe 2.

101. [P. 517. παραστάτας]

Vide Jo: Spondan: Annot: in Homer: Iliad: 5 pag: 83 in hæc verba Τρωτοὶ ἵπποι.

Nemean V, Epode 1.

15 102. [P. 548. τίς δαίμων. hoc est Τύχη]

τύχη sine ι subscripto.

[The word (should be) without the iota subscript.]

Epode 2.

103. [P. 551. Ξενίου]

Hom: Iliad: N. pag: 255 Menelaus Troianis hoc objicit οὐδέ
20 τι θυμῷ Ζηγὸς ἐριβρεμέτω χαλεπὴν ἐδδείσατε μῆνιν Ξενίου—

[Menelaus, in Homer's *Iliad*, XIII, 624, speaks to the Trojans: "You do not fear the terrible anger of thundering Zeus, god of the stranger."]

Antistrophe 3.

104. [P. 554. Nam μάτρως propriè est ὁ πρὸς μητρὸς θεῖος]

5 ὁ πρὸς μητρὸς θεῖος avunculus: ὁ πρὸς πατρὸς θεῖος patruus. θεῖος est patris vel matris frater.

[An explanation of Greek and Latin terms for "uncle," in general, and on mother's and father's side.]

Nemean VI, Antistrophe 1.

105. [P. 559. Comment.]

10 Hæc similitudo ex Aristotele sumitur. Vide Rhetoric: lib: 2 cap. 15.

[This simile is taken from Aristotle, see the *Rhetoric*, II, 15.]

Nemean VII, Strophe 2.

106. [P. 575. ἐάν . . . nonnullos ἐάν legere δασέως, pro τὴν ἑαυτοῦ]

Ita legit Guliel. Canter: Nov: Lect: lib. 5. c. 13.

Antistrophe 5.

15 107. [P. 589. Votum quo petit ab Achille, etc.]
Hercule.

Nemean IX, 3.

108. [P. 609. καππαύει κτλ.]

Τὼ δὲ βᾶτην προτέρω et προτέρων ἀγε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς: ubi προτέρω exponitur ulterius. Hom: *Iliad*: 9 p: 156.

20 [Examples of προτέρω meaning "further" in the *Iliad*.]

Nemean IX, 6.

109. [P. 613. δαίμονιαι φόβοιτ—Panicus terror.]

Hom: Iliad: pag: 579 præstantissimi Græcorum a Jove territi fugiunt. unde in initio Iliad: ἰῶτα dicitur quod—
'Αχαιοὺς θεσπεσίη ἔχε φύζα.

- 5 [In the *Iliad*, VIII, the foremost Greeks fled, terrified by Zeus, whence at the beginning of *Iliad*, IX, it is said that divine fright seized the Greeks.]

Nemean IX, 11.

110. [P. 620. ἀργυρέωσι . . . φιάλαισι]

Anacreon vocat Γόνον ἀμπέλου τὸν οἶνον.

- 10 [Anacreon calls wine the child of the vine.]

Nemean X, Antistrophe 1.

111. [P. 625. præstantissima forma Argi.]

Eâdem ratione laudatur Cyrene Pyth: Od: 9 ep: 3.

[For the same reason (preëminence of form) Cyrene is praised.]

Strophe 3.

15 112. [P. 633. Κορίνθου τ' ἐν μυχοῖτ]

Hom: in Odyss: γ vocat Mycænas μυχὸν Ἀργεοτ. Vide pag: 125. l: 46.

[Homer in the third Odyssey calls Mycenæ the innermost part of Argos.]

Strophe 4.

20 113. [P. 635. Πολυδεύκητ]

De hâc fabulâ Flac: Tzetzem in Lycoph: Cass: pag: 20 et 90.

[On this story of Polydeuces see Tzetzes on Lycophron's Cassandra.]

Epode 4.

114. [P. 638. Comment.]

Pyth: Od: 5 Stroph: 4. αἰδῆς exponitur τάφος et certè Tzetzes
5 dicit Κάστορα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰδα στήλη λιθίνῃ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀφάρεως τάφου
Βληθέντα πεπτωκέναι. ideoque ἀγαλμ' Αἰδα est statua sepulchri
vel statua sepulchro imposita.

[Hades is interpreted tomb, and indeed Tzetzes says that
Castor fell wounded by Idas with a stone monument from the
10 grave of Aphareus, therefore the agalma of Hades is the statue
of a tomb, or a statue placed on a tomb.]

115. [P. 638. χαλεπὰ κτλ.]

Vide Adag: Procul a Jove et fulmine.

[See the adage, far from Jove and his thunderbolt.]

De Isthmiorum titulo.

15 116. [P. 655. Melicertae.]

Vide Luciani dialogum inter Neptunum et Delphines.

[See Lucian's dialogue between Neptune and the Dolphins.]

Isthmian I, Epode 2.

117. [P. 664. ἐν Ἀχαιοῖς]

Vide Didymi Scholia in Hom: Il: I vers: 2.

Isthmian III, Strophe 1.

20 118. [P. 684. Comment.]

Vide epitaph: Jo: Flemingi a Gerarto Falkenburgio scripti.
ti. [i.e. scriptum.(?)]

Isthmian IV, Antistrophe 2.

118. [P. 693. γουνόις Ἀθηνῶν]

Γουνός, ὁ τραχύτατος τόπος ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι
 γονάτων, ἀ ἐξέχει. Ἑτυμολ.: μεγ: et sic idem locus potest esse
 γουνός et asper. alii dicunt γουνὸν esse γονιμώτατον καὶ κάρπιμον
 5 χωρίον τῆς γῆς. ut Didymus in hæc verba Homeri γουνῶ ἀλωῆς
 Iliad: 9. pag. 166.

[Γουνός the roughest place from the metaphor of the knees
 in the body, as the Etymologicum Magnum says; and so the
 word here can be the same, namely rough. Others say it is
 10 the most fertile and productive place of the earth; so Didymus
 on the Homeric phrase for a threshing floor.]

Isthmian V, Strophe 1.

119. [P. 706. σέο γ' ἔκατι]

Forsan hunc locum innuit Eustathius Pindarum citans Iliad:
 A in χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ. pag: 19 lin: 15.

15 [Perhaps Eustathius has this passage in mind in citing Pin-
 dar about the golden scepter, on *Iliad* I, 15.]

Isthmian VI, Strophe 3.

120. [P. 728. ἀρήσαθ']

Hom. Iliad: Γ pag: 55 Menelaus Spartanus dicitur ἐπιτρο-
 χάδην ἀγορεύειν παυρὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ μάλα λεγέως.

20 [In Homer's *Iliad* III, 213, Spartan Menelaus is said "to
 speak trippingly a few words, but very clearly"]

121. [P. 756. *End.*]

Δόξα τῷ θεῷ Jun: 17 1630. et Sept: 28. 1630.

[Glory be to God! June 17 and September 28, 1630.]

IV. NOTES ON EURIPIDES

From *Tragœdiæ*, Geneva, 1602.

1. [Thomæ Magistri *Poetæ vitæ Explicatio*. "Anaxa-
goræ fuit discipulus."]
5 vide scholias: Apoll: Rhodi: pa: 50: ver: 496
 [See the scholiast on Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica*.]
2. [ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΩΝ ὀνόματα.]
 fuit et Lamia teste Lactantio p: 26
10 citatur etiam Euripides in Cadmo a Dom: Sabi et probo
 in eglo: 6: Virgili:
 in Phaethonte p: 245.
 in Euristheo. p: 73.
 in Phrixo: p: 271.
15 in Κλεοφόντῃ p: 286.
 in Telephonte Tull: acad: pri: p: 370.
 in Antigone. 359. in ——— Eustratius l: 3: p: 40.
 in Archelao. 361.
 in Peritheo. [*sic*] Ammon:
20 in Peritheo. scho: Apoll: p: 399 vide etiam pa: 404
 in Polyido pa: 516.

[There was also the *Lamia*, witness Lactantius, *Inst.* I, vi, 8.
Euripides in the *Cadmus* is cited by Dom. Sabi* and Pro-

bus on Vergil, *Eclogue* VI, 31. (*The following citations by Milton are corrected.*)]

in *Phaëthon* by the Scholiast on *Orestes*, 1389

in *Eurystheus* — Scholiast on *Hecuba*, 838

5 in *Phrixus* — Scholiast on *Phænissæ*, 5

in *Cleophontes* — same, 162

in *Telephus* — Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, IV, vi, 2

in *Antigone* — Scholiast on *Phænissæ*, 1136 and Eustathius on *Iliad* vii, 223, and viii, 193

10 in *Archelaus* — same Scholiast, 1166

in *Perseus* [*Andromeda*] by Ammonius [Valck. p. 25.]

in *Pirithous* by the Scholiast on Apollonius of Rhodes IV, 144 etc.

in *Polydus* — Scholiast on *Hippolytus*, 191.]

HECUBA.

15 3. [201. Ἀρρήταν τ' ἄρσέ τιτ δαίμων]
alii ὥρσε

4. [208. Γᾶτ ὑποπεμπομέναν σκότον]
σκότῳ ita Scho.

5. [299. Scholiast in Ἐκάβη, διδάσκου]
20 prolixius de his Hierocles, pagi: 74. quem vide.
[Hierocles writes more fully of this at page 74, whom see.]

6. [306. Ἐν τῷδε γὰρ κάμνουσιν αἱ πολλαὶ πόλεις]
Eustratius in pri:Nichoma:Aristo: legit ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ πάσ-
χουσιν.

[Eustratius on Aristotle's first book of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, reads ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ πάσχοουσιν.]

7. [326. ἡμεῖς δ' εἰ κακῶς νομίζομεν κτλ.]

digni erimus, qui inscitissimi habeamur. vide Vigerum
5 pagi: 133.

[“We shall deserve to be regarded as most foolish”; see
Vigerus, p. 133.]

8. [623. εἴτα δῆτ' κτλ.]

itane vero.

10 [Is it really so?]

8a. [864. Φεῦ, οὐκ ἔστι θνητῶν κτλ.]

Tz. ἀνδρῶν vid: Gataker p. 99

ORESTES.

9. [1635. Ἐγὼ νιν ἐξέσωσα, κατὰ φασγάνου]

citat Tzetz: in Lycophr. p. 89.

15 10. [1686. Δ' Ἐλένην Ζηνὸς μελάθροισι πελάσω,]

Διδς Tzetzes in Lycophr: qui hæc citat à 1686 ad v. 1692.

[Tzetzes, who cites this passage in his commentary on
Lycophron, reads Διδς.]

PHOENISSÆ.

11. [163. Νιόβης, Ἀδράστῳ πλησίον παραστατεῖ]

20 Epigr.

12. [225. Κλεινῶν Ἀγηνωριδᾶν]

Lond.

13. [334. Ἐπ' αὐτόχειρά τε σφαγῶν]

vel σφαγῶν vel σφαγῆν

13a. [527, 528. Εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρὴ, τυραννίδος πέρι
Κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν. τἄλλα δ' εὐσεβεῖν χρεῶν.]

5 nam si violandum est jus regnandi gratiâ violandum est
alij* rebus pietatem cōlas. Cicero: officij: 1: 3.

[For if justice must be violated, let it be violated for the sake
of ruling; but in other things act righteously (is the para-
phrase in) Cicero's *Offices*, iii, 82]

10 14. [668—669, versio. interfector ferarum, Brachiorum etc.]
feram cædentis brachii.

[Of a beast-slaying arm.]

15. [1737 versio. Sufficiunt mihi meæ lachrymæ]
satis habent lamentationum mearum.

15 [They have enough of my lamentations.]

MEDEA.

16. [3 versio. neque in saltibus Pelii cecidisset unquam Secta
pinus etc.]

interprete Ennio utinam ne in nemore Pelio securibus cæsa
cecidisset abiegna ad terram trabes. vide plura apud Tull:

20 de fato. et ad Herennium.

[Ennius gives it thus, "Would that the beam of fir had
never fallen to earth, cut with axes, in the Pelian grove."
See further in Cicero *On Fate*, and *To Herennius*.]

16a. [1078. Καὶ μανθάνω μὲν οἷα τοιμήσω κακὰ]

25 μέλλω δρᾶν κακὰ Hierocles p. 75. Cantab. editio.

17. [1201. Γναθμῶν ἀδῆλοις φαρμάχοις ἀπέρρεον]
 puto rectius esse et elegantius γναθμοῖς ἀδῆλοις φαρμάκων &c.
 [I think γναθμοῖς etc. more correct and elegant.]

HIPPOLYTUS.

- 17a. [Personae ΧΟΡΟΣ]
 5 vide Schol. ad. v. 58
18. [325 versio P. Quid agis? Vim ne facis, pendens ex manu?]
 si usus linguæ permitteret transferrem perdes* sive amittes*
 ne quod certè et clarius est, et cum eo quod præcedenti
 versu dicit nutrix meliùs convenit.
 10 [If linguistic usage permit, I'd move the word *pendens*; or
 you may omit *ne*, which certainly is both clearer and fits
 better with what the nurse says in the previous verse.]
19. [657. Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ὄρκοις θεῶν ἀφρακτος εὐρέθην]
 μὲν melius q.d. siquidem essem jure jurando liber.
 15 [μὲν would be better, that is to say, "If I were free from a
 solemn oath".]
20. [998. μήτ' ἀπαγγέλειν κακά]
 ἀπαγγέλειν neque inhonesta petere.
 [(Read) ἀπαγγέλειν, i.e., neither to seek evil things]

ALCESTIS.

- 20 21. [488. Κτανὰν ἄρ' ἤξεις, ἢ θανὰν αὐτοῦ μενεῖς]
 κτανεῖν θανεῖν vel κτανὼν θανῶν

ANDROMACHE.

22. [179. 'Ἀλλ' εἰς μίαν βλέποντος, εὐναιῶν Κύπριν]
 βλέποντες enallagê numeri.
 [Read βλέποντες by a change of number]

SUPPLICES.

23. [208. Προβλήματ', αἶθρον ἐξαμύνασθαι θεοῦ]
 5 melius αἶθος τ'
24. [530 versio. Et turpiter illis pœna perit, *i. frustra mortuis pœna iam irrogatur.*]
 v. ille sic potius reddendus, turpe autem erit, si justitia etiam cum illis peribit. h. e. jus sepeliendi.
 10 [This verse rather should be thus rendered, "It will indeed be evil if justice too (that is, the right of burial) die with them."]
25. [554. versio. auram secundam metuens relinquere]
 vel metuens ne secunda aura ipsum deficiat.
 15 [Or, "Fearing lest a favorable breeze fail him".]
26. [754, 756, 758. Χθ. κτλ.]
 hæc videntur potius inter Adrastum et nuncium pro choro itaque ponend. ἀδ.
 [These speeches seem rather between Adrastus and the
 20 messenger speaking for the chorus, and so should be assigned to Adrastus.]

IPHIGENIA IN AULIDE.

27. [6. τίς ποτ' ἄρ' ἀστὴρ ὅδε πορθμεύει;]

hæc astronomia qui possit constare meritò dubitat Scaliger
in proæmio ad Manilium.

[Scaliger in his preface to Manilius rightly wonders how
5 this can be made consistent with astronomy.]

28. [70. 'Η δ' εἴλεθ', ὥς γε μή ποτ' ὠφελεν λαβεῖν.]

parvi momenti ad gerendam vel non gerendam rem bene.
[Has little relation to behaving well or not behaving well.]

29. [286. Τὰς ἐχίδνας λιπῶν.]

10 vide Brodæum ἐχίνας h.c. ἐχίναδας

30. [812. Γῆν γὰρ λιπῶν* Φάρσαλον, ἥδ' Πηλέα.]

* μὲν aut quid ejusmodi interserendum

[μὲν or something of the sort should be inserted after λιπῶν]

31. [1036. Τίς ἄρ' ὑμέναιος κτλ.]

15 τίν' ἄρ' ὑμέναιον mavult Portus. neque malè.

[Portus, and not badly, prefers this in the accusative.]

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS.

32. [189. Τιν' ἐκ τῶν εὐόλων κτλ.]

vide Brod: τίνι puto. h.c. cui e beatis regibus imperium cedit.

[τίνι I think, that is, "to whom the rule now passes from

20 happy kings." See Brodæus.]

32a. [423. Ἀτὰς ἐπέρασαν]

Apollod: p: 53. Apol: Rho: p: 163.

33. [1040 versio. Estne intus statua propter quam huc venimus?]]

interrogationem expungimus, ac si dixisset, licet nos hac arte ad mare evadere possimus, interim tamen statua intus
5 manet propter quam huc venimus.

[I'd expunge the interrogatory, as if he said, "Though by this scheme we may escape to the sea, yet meanwhile the statue for which we came hither still remains within."]

34. [1119. *Ὁὐ καμνει, σὺντροφος ὤν*]

10 *καμνει* malim in angustiis enim non laborat, qui iis innutritus est. Infelicitas est quæ in peius mutat.

[I prefer *καμνει*, for he does not suffer in poverty who is brought up in it. Misfortune is what changes things for the worse.]

15 35. [1237. *Φοῖβον ἐν κισθάρῃ σοφὸν*
ἔτεκεν hic puto supplendum.

36. [1264.^o *Ὅσα τ' ἐμελλε τυχεῖν κτλ.*
videlicet *ὄνειροι* Brod.

RHESUS.

37. [1-5 versio. Vade ad cubile etc.]

20 quæ sic rectius verterentur

Vade ad Cubile Hectoreum

Quis e regiis armigeris vigilat i.e. non dormit?

Si armatis excepturus est ab juvenibus

nuncium sermonum

25 Qui juvenes quadripartitam &c.

[This would be better rendered: "Go to Hector's room! who of the royal guard watches (that is, sleeps not)? If he will receive a message from the armed youths, who in the fourth watch, etc."]

- 5 38. [Annotationes in 234 (P. 148.) (*Πανθοιδαν*) Euphorbum.]
 potius Polydamanta is enim consilio et rebus gestis potior
 et ab homero nominator præsertim hac parte Iliados ubi
 hæc tractant quod etiam præteriit Brodæum qui Euphor-
 bum interpretatur
- 10 [Rather Polydamas, than Euphorbus, for he ranks higher
 in counsel and accomplishment, and is more particularly
 named by Homer, especially in the part of the *Iliad* where
 they treat these things. This escaped Brodaeus too, who
 interpreted this as Euphorbus.]
- 15 39. [252f. versio. Qui contemnit.]
 i.e. ne quis meos socios contemnat
 [That is "Let none underrate my companions."]
40. [465f versio. Videam, ô rex, quando Manus domum
 redibis hasta victor.]
- 20 potius: quomodo manu adjutus eris cuspide armatus.
 [Rather: how you will be aided by your hand, when you
 are armed with a spear.]
41. [530 versio. Pleiades ætheriæ:]
 matutinæ f. tum enim vernum tempus, vergiliis enim
- 25 mane surgentibus ali aliqua cœli media tenet quod fit sole
 in Tauro existente

[Early perhaps, for it was then Spring; for when the Seven Stars rise in the morning, the Eagle flies through the midst of the sky, which happens when the sun is in Taurus.]

42. [949. σοφιστήν—lamentatorem]
 5 in bonam partem sumitur potius doctum et peritum virum
 [The word sophist is to be interpreted in a good sense, really “a learned and skilled man.”]

TROADES.

43. [98. Ἰνα δυσδαίμων κτλ. O Regina attolle]
 pro ἀνάστα O Regina erige
 10 [Up for “raise up”; O queen lift up thy head.]
44. [221. Φοινίκας]
 Φοινίκος i.e. Carthaginiensis
 [Of Phoenix, that is, Carthaginian.]
45. [275. φοιτοβάμονος]
 15 τριτοβάμονος Cant. quia baculus vice tertii pedis est
 [τριτοβάμονος says Canter, because the staff is in place of a third foot.]
46. [817. Δις δὲ δυοῖν πετύλοις τείχη]
 innuere videtur triremes quattuor quarum auxilio usus
 20 Hercules cum Telamone Colchis reversus Troiam cepit
 [He seems to refer to the four triremes by the help of which Hercules and Telamon, returning from Colchis, captured Troy.]

47. [892. ὄμματ' ἀνδρῶν]

inverse.

[Transpose these words.]

BACCHAE.

48. [310. μὴ τὸ κράτος αὔχει δύνανται ἀνθρώποις]

5 Deest

[Something is missing here]

49. [857. γινώσεται δὲ τὸν Διὸς]

vel γινώσεται ἐν τέλει tandem cognoscet

[Or at last he will recognize etc.]

10 49a. [909.^o Ὅτῳ βίητος εὐδαίμων, μαχαρίζω]

hecub: v: 628.

50. [1225. Καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἀρταίων ἀριστέα ποτὲ]

Ἀρισταίου fuit enim Aristæi filius.

[Read Ἀρισταίου, for he was the son of Aristæus.]

CYCLOPS.

15 51. [49. Ψύττα κτλ.]

Theo. vocat σίττα

[Theocritus pronounces this word σίττα]

52. [52–53 versio. stationem etc.]

vel cælum

20 53. [146. οὗτος μὲν οὐδ' ἂν γνάθον* πλῆσειέ μου]

*ἐμ interserendum videtur

[It seems that ἐμ should be inserted]

54. [157. *διεκάναξε*]

ab sono vini hausti verbum puto

[I think the word comes from the sound of drinking wine.]

55. [202. *Ἄνεχε, πάρεχε, τί τάδε; τίς ἢ ῥαθυμία;*]

5 contra atque interpres reddidit videntur ista verba esse
Sileni satyros ad opus excitantis, suamque diligentiam in
conspectu Cyclopi heri commonstrantis.

[Although the interpreter renders it otherwise, these words
seem to me to be those of Silenus, urging the Satyrs to their
10 business, and at the same time exhibiting his zeal in the
sight of his master the Cyclops.]

55a. [247. *Ἄλις λεόντων κτλ.*]

vide Theocri: eyd: 2:

56. [410. *Εἰσῆλθέ μοι *θεῖον κτλ.*]

15 *τε supplendum.

HERACLIDAE.

57. [321. *Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ζῶν καὶ θανὼν, ὅταν θάμω κτλ.*]

desideramus et Canteri, et Brodæi diligentiam in hoc loco
vertendo, neuter enim videtur assequutus quid sibi vellet
poeta itaque sic intelligendum puto ego vero et vivus et
20 mortuus, cum mortuus ero multâ te laude ô amice apud
Theseum, sive Theseo prope stans apud inferos (id enim
sibi vult *θησέως πέλας*) extollam te, et hæc dicens illum de-
lectabo scil: quòd et humaniter exceperis nos &c. atque
hoc modo sensus est planior et multò elegantior.

25 [We miss the care of Canter and Brodaeus in turning

this passage, for neither seems to have followed out what the poet intended. And so I think this passage is to be understood "Both alive and dead, for thy great glory, O friend, I shall be a witness, for standing by Theseus among
 5 the shades (for the phrase *θησέως πέλας* means this) I will praise thee and telling of this—(how humanely you rescued us, etc.,) I shall delight him." Thus the sense is clearer and much more elegant.]

58. [822. *λαμῶν βροτείων* (et Annotatio Brodaci, iii, 79)]
 10 vide Brod: recte intellexit Canterus. Videtur tamen potius eo in loco *βροτείων* sumi pro *βροστοέντων* hoc est cruentatis nam hominum immolationes apud Athenienses admodum raras fuisse et magnis de causis notum est, ideoque hic etiam tanto cum horrore auditur oraculum de Macaria diis mac-
 15 tanda, rex etiam planè recusavit, se vel ullum e civibus coacturum filiam suam interimere, salute publica itaque non est verisimile post virginis voluntariam necem alias fuisse humanas, si ita Brodæus intellexerit, sed vide Cant. versione.
- 20 [See Brodacus; Canter understands it correctly. It nevertheless seems rather better to assume here *βροτείων* (blood-stained) for *βροστοέντων*, that is, because it is known that the cruel sacrifices of human beings were very rare among the Athenians, and for great necessity only. Thus here
 25 too the oracle commanding Macaria's sacrifice to the gods is heard with extreme horror, the king himself bluntly refused to force himself or any of the citizens to put his

daughter to death, even for the public safety. And so it is unlikely that after the voluntary death of the maiden there should have been other human victims. Even if Brodaeus does so understand it, rather see Canter, in the translation.]

HELENA.

- 5 59. [96. *Μαίνεται*; ἐπεὶ τίς σωφρονῶν τλαιή τὰδ' ἄν]
 ἄρ' videtur interserendum

- 59a. [452. ἄ· μὴ προσείλα χεῖρα, μήδ' ὠθεῖ βίῃ]
 vide Æmil. Port. notas

60. [1145. "Ὅτε σὺ τὸ πατρίδος ἄπο, κτλ.]
 10 planior erit, ni fallor, sensus si pro ὅτε legatur ὅτι. scil: ad
 Troiam strages, et ad Eubœam naufragium nos exhaust
 quia tu Pari Helenam abduxisti, aut Helenæ spectrum.
 [Unless I'm mistaken the sense will be plainer if read ὅτι
 for ὅτε—that is, Slaughter at Troy, and Shipwreck at Eu-
 15 boea have ruined us, Paris, because you stole away Helen,
 or her phantom.]

61. [1606. *Ναξίαν* κτλ.]
 id est accuratè naxius enim lapis qui et Lydius aurum diju-
 dicat, ut ait Suidas. vide notas Brodæi.
 20 [This is right for, as Suidas says, a Naxian stone, even as a
 Lydian, tests gold.]

62. [1703. *Γνώμης, ἢ *πολλαῖς ἐν γυναιξὶν οὐκ ἔνι*]
 * ὁ versus magis quadrat.
 [(A short syllable) ὁ fits better in the measure]

ION.

63. [186. θεῶν μόνον, οὐδ' ἀγιάτιδες]
 ἀγιάτιδες emendamus nam ut videtur etiam Brodæus vul-
 gatam lectionem admittit
 [We would emend ἀγιάτιδες for, as it seems even Bro-
 5 dæus admits the common reading.]
64. [408. μάντευμ' ἐν γοῦν εἶπεν κτλ.]
 μαντεύματ' sic versus flagitet.
 [The plural—so the verse demands.]
65. [436f. νουθετητέος δέ μοι κτλ.]
 10 vide Grotium de veritate religionis Chris: pa: 140
 [See Grotius in (his work) on the truth of the Christian
 Religion, (on the subject of virgin births.)]
66. [463. παραχορευομένην τρίποδι]
 citra quem choreæ ducuntur. Stephan.
 15 [Before which (tripod) the dances were celebrated accord-
 ing to Stephanus.]
67. [594. Μηδέν]
 πάτερ, supple
68. [1064f. δαίμων ἐξάψειν]
 20 τλάμων ἐξάψει Cant. mavult
69. [1136. Ἀκτῖνας]
 ἀκτῖνος melius.
70. [1171. Παρελθὼν κτλ.]
 ὁ μὲν videtur præponendum

71. [1360. Σώσαιθ', ὅτου δ' ἐβούλεθ' οὔνεκ', οὐκ ἔγω λέγειν]
 οὔνεκ' ejiciendum puto, nam versus respuit, et potest et
 solet sub intelligi
 [I think οὔνεκ' should be omitted, for the verse is redun-
 5 dant, and it can be, and often is, understood unexpressed.]
72. [1423f. κακκρασπέδω κτλ.]
 κακκρασπέδω τούτ', supple ὕφασμα quod in versum sequen-
 tem ex margine irrepsit, cum melius abesset sic enim me-
 trum integrum, ἰδοὺ τόδ' ἔστι κτλ.
 10 [Supply ὕφασμα which has crept into the following line
 from the margin, where it is better omitted, thus the meter
 would be regular, etc.]
73. [1503. Δειλία δὲ]
 δειλαῖα alii
 15 [Others (read) δειλαῖα.]

HERCULES FURENS.

74. [149. 'Ως σὺ γγαμὸς σοι* Ζεῖς τέχοι νέον]
 *παῖδα suppletur
75. [328. Ὡς ἀμφοῖν εἰς ὑποουργήσῃ διπλᾷ]
 μίαν sic versus constat, et puto supplendum
 20 [The verse demands μίαν, and I think it should be sup-
 plied.]
76. [572 versio. Cæde]
 Sanguine
 ["Blood" (is better than "slaughter" here)]

ELECTRA.

77. [448. Κόρας μάτευσ' ἐνθα πατήρ]

vide Portum sed arbitror scribi debere κόραι ματεύουσ': hoc est nymphæ illæ quærunt

[See Portus, but I think it should be written κόραι κτλ.

5 that is, these nymphs were seeking.]

78. [534. Πῶς δ' ἄν κτλ.]

vide Scholium

[See the notes of the scholiast.]

79. [1088. πῶς οὖν πόσιν κτείνασ', οὐ κτλ.]

10 delete οὐ sequente Cant.

DANAË.

80. [4. 'Ακρίσιος κτλ.]

Engl. Plut.

[Consult the English translation of Plutarch, on Acrisius.]

80a. [30. Τοιάνδ' ἐχώρησ', ὡς ἄπυρος χρυσὸς γερῶς]

15 Vid. Andr. Schotti. Observat: l: 2. c. 43

81. [38. φυγῇ δὲ λάθρα]

Col. Rhod.

[Colossus of Rhodes; or Apollonius Rhodius, IV, 1088.]

V. NOTES ON LYCOPHRON

From *Alexandra*, Geneva, 1601.

[I. P. 7 l. 21. Ναῦται λίαζον, καπὸ γῆς ἐσχάζουσιν]

20 vide scholiast. pag. 51. infra.

[2. P. 10 l. 34. *Τρίτωνος ἡμάλυνε κάρχαρος κύων*]
 utinam esset *καρχαρόδους* hoc enim grandius.

[Would that it were *καρχαρόδους* for that would be grander.]

[3. P. 17 l. 64. *Πρὸς ἀνθοπλίτου ξυνὸν ὀγχήσει μόνον*]
 5 *οἰχνήσει* sic enim puto legendum licet hoc verbum semel infra
 occurrat quamvis non sine suspitione mendæ.

[*οἰχνήσει*, for so I think it may be read: this word occurs once
 only below, though not without suspicion of error.]

[4. P. 19 l. 85. *Φέρβοντο φῶκαι λέκτρα θουρῶσαι βροτῶν*]
 10 derivari opinamur hoc verbum a them *θορὸς* quod semen geni-
 tale significat proinde *θουρῶσαι* humore foetifico polluebant.
 [I think this word is from the word that means genital seed,
 and hence that seals polluted [beds] with semen.]

[5. P. 22 l. 102. *Καὶ τὴν ἄνυμφον πόρτην ἀρπάσας λύκος*]
 15 quia Menelaus tunc aberat vel *καχόνυμφον*.
 [Because Menelaus was then absent, or with the idea of mis-
 fortune through marriage.]

[6. P. 27 l. 143. *Τῇς πενταλέκτρου θυιάδος Πλευρωνίας*]
 Sic dicta erat Helena a matre Læda quæ etiam αἰτωλῆς dicta est
 20 ab Apollonio argonaut: 1 in catalogo Heroum Pleuron autem
 est Ætoliæ civitas videatur Schol: Apollonii. apud quem Lædæ
 pater Thestius ejus loci rex fertur.
 [Helen was so called from her mother Leda who is also called
 an Ætolian woman by Apollonius of Rhodes in the first book
 25 of the *Argonautica* (line 146), in the catalogue of heroes. Pleu-
 ron is an Ætolian city see the scholiast on Apollonius who
 says Thestius, Leda's father, was king of the place.]

[7. P. 40 l. 184. *Βύκταισι χερνίψουσιν ὠμῆσται πόρρον*]

legi potest *πόρρον* sed non nisi irritatâ Tsetzis bile.

[It can be read *πόρρον*, but not without rousing Tzetzes' anger.]

[8. P. 41 l. 197. *Ἄδου τε παφλάζοντος ἐκ βυθῶν φλογί, Κρατῆρος*]

5 videtur simplicius eam ollam intelligi in quam futurum erat immitti Iphigeniam post mactationem. alii ad Iphigeniæ sacrificia Taurica referunt

[It seems simpler to understand the urn in which Iphigenia was to be put after the sacrifice. Others connect it with Iphigenia's sacrifices among the Taurians.]

[9. P. 45 l. 217. *Σύρουσαν ἄλμη καπὶ ῥίεζοῦσαν πάτρῃ*]

positum puto pro *καπὶ ροιζοῦσαν*.

[10. P. 48 l. 240. *Σὺν τοῖς δ' ὁ τλήμων, μητρὸς οὐ φράσας θεᾶς Μνήμων ἐφετμάς*]

15 ut ut dissentiat Canterus videtur Memnon intelligi quis enim alius deæ matris Auroræ monita oblitus est?

[Although Canter disagrees, Memnon seems to be understood, for who else forgot the counsel of his goddess mother, the Dawn?]

20 [11. P. 51 l. 260. *Εὗτ' ἂν λαβρᾶζων περκνὸς αἰχμητῆς χάρων*]
χάρων. vide etiam schol: pag. 80.

[12. P. 54 l. 278. *Δύναι, παρ' ἱστοῖς κερκίδος ψαύσας χρότων*]

videant artis textoriæ periti ne scribendum sit *χροκῶν*.

[Let those skilled in the weaver's art decide whether this
25 should not be *χροκῶν*.]

[13. P. 60 l. 331. *Πρέσβυν δολόγκων* δημόλευστον ὠλένη*]

*nomen proprium juxta Schol:

[According to the scholiast this is a proper name, Dolonkon.]

[14. P. 60 l. 333. *Κρύψει κυπὰς τις χερμάδων ἐπομβρία*]

- 5 Stephanus de lectione dubitat aliámque conjecturâ profert, in voce *κύπας*. at non videtur omnino rejiciendum si scribatur *κτύπας* adjectivè ut sensus sit cooperiet strepitans lapidum imber.

- [Stephanus doubts the reading and conjectures another for the
10 word *κύπας*. But it seems not wholly to be rejected if written as an adjective *κτύπας* as if the sense were "A roaring storm of stones will overwhelm."]

[15. P. 76 l. 435. "*Ὁν Γογγυλάτης εἶλε βουλαῖος μυλεὺς*"]

- interpretatio schol: videtur alienior, et et Canteri ex Ovidio
15 posterior quam ut huic loco, et poetæ conveniat, aut certè magis Romanis peculiare cognomen Jovis Pistor erat quàm ut Græcis tunc temporis esset receptum. putamus itaque *μυλεὺς* penè idem esse quod *γογγυλάτης* ita ut *μύλη* generalius accipiat
20 tur pro quovis lapide, eo præsertim cujus impetu conteruntur omnia et comminuuntur, atque hoc magis idoneum est ad id quod sequitur explicandum, *μυλεὺς* scil. qui Capanea super-
vientem tanquam molitor confregerit

- [The interpretation of the scholiast seems too strange, and that of Canter also (from Ovid) too late to suit this place and poet.
25 Or at any rate Pistor is rather too peculiarly Roman a surname of Jupiter, to be received by the Greeks of that age. Hence I think that *μυλεὺς* is practically the same as *Γογγυλάτης*, as *μύλη*

being taken in a broad sense for any stone, especially for that by whose impact all is smashed and broken, and this is far more suitable to explain what follows, he is indeed *μυλεὺς* who like a stoneworker smote Capaneus upon his arrival.]

- 5 [15a. P. 145 l. 901. *Καὶ τὸν δυνάστην τοῦ πετρωθέντος λύκου*] vide Ovid. *metam.* 11.

[16. P. 148 l. 918. *Δράκοντ' ἀφύκτων γομφίων λυροκτύπον*] videtur esse ponendum *λυροκτύπη* ut cum *δράκοντι* conveniat. vide Cant:

- 10 [It seems this should be written *λυροκτύπη* to agree with the dative *δράκοντι*. See Canterus.]

[16a. P. 156 l. 987. *Τοὺς πρόσθ' ἔδεθλον ξουθίδος ὠκηχότας*] vide Euripid: *Ion*:

[17. P. 156 l. 991. *Ὅταν θανὼν λήταρχος ἱερείας σκύλαξ*]

- 15 fortasse *λείταρχος* legendum.

[18. l. 994. *Λίνου θ' ὀλισμίκτοιο δειραΐαν ἄκραν*] *ὀλισμίκτοιο* scribendum *divinabam* quod postea Scaligero sic olim visum fuisse reperi.

- [I conjectured this should be *ὀλισμίκτοιο*, which later I found
20 was the opinion of Scaliger.]

[19. P. 163 l. 1045. *Πράκτιν παρ' αὐτὴν, αἰπὺν νάσσεται λέπας*] *ἄκτιν* legit Cant:

- [20. l. 1049. *Ξένοις ἐπ' ὀστέοισιν ὀγχήσει κόνην*] *ὀγκώσει* Scal: vide Canter. vel *ἀνχεύσει* pro *ἀναχεύσει* a *χέω* quod
25 placet.

[Scaliger reads *ὀγκώσει*, see Canterus. Or *ἀνχεύσει* for *ἀναχεύσει* from *χέω* which might do.]

[20a. l. 1050. Δοραῖς δὲ μήλων τύμβον ἐγκοιμωμένοις]
 τύμβος Scal: apud Can.

[21. P. 168 l. 1095. Στεγανόμοις ὄρνιθας, οὐδὲ ναυφάγοι]
 h.e. οἰκούρους ni fallor. νέμω n. ut notum est habitandi signifi-
 15 cationem habet

[Unless I am in error this means the birds' dwelling, for it is
 well known νέμω has the sense of dwelling.]

[22. P. 173 l. 1150. Καὶ πᾶς Ὀδοιδόχειος Ἰλέος δόμος]
 pro οἴλεος Cant:

10 [23. P. 179 Scholiast on l. 1204. περὶ γε τὸν Ὀκεανὸν ἔστιν ἡ
 Βρεττανία νῆσος κτλ.]

fabella lepida

[The story (of Thule) is charming.]

[24. P. 186 l. 1253. Κτίσει δὲ χώραν ἐν τόποις Βορειγόνων]
 15 Aboriginum

[25. P. 197 l. 1354. Κευθμῶνος αἰνόλεκτρον ἐνδάνει μυχόν]
 puto substituendum ἐνδιᾶει

[I think the form ἐνδιᾶει should be substituted.]

VI. NOTES ON ARATUS

From *Phænomena*, Paris, 1559.

[1. P. 1 l. 5. τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος εἰμέν κτλ.]

20 sic Lucretius. denique celesti sumus omnes semine oriundi,
 omnibus ille idem pater est &c. lib. 2. p. 265.

[Thus Lucretius II, 991, says we are all born of heavenly seed, and all have the same father, etc.]

[2. P. 11 l. 74. *Νῶτφ μὲν στέφανος πελάει.*] —*κεφαλῇ γε μὲν ἄκρη*
ex aliis editionibus supplemus.

5 [I supply (the missing end of the line) from other editions.]

[3. P. 14 l. 100. *Εὐκηλος φορέοιτο λόγος γε μὴν* ἐντρέχει ἄλλος*]
**μὲν* — *μὴν*, nisi subsit mendum inusitatè corripitur.

[Read *μὲν* for unless there be a slip of the pen *μὴν* is here shortened in an unusual way.]

10 [4. P. 14 l. 107. *Δημοτέρας ἡδεῖδεν ἐπισπέρχουσα θέμιστας*]
ἡδεῖξεν pro *ἔδεῖξεν* sic enim emendârat vir doctus aliquis in editione Lugdunensi Degavianâ. vel *ἡειδεν* ut Stef. fol.
[*ἡδεῖξεν* for *ἔδεῖξεν*, for thus some scholar would emend it in the Lyons edition; or as Stephanus in the folio, *ἡειδεν*.]

15 [5. P. 14 l. 112. *Ἀλλὰ βόες ἄροτρα καὶ αὐτὴ πότνια λαῶν*]
legendum fortasse καὶ ἄροτρα.
[Perhaps to be read καὶ ἄροτρα]

[6. P. 15 l. 124. *Χειροτέρην, ὁμῆϊς δὲ καχώτερά τ' ὀξεῖσθε **
**τεξεῖσθε* Lugdun. á themate *τέχω*.

20 [The Lyons edition reads *τεξεῖσθε* from the stem "to bear."]

[7. P. 17 l. 144. *Εἷς μὲν ὕπ' ὠμαίων, εἷς δ' ἰξυόθεν κατιόντων*]
uno verbo legi debet *ὕπωμαίων*.

[This should be read as one word, *ὕπωμαίων*]

[8. P. 31, line 28, *Commentary on Section 24*, p. 30. *φησὶ φεύγειν*
25 *τὴν Ἠλέκτραν τοῦ μὴ ὑπομεῖναι ἰδεῖν τὸν ἥλιον** *ἄλισχομένην*.]
*supple *τροῖαν*

[9. P. 38. l. 326. Τοῖος* καὶ φρουρὸς ἀειρομένην ὑπὸ νότῳ]

*ἔοι fortasse interponendum

[ἔοι should perhaps be inserted]

[10. P. 52 l. 475. Οὐρανόν, εἰ καὶ² τίς τοῦθ' ὑποστάς³ ἄλλος ἔδειξε]

5 ἡ-²dele καὶ, et lege τοῦτο pro τοῦθ' -³παρυστάς legisse videtur Theon.

[Read ἡ; omit καὶ, and read τοῦτο for τοῦθ' .—Theoneus seems to read παρυστάς.]

[11. P. 112 l. 1024. Καὶ σπίνος ἡῶ ἀσπίζων, καὶ ὄρνεα πάντα]

10 ἡῶ ἀσπίζων sic emendatius legit Stephanus. in Thesaurο.

[ἡῶ ἀσπίζων for so Stephanus reads more correctly in his Thesaurus.]

VII. NOTES ON GILDAS

From Commelinus, *Rerum Britannicarum*,
Heidelberg, 1587.

1. [P. 114, l. 21 (*Prologue*). hoc est dixisse pedi †Speculare, & †manu fateri. (“*thou wilt bid the foote see, and the hand*
15 *speake.*”)]
1. frustra.
[2.] perspicuè.
[“1. in vain; 2. clearly.”]
2. [P. 116, l. 2 (*Sect. iv*). rectores sibi relictos . . . molimina†
20 Leæna trucidavit dolosa. (“the subtil *Lioness* murthred the Rulers, who were left behind.” *A marginal note glosses the word Lioness*: “Queene *Voaditia* slew with the power

of her Countrymen the *Britanes* threescore and ten or fourescore thousand *Romanes*.”)]

†Bunduica siue Voadicia 80000. Dion: 70000. Romanorum Tacit: regnante Nerone dicitur interemisse.

5 [Bonduca or Boadicea is said by Dion to have killed 80,000 Romans in the reign of Nero; Tacitus says 70,000.]

3. [P. 117, l. 16 (*Sect. x*). ad †Gallias magna comitante satel-
litum caterva. (England “furnished out unto the *Galles*
Maximus . . . with mighty bands of men to guard him.”)]

10 †Hoc factum est circiter Annum Dom: 377.

[This was done about the year A.D. 377]

4. [P. 117, l. 45 (*Sect. xiv*). opertisque †sablone capitibus.
 (“Embassadors with . . . heads overspread with ashes.”)]
†l. terra vel humo.

15 [That is, earth or dirt.]

4a. [P. 118 (misprinted “116”), l. 6 (*Sect. xiv*). latrunculos
Romana †stigmata tantum talemque exercitum terra ac
mari fatigari. (“to weary out the Ensignes of *Rome*, to-
gether with such and so great an army.”)]

20 Galfridus habet stemmata: Polyd: signa.

[Geoffrey has “stemmata” for “stigmata,” Polydore “signa.”]

5. [P. 118 (“116”), l. 19 (*Sect. xv*). de †curucis. (The Scots
and Picts landed “out of their Ships.”)]

25 †Curuca 1. Nauis. sic in vet: M:S. de Interp: verborum
explicatum.

[Curuca: a ship; so explained in an old manuscript on the
interpretation of words.]

6. [P. 118 (“116”), l. 37 (*Sect. xvi*). vacuaretur omnis regis

totius ꝥcibi. ("the whole Country was utterly disfurnished of all manner of provision of victuals.")]

ꝥsustentaculo vitæ. more Scriptur. Ezech: 4.16. Psalm: 104. 16.

- 5 [The staff of life. Biblical usage. See Ezekiel 4:16; Psalm 104:16. (*in King James version Psalm 105.*)]

7. [P. 118 ("116"), l. 40 (*Sect. xvii*). ꝥAgrio ter consuli. ("Agitius . . . thrice Consul.")]

- 10 ꝥBeda: li: 1: ca: 13. vocat eum Ætium: hoc factum fuit Anno Domini 446. Anno 23 Theodosij iunioris.

[Bede (book I, chapter 13) calls him Ætius. This was done in the year 446, the twenty-third year of Theodosius II.]

8. [P. 119 ("117"), ll. 45 ff. (*Sect. xxiii, marginal note*). *De saeuioe multo primis hoste. s. Anglosaxonico*. ("Of an enemy far more cruell then the first . . . the Saxons.")]

- 15 cuius adventus fuit Anno Chr: 449. vid. Bed: li: 1. ca: 15. [Whose arrival was in the year of Christ 449; see Bede, book I, chapter 15.]

9. [P. 120, l. 10 (*Sect. xxiii*). queruntur non affluentur sibi ꝥepimenia contribui. (The Saxons "had not sufficient victuals and habitations appointed them.")]

- 20 Vox Græca pro qua Polyd: ponit annonas. sed in Saxo: li: de vocabulis interpretantur nest. nidos siue habitationes.

- 25 [A Greek word for which Polydore puts "annonas" (yearly produce), but in Saxo's book of names they are interpreted as nests or habitations.]

10. [P. 120, l. 50 (*Sect. xxvi*). quique ꝥquadragesimus quartus (ut novi) orditur annus mense iam uno emenso. (The

battle of Mount Badon, "which was (as I am sure) forty foure yeares and one moneth after the landing of the Saxons."]

Anno Chri: 493. Bed. ca: 16. li: 1.

5 [In the year of Christ 493; see Bede, Book I, chap. xvi.]

11. [P. 121, l. 31 (*near the beginning of the paragraph following Sect. xxvi*). sub sancti abbatis †amphibalo. ("under the habit of the Saintly Abbot *Amphibalus*.")]

†vestis ex lana caprarum delicata tum in usu—apud Ab-
10 bates, alio nomine Bytrum sive Dubium vocata.

[A delicate garment of the hair of she-goats then in use, among the abbots called by the other names Bytrum or Dubium.]

12. [P. 123, l. 7 (*well along in the same paragraph as the pre-*
15 *ceding note*). levia, †palata. (sins which are "light" or "open.")]

†palata. admissa. l. aperta delicta.

[Palata is "admitted"; read "open faults."]

VIII. NOTES ON ARIOSTO

From Harington's *Orlando Furioso*, 1591.

1. [Sig. ¶ 2 verso. (*Before the Preface Milton wrote an elegiac couplet of which the first line is cut away, and all is cancelled.*)]

Tu mihi Jure tuo Justiniane vale. J. M.

[Farewell, Justinian with your law book.]

Book II

2. [P. 14, St. 72, l. 4. *He thought it best to trie a further traine*]
a ly

Book III

3. [P. 18, St. 14, l. 2. *to her*] Bradamant
4. [PP. 19–20. *On these pages Milton numbers the Kings of Lombardy from 1 to 33, and adds to the names quoted titles.*] [St. 26, l. 4. *Desiderius*] fortis [St. 27, l. 5. *Uberto*]
pius [St. 28, l. 1. *Alberto*] fortis ed[ax*] [l. 5. *Atso*] nil
[l. 7. *Albertasso*] fortis [St. 29, l. 3. *Hugo*] pacificus [St. 30,
l. 1. *Fulko*] fratrem amans [St. 31, l. 1. *Atso*] pacificus ij
10 [l. 2. *Bertold and Albertasse*] 2 fortes [l. 5. *Renaldo*] pius
ij [St. 32, l. 1. *Atso*] iij pius [St. 33, l. 2. *Henries two*] ij pii
[l. 7, *Atso*] iiij fortis et pius [St. 36, l. 1. *Renaldo*] pius ij
[St. 37, l. 1. *Nycolas*] fortis [St. 38, l. 1. *Lyonell*] pacificus
[St. 39, l. 1. *Hercles*] fortis [St. 44–45] Alfonso sapiens [St.
15 45–46] Hippolyto sapiens [St. 47, l. 1. *two Sygismonds*]
sapientes [l. 2, *Alfonso*] ij famosus [l. 3. *Hercles*] ii nobilis
[l. 7. *Hypolito*] ij nobilis [St. 48, l. 1. *Alfonsos . . . two*]
nobiles.
5. [P. 20, St. 43, l. 1. *Their mother*] Church
- 20 6. [P. 21, St. 60, l. 1. *this comely man*] Ironie

Book IV

7. [P. 26, St. 13, l. 2] Griffith=horse on the Riphæ moun-
taines
8. [P. 28, St. 44, l. 5. *Our princes daughter*] Genevra

9. [St. 45. NOTE. *This bloody law*, etc.] pœna adulterii apud Scotos [*The penalty for adultery in Scotland.*]

Book V

10. [P. 33, St. 12, l. 1. *my duke*] Polynesso
 11. [St. 18, l. 1] Ariodante
 5 12. [P. 37, St. 67, l. 1. *the Scottish law*] Scotorum lex
 13. [St. 74, l. 7. *This tale Dalinda . . . told*] finis fabulæ [*The end of the tale.*]
 14. [P. 38, St. 79, l. 1. *him*] Ariodante

Book VI

15. [P. 42, St. 15, l. 6. *kings*] Ariodante
 10 16. [l. 7. *dutchie*] Albanix Dux [*He was Duke of Albany.*]
 17. [P. 46, St. 73] habitatio Alcinx [*Alcyna's dwelling place.*]
 18. [P. 47, St. 78, l. 3. *Erifila*] Gigantesse
 19. [P. 47. *Allegorie, the true Christian religion*] Impugned by Jews & the turkes.

Book VII

- 15 20. [P. 50, St. 13] formosæ mulieris descriptio [*Description of a beautiful woman.*]
 21. [P. 51, St. 23] amator [*A lover.*]
 22. [St. 25, l. 1. *Astolfos successor*] Rogero
 23. [P. 52, St. 48, l. 7] Oratio Melissæ [*Melissa's speech.*]

Book VIII

- 20 24. [P. 60, St. 39, l. 5. *Senex fornicator*] Hermita [*The "old lecher" is the hermit.*]

25. [St. 42, l. 3] Dagus*
 26. [St. 46, l. 3. *a king*] Ebreda
 27. [l. 4. *a daughter*] Ingula
 28. [P. 61 ("63"), St. 50, l. 1] oraculum [*a prophecy*.]

Book IX

- 5 29. [P. 65, St. 1] He alludes to Virgill here in his beginning,
 when he says, "improbe amor quid non mortalia pectora
 cogis."
 30. [St. 3, l. 8. *durindana*] gladius Orlandi [*Durindana is Or-*
lando's sword.]
 10 31. [P. 66, St. 17, l. 3. *the Ladie*] Olympia
 32. [St. 19, l. 1. *The duke of Zeland*] Byreno
 33. [P. 67, St. 24, l. 7. *a truncke of Iron etc.*] a periphrasis of an
 Ordinance
 34. [P. 68, St. 37] mors Arbantis [*The death of Arbantes.*]
 15 35. [St. 38, l. 3. *Cymoscas*] rex Frigiæ
 36. [P. 69, St. 58] Peritosa Dissimulatio [*A most dangerous*
fraud.]

Book X

37. [P. 75, St. 24, l. 7] imprecatio
 38. [P. 76, St. 37, l. 6] imprecatio
 20 39. [Pp. 77-78, St. 62-72. *Milton beside these copied out the*
names and changed the spelling of the following] War-
 wick—Clarence—Salsbury—Burgamj—Shrewsbury—Zer-
 bin dux Scotorum—Albany—Bohun
 40. [P. 78, St. 67, l. 8. *the rich Bishop of the Bath*, (WITH NOTE)
 25 *The last Bishop*] Iohannes*

Book XI

41. [P. 84, St. 24] imprecatio
 42. [P. 86, St. 54, l. 2] formes*
 43. [P. 87, St. 65, l. 6] periphrasis
 44. [P. 87. *Historie, Baken the great English necromancer*]

5 Bacon

Book XII

45. [P. 92, St. 37] vide Ovidius de Marte [*See Ovid on Mars.*]
 46. [P. 93, St. 56] Moretur Absyrdo [*Absyrdo dies.*]

Book XIII

47. [P. 97, St. 14, l. 2. *Milton corrects "by" to*] my
 48. [St. 15] tempestas
 10 49. [P. 100, St. 55. (*Leonora's virtue as mother*)] semel est
 imbuta* ei*
 50. [St. 57, l. 6. *While fier shalbe warme etc.*] Dures [*Un-*
 changing things.]

Book XIV

51. [P. 103, St. 3] Periphrasis
 15 52. [P. 105, St. 34, l. 5. *king of Sarza*] Rodomont
 53. [P. 108, St. 65] Angelus missus [*The angel is sent.*]
 54. [St. 68] Domus silentij [*A home of silence.*]
 55. [P. 109, St. 87] mi memenuit*
 56. [P. 110, St. 94] Rodomont
 20 57. [St. 96, l. 8. *Fortune . . . standing still in doubt*] ubivis voli-
 tare [*On which side to alight.*]
 58. [St. 105] Epitaphium
 59. [P. 110. *Allegorie*] teidia* [tædia ?]

Book XV

60. [P. 114, St. 18, l. 1. *By him againe shall Austria be brought
(corrected by Milton to)*] By him againe Astræa shall be brought.
61. [P. 115. *In notes to St. 28 Milton adds*] Periphrasis de
5 [*Phenix*] de [*Red sea*]
62. [P. 116, St. 42. *Milton adds to note*] Ovid.

Book XVI

63. [P. 122, St. 10] dissimulatio 1
64. [P. 124, St. 39, l. 1. *Pulian*] rex
65. [P. 125, St. 54, l. 6. *By Macon and Lanfusa*] juramenta Hi-
10 span [*Spanish oaths.*]
66. [P. 126. (*In the seventh line of the Moral Milton alters*)
“by pleasant Gentlemen” to “by a pleasant Gentleman”
and adds his name] Owen.

Book XIX

67. [P. 149, St. 38, l. 3. *Milton corrects the line by inserting
15 after “James”*] some
68. [St. 45, l. 5. *Milton amends “bynds” to*] so bynds.

Book XXII

69. [P. 171, St. 35, l. 2. *Milton corrects the line by inserting*
most

Book XXXVIII

70. [P. 324. *Morall*] Homily Rogerij*

Book XLVI

71. [P. 405. *at end Milton writes*] Questo libro due volte Io letto, Sept. 21. 1642. [*I have read this (46th) book twice.*]

IX. NOTES ON WILLIAM BROWNE

From *Britannia's Pastorals*, 1613–1616.

BOOK I: SONG I.

[1.p.2.1.17 "*Beauties Garden-plot*"] a title given to this ile
 —[2.p.3.1.79] evening—[3.p.4.1.114] The powers of love.—
 5 [4.p.5.1.129] Cupid—[5.1.134] life & death—[6.p.6.1.179] A sim-
 ile of a Dove beset with 2 hawks & a ship with contrary winds.
 —[7.p.7.1.217] The sun breaking from a cloud. and the moon
 encreasing.—[8.1.231] They who drinke of Lethe never think
 of love or the world.—[9.p.10.1.369] The lover will not mani-
 10 fest his love—[10.p.12.1.465] The lovers posture, when his Mr^s
 rates him.—[11.p.13.1.486] A Darke cave from which a pleas-
 ant fountain gushes.—[12.1.515] A handsome Sheeheard as
 well in mind as in body.—[13.p.15.1.594] one desperately in
 love.—[14.p.16.1.608] The contrarietys of women—[15.1.640]
 15 counsell to a lover.

SONG II.

[1.p.23.1.63] The power of water—[2.1.82] Thunder—[3.1.89]
 Ice snow—[4.p.26.1.185] Of Man—[5.p.29.1.299] A covetous
 man—[6.1.329] A grove—[7.p.30.1.344] Sweet—[8.1.359] a Fine
 set of trees—[9.p.31.1.401] Fairies Description.—[10.1.407] A
 20 beautifull swain—[11.p.33.1.469] Sweet musick—[12.p.34.

- (“43”)l.527] The miserys of Those that marry for beauty.—
 [13.p.35.l.544] Naturam expellas furcâ licet utque recurrit—
 [14.l.561] Greif—[15.p.36.l.574] All are born to love—[16.l.597]
 Against love—[17.l.604] A country courtship—[18.p.37.l.620]
 5 The vileness of sheeding innocent blood.—[19.l.623, “*Phys-
 icks first founder*”] Apollo—[20.l.641] Winter—[21.p.38.l.666]
 Mans life compar’d to a river.—[22.l.678] The character of a
 great river—[23.p.39.l.697] A character of a bad poet—[24.l.714]
 A land flood—[25.p.40.l.737] Men walking in a desert fearing
 10 beasts—[26.l.760] A vile act—[27.p.41.l.770] Modest—[28.l.779]
 Lacivious—[29.l.797] He says his muse is mod[est]—[30.p.42.
 l.811] A curious landskip.—[31.p.43.l.842] A Tempest—[32.
 l.861] An evill Conscience—[33.l.875] A simile of a nurse & her
 child—[34.p.44.l.885] The good conscience of the Innocent—
 15 [35, *footnote to p. 26 in Milton’s copy*] Read over the other leaf,
 for it is misplac’d.

SONG III.

- [1.p.46.l.50] A mother weeping for the loss of her child—
 [2.l.55] The brazen age—[3.p.47.l.70] Tis the nature of mothers
 to greive for their children, proov’d by a simile.—[4.l.95] A
 20 steep high mountain—[5.p.48.l.105] The crookedness of the
 hill excus’d.—[6.l.117] A cave—[7.p.49.l.147] The evening—
 [8.l.151. “*Philomel*”] The nitingale—[9.p.50.l.180] Spencer—
 [10.l.200] Morning—[11.p.51.l.244] True greif will admit no
 comforter.—[12.p.52.l.260] Love’s vast power—[13.p.53.l.295]
 25 equall love—[14.p.55.l.378] A fine pleasant harbour, & green—
 [15.l.406] A simile of dancing & figurs of rusticks dances
 —[16.p.56.l.445] inviting to wed

SONG IV.

[1.p.63.l.1] The golden age—[2.p.64.l.23] The sylver Iron
 ages creep slowly on, by a simile of the young wrens—[3.l.50]
 one so sweet, the bees mistaken, gather honey from her instead
 of flowers—[4.p.67.l.133] One greivously opprest & entreating
 5 pitty from whence pretty fancy is rais'd.—[5.l.155 "*that Ara-*
bian bird"] The Phoenix—[6.l.163-7] A pretty thing—[7.p.68.
 l.193] God—[8.p.69.l.214] An exceeding whit feature—[9.p.70.
 l.257] One very beautifull—[10.p.73.l.386] Truth despisd—
 [11.l.398] Winter—[12.p.74.l.420] Vices receiv'd into the abbots
 10 house—[13.p.75.l.483] Morning—[14.p.76.l.403] Truth slighted
 of the nobility, by reason of adulation—[15.p.77.l.569] Fame &
 arithmitick simile's for greif.—[16.p.78.l.605] A fine pratling
 spring.—[17.p.79.l.633] Noon day—[18.p.80.l.692] sweet mu-
 sick—[19.p.81.l.703] The story of Cephalus a good shooter, &
 15 hunter—[20.p.83.l.744] The revolutions of the year—[21.l.749]
 Post imbres sol

SONG V.

[1.p.86.l.47] Elegys—[2.p.87.l.79] Elegy—[3.p.88.l.117] Fine
 cloaths—[4.p.89.l.145] Men strive to get fair M^{rs}—[5.p.90.l.193]
 Full of greif—[6.p.93.l.314] A land flood—[7.p.94.l.341] Sweet
 20 singing—[8.p.97.("67")l.450] A valiant well resolv'd seaman
 —[9.p.98.l.505] The smith shooing an high mettled horse—
 [10.p.99.l.535] Despair—[11.p.100.l.575] Riot.—[12.p.102.l.642]
 An Angler—[13.p.103.l.700] Boys hunting the squirril in a
 thick wood—[14.p.105.("102")l.764] A description of repent-
 25 ance.—[15.p.106.l.810] A beautifull vergin undressing herself

—[16.l.835] A swain very beautifull & well skild in singing—
[17.p.107.l.866] A pleasant walk

BOOK II: SONG I.

[1.p.2.l.27] The muses.—[2.p.3.l.61] A calm—[3.l.78] Eng-
land—[4.p.5.l.123] One Divinely beautifull.—[5.p.6.l.170] The
5 speech of one extreemly miserable.—[6.p.10.l.328] Very foul—
[7.p.14.l.480] One flinging at a lottery—[8.p.16.l.577] Prevail-
ing oratory—[9.p.21.l.763] Evening & night—[10.p.22.l.795]
Great men have not such rest as clowns—[11.l.800] Morning—
[12.l.827] Poor labour to feed the luxury of the rich.—[13.p.23.
10 l.837] Parasites are enlightened by the beams of kings—[14.l.851]
The issues that follow good government—[15.p.24.l.896] The
voiage of Thetis on the sea.—[16.p.25.l.931] Poetts live for
ever—[17.p.26.l.954] The excellency of our english poetts—
[18.p.26.l.976] Spencer.—[19.p.27.l.995] His death lamented
15 —[20.l.1021] Avarice.

SONG II.

[1.p.29.l.1] Morning—[2.p.30.l.23] Sheephards—[3.l.52] All
things inconstant—[4.p.31.l.76] Fame—[5.p.32.l.105] Venus
mourning over Adonis when he was dead—[6.p.33.l.143-7]
Sweet piping—[7.l.162] good Poetts are envied yet in spite of
20 envy get immortall prayse—[8.p.34.l.196] He tells who is his
love—[9.p.35.l.223] Morning—[10.p.36.l.249] Sr Philip sidney
—[11.p.37.l.289] Draiton—[12.l.293] Johnson—[13.l.303] Dan-
iell—Brook—[14.p.38.l.323] Daveis & Wither—[15.p.41.l.445]

2 brothers frighted with a bull—[16.p.42.l.521] A curious vale
 —[17.p.44.l.589] An old tree—[18.p.45.l.611] One extreemly
 miserable—[19.l.639] Weeping—[20.p.46.l.644] Very beauti-
 full—[21.p.47.l.693] The avaritious person.—[22.p.48.l.756] A
 5 chase—[23.p.49.l.788] A gallant dame a huntress

SONG III.

[1.p.57.l.260] Golden age—[2.p.60.l.384] Popy:—[3.p.62.
 l.431] The rainbow—[4.p.64.l.521] [De]scription of a garden.
 —[5.p.67.l.641] Englands praise—[6.p.70.l.753] Birds singing.
 —[7.p.71.l.802] A beautifull maid.—[8.p.77.("85")l.998] To
 10 much of one thing is good for nothing—[9.p.78.l.1018] A com-
 parison of a fair woman

SONG IV.

[1.p.85.l.2] One in love departing from his M^{rs}—[2.p.88.
 l.103] Souldiers.—[3.p.89.l.160] Nothing but vertue shal ob-
 taine the praises of his pen—[4.l.168] He delights in study
 15 more than earthly enioyments.—[5.p.91.l.253] Vertue is the
 only nobility—[6.p.96.l.459] Why Cupid is blind?—[7.p.99.
 l.564] Night—[8.p.105.l.783] Delays

SONG V.

[1.p.111.l.11] The discription of Cælia—[2.p.114.l.113] The
 force of love—[3.l.119] May—[4.p.120.l.351] Greatness—
 20 [5.p.131.l.810] Life & Death.

X. NOTES ON PAUL BEST

From *Mysteries Discovered*, 1647.

1. [Titlepage.] To Election both Vocation and Adoption are
Termes synonymal.

2. [pp. 16, 18] *De Redemptoris nostri Jesu Christi Personâ.*

Quod attinet ad Christi Personam, est ille naturâ verus homo,
qui olim quidem, quum in terris viveret, mortalis fuit, nunc
5 verò immortalis est.

Christum esse hominem multa Sacræ Scripturæ testimonia
docent, è quorum numero sunt ista: Unus mediator Dei et
hominum, homo Jesus Christus, &, Quoniam per hominem
mors, et per hominem resurrectio mortuorum. Et talem sanè
10 Deus per Prophetas olim promiserat, ac talem etiam Christum
esse testatur Fidei Symbolum, vulgò Apostolicum appellatum,
quod nobiscum universi Christiani profitentur.

1 Tim. 2. 5.

1 Cor. 15. 27.

Sed Jesus Christus non est purus homo. Nam divinæ naturæ
particeps evasit, cum spiritus vivificans sit factus; et ex reliquo-
15 rum omnium hominum numero est exemptus, quia est Dei
filius, et quidem unigenitus.

Conf.

2 Pet. 1. 4.

1 Cor. 15. 45.

Appellatur autem Filius Dei quatuor ob causas. Prima est,
quîa è Spiritu Sancto conceptus fuit, et sic nullum alium
patrem præter Deum habuit. Quam causam expressit Angelus
20 Virginem sic alloquens: Spiritus Sanctus superveniet in te, &
virtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi: ideóque quod ex te nascetur
Sanctum vocabitur Dei Filius.

Luk. 1. 35.

Secunda causa est, quia à Patre sanctificatus, et in mundum

h. 10. 36.

missus fuit: quam causam ipse Christus apud Johannem expressit. Ea verò sanctificatio, et in mundum missio illum Dei filium constituit; quòd hoc modo Deo sanctitate, sapientiâ et potentiâ similis evasit, ejúsque personam in prædicando Evangelio maximâ cum autoritate sustinuit. Quâ in re etiam singularissima ac planè paterna ergà ipsum Dei charitas cernitur.

5

Tertia causa est, quia Deus eum à mortuis excitavit, et ad sempiternam vitam denuò veluti genuit. Unde et primogenitus ex mortuis dicitur.

c. 13. 32, 33.

m. 1. 4.

l. 1. 18.

b. 5. 1.

il. 2. 6, 7.

Mat. 16. 16. &

Mar. 8. 29. &

Luk. 9. 20.

10

Quarta causa est, quia eum Deus non tantùm immortalitate, sed et potestate ac imperio simillimum sibi effecit, cùm eum cælestem æternumque Pontificem, ac Regem constituit.

sh. 5. 1, 5.

15

At Unigenitus Dei Filius appellatur, quia planè singularis est Dei Filius, non solum quòd divinâ virtute è virgine fuit genitus; sed multò magis, quòd omnes reliquos Dei Filios, tum perfectissimâ cum Deo similitudine, tum inprimis summâ apud eundem charitate et gratiâ antecedit, ita quidem, ut cæteri cum Christo comparati, Filij Dei dici vix mereantur.

[*On the Person of Jesus Christ our Saviour.*

As to the person of Christ, he is by nature a real man, and who formerly, indeed, when he lived upon the earth, was mortal, but is now immortal.

That Christ was a man, many proofs of sacred writ teach; of which number are 1 Tim. ii. 5, *One Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus*; and 1 Cor. xv. 21, *Since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead*. And of such a being, indeed, God had by his prophets given the promise of old, and that such Christ was, is declared by

that symbol of faith, usually called the Apostles Creed, which, in common with us, all Christians receive.

But Jesus Christ is not simply a man. (Compare 2 Pet. i. 17, and 1 Cor. xv. 45.) For he came forth a partaker of the Divine
5 nature when he was made a quickening spirit, and was distinguished from the number of all other men because he is the Son of God, and indeed the only-begotten Son.

Now he is called the Son of God for four reasons. The first is, because he was conceived by the Holy Spirit, and so had no
10 other Father save God. This reason was expressed by the Angel thus addressing the Virgin (Luke i. 35): *The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall shadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.*

15 The second reason is, because he was sanctified and sent into the world by the Father, and this reason Christ himself alleged in John (x. 36). In reality, this sanctification and sending into the world, made him the Son of God, because by this means he came forth like unto God in holiness, wisdom and power, and
20 sustained his character with the greatest authority in preaching the gospel. In which circumstance the very remarkable and manifestly paternal love of God towards him is perceived.

The third reason is, because God raised him from the dead, and begot him as it were a second time to an eternal life.
25 Whence also he is called the first-begotten from the dead.

The fourth reason is, because God made him exactly like unto himself, not only in immortality, but also in power and authority, when he appointed him a heavenly and eternal Priest and King. (See text for references.)

But he is called the only-begotten Son of God, because he is manifestly the only Son of God, not only because he was begotten by the Divine power of the Virgin, but still more because he surpasses all the other sons of God both in a most
 5 perfect resemblance to God, and especially in the highest degree of favour with him, so indeed that the others, when compared with Christ, scarcely deserve to be called the sons of God (1 John v. 1, 5).]

XI. NOTES ON VALLA'S THUCYDIDES

From *Historiæ*, Basel, 1564.

1. [Book VII, Page 322, "Ubi pervenêre, nullo iam ordine" etc.]
 - 10 Vide Justinum lib: 4. in fin. Plutarch: in Nicias
 [(On the hasty and disorderly crossing of the River Asinarus) see Justin, IV; and Plutarch, *Nicias*.]
 2. [Same page, "Nicias Gylippo sese deditit."]
 Gylippus Dux Lacedæmoniorum.
 - 15 ["Nicias surrendered to Gylippus." Gylippus was leader of
 the Spartans.]
-

XII. NOTES ON IRENICUS

From *Germaniæ Exegeseos*, Basel, 1567.

1. [Lib. I. Cap. 46, Page 43, *De nomine Germania*.]
 Germani quasi ~~ere~~^{ere} ~~mani~~^{mani} = vir exercitus. Ph: Melanch:
 in suo Chronico lib: 2. rubri. N. 174.

[On the name of Germany. "Ger mans, as if men of the army" according to Melanchthon in his Chronicle.]

2. [Lib. III, Cap. 61. Page 141. "Voluit enim Magnus ob Sophiam Rudolphi Saxoniz ducis filiam" etc.]

5 Error authoris.

XIII. NOTE ON DELLA CASA

From *Rime et Prose*, Venice, 1563.

1. [Folio 28, at end]

Segue un altro Sonetto di Mr Giovan: della Casa che si trova nell editione di Venetia. 1623.

- 10 [There follows another sonnet of Giovanni della Casa, to be found in the edition of Venice 1623. (The sonnet is then copied out.)]
-

XIV. NOTE ON VARCHI

From *I Sonetti*, Venice, 1555.

1. [Page 278, Ecloga Seconda.]

[It]aque ex Theocriti [Am]arillide, verum traducta.

- 15 [This is really translated from the Amaryllis of Theocritus, *Idyll* III.]

XV. NOTE ON FARNABY

From *Systema Grammaticum*, 1641.

1. [Page 102, line 6, De ultimis syllabis; "Græca, quæ per *n** scribuntur naturá longa sunt."] *eta
-

XVI. NOTES ON POLYCARP
AND IGNATIUS

From *Polycarpi et Ignatii Epistolæ*, Oxford, 1644.

1. [Page iv.] Vide quæ author subjunxerit Prolegominis. In fine libri, p. 243.
 - 5 [See what the author subjoins to the Prolegomena at the end of the book, page 243.]
 2. [Page xi, terrestri] Asiatico
 3. [Page xi, cursam maritimum] transitum in Europam
[The passage to Europe.]
 - 10 4. [Page xxvii.] quamquam et has etiam etc. vide Errata.
-

XVII. NOTES ON MALVEZZI

[Marginalia, probably Miltonic, from Baker's translation of Malvezzi's *Discourses upon Cornelius Tacitus*, 1642, are given at page 493 ff.]

APPENDIX

MILTON'S HOROSCOPE

(See page 555.)



Newly Discovered Texts of Hobson Poems

Vpon old Hobson the Carrier of Cambridge.

*Here Hobson lyes, who did most truely prove
That he could never dye, whilst he did move:
So sung his destinie, never to rot,
Whilst he might still jog on, and keepe his trot.
5 Made of spheares mortall, never to decay,
Vntill his resolution was at stay.
Time numbers motion, yet without all crime
'Gainst truth, 'twas motion numbred out his time:
And like some engine moov'd with wheele and weight,
10 His principles being seasd, he ended straight
Rest, that gives all us life, gave him his death
And too much breathing put him out of breath:
Nor were it contradiction to affirme,
Too long vacation hastned on his Terme.
15 Ease was his chiefe disease, and to judge right
He dy'd for heavinesse, that his Carts were light.
His leasure told him that his time was come
And lack of load made his life burdensome.
For had his doings lasted as they were,
20 He had beene an immortall carrier.*

- Obedient to the Moone he spend his date,
 In course reciprocally; and had his fate
 Linck't to the mutuall flowing of the seas:
 Yet (strange to thinke) his waine was his disease.*
- 25 *His letters are deliver'd all, and gone;
 Onely remains this superscription.*

Another.

- Here lies old Hobson! Death hath his desire,
 And here (alasse) hath left him in the mire
 Or else the waies being foul, twenty to one,
 He's here stuck in a slough, and overthrown.
- 5 'Twas such a shifter, that if truth were known,
 Death was half glad that he had got him down.
 For he hath any time this ten years full,
 Dogg'd him 'twixt *Cambridge* and the *London-Bull*.
 And surely death could never have prevail'd,
- 10 Had not his weekly course of carriage fail'd
 But lately finding him so long at home,
 And thinking now his journey's end was come;
 And that he had tane up his latest Inne,
 Death in the likenesse of a Chamberlin,
- 15 Shew'd him his room, where he must lodge that night,
 Pull'd off his boots, and took away the light.
 If any ask for him, it shall be sed
Hobson has supt, and newly gon to bed.

Poems Ascribed to Milton

[INSCRIPTION IN PLACE OF A PORTRAIT
OF CHARLES I.]

EXIT TYRANNVS
REGVM VLTIMVS,
ANNO LIBERTATIS ANGLIÆ
RESTITVTÆ PRIMO,
ANNO 1648. JAN. 30.

5

[The tyrant, last of the kings, departs in the first year of the
restored liberty of England, January 30, 1648/9.]

EPITAPH ON CARDINAL JULIUS MAZARIN

Julii Mazarini, Cardinalis, Epitaphium: Authore Joh. Milton.

Hic jacet Julius Mazirinus,
Galliæ Rex, Italus
Ecclesiæ Præsul Laicus,
Europæ prædo purpuratus,

5

Fortunam omnem ambiit omnem corruptit;
Ærarium administravit, & exhaustit;
Civile bellum compressit, sed commovit;

Regni jura tuitus est, & invasit;
Beneficia possedit, & vendidit;

10

Pacem dedit aliquando, sed distulit,
Hostes cladibus, cives oneribus afflixit,
Arrisit paucis, irrisit plurimos,
Omnibus nocuit.

- Negotiator in Templo, Tyrannus in Regno,
15 Prædo in Ministerio,
Vulpes in Consilio,
Grassator in Bello,
Solus nobis in Pace Hostis.
Fortunam olim adversam, aut elusit aut vicit:
20 E nostro seculo vidimus
Adorari fugitivum,
Imperare Civibus Exulem,
Regnare proscriptum.
Quid deinde egerit, rogas? Paucis accipe.
25 Lusit, fefellit, rapuit;
Ferreum nobis seculum induxit, sibi ex auro nostro
Aureum fecit.
Quorundam capiti nullius fortunis pepercit,
Homo crudeliter clemens;
30 Pluribus tandem morbis elanguit,
Plures ei mortes cœlo irrogante,
Cui Senatus olim unam decreverat:
Vincenni se arcibus inclusit moriturus;
Id quidem apte
35 Quæsitivum carcerem;
Diu lædentem animam retinuit, ægre reddidit,
Sic retinere omnia didicerat,
Nil sua sponte reddere,
Constanter tamen visurus est mori, quid mirum?
40 Ut vixit, sic obiit dissimulans,
Ne morbum quidem novere qui curabant.

- Hac una fraude nobis profuit,
 Fefellit Medicos;
 Mortuus est tamen, ni fallimur, & moriens
 45 Regem regno, Regnum Regi restituit;
 Reliquit:
 Præsulibus pessima exempla,
 Aulicis infida consilia,
 Adoptivo amplissima spolia,
 50 Paupertatem populis;
 Successoribus suis omnes prædandi artes,
 Sed prædam nullam.
 Immensas tamen opes licet profuderit,
 Id unum habuit ex suo quod daret,
 55 Nomen suum.
 Pectus ejus, post mortem apertus est,
 Tunc primum patuit vafrum cor
 Mazarini
 Quod nec precibus, nec lacrymis, nec injuriis moveretur.
 60 Diu quæsivimus, invenere medici
 Cor Lapideum.
 Quod mortuus adhuc omnia moveat & administret ne
 mireris:
 Stipendia in hunc annum accepit,
 Nec fraudat post Mortem bonæ fidei:
 65 Quo tandem evaserit forsitan, rogas?
 Cælum (si rapitur) tenet, si datur meritis longe abest.
 Sed abi Viator, & cave;
 Nam hic Tumulus
 Est Specus Latronis.

[Here lies Julius Mazarin, Italian, King of France, Layman
yet choregus of the church, Encrimsoned plunderer of Europe;
He sought all fortune and corrupted all; He administered the
treasury, and exhausted it; He suppressed civil war, and caused
5 it; He guarded the rights of the kingdom, yet invaded them;
He possessed benefices and sold them; He gave peace at times,
but broke it; He afflicted his foes with slaughter, his people
with burdens; He laughed at few, but mocked at many; He
injured all. Trader in the temple, tyrant in the kingdom, Rob-
10 ber in the ministry, Wolf in the council, Idler in war, Our only
enemy in peace. Unfavorable fortune once he escaped or con-
quered. In our time we have seen him A fugitive adored, An
exile commanding citizens, A man proscribed reigning. Do
you ask what he did then? Hear briefly. He mimed, he de-
15 ceived, he stole; An iron age he began for us; for himself out
of our gold He made a golden. To some their heads he spared,
to none their cash; A man cruelly humane; He suffered
through many diseases, Asking for himself of Heaven many
deaths, For whom the Court had once decreed one. About to
20 die, he enclosed himself in the citadel of Vincennes. This in-
deed appropriately He sought as his prison; Long his suffering
soul he retained, and hardly rendered it; So he was said to
retain all, And to return nothing willingly. Yet he seemed to
die bravely. What wonder? As he lived, so he died dissimu-
25 lating, Lest any who cared should know he was dead. In one
fraud alone he was for us: He cheated the Medici (and his
doctors). Still he is dead, we think; and dying, He restored
the king to his kingdom, the kingdom to his king. He has left

To ministers the worst example, To courtiers the worst counsel,
To his adopted heir the greatest riches, Poverty to the populace,
To his successors all the arts of spoiling But no plunder.
It is true he did pour forth great wealth; Only one thing he
5 gave of himself—His name. His breast was opened after his
death. Then first was seen the crafty heart Of Mazarin, Which
was not moved by prayers or tears or insults. We have long
sought, the doctors found A heart of stone. Don't wonder that
a dead man should all this time have controlled and adminis-
10 tered everything. He took tribute up to this very year, But no
longer after death does he beguile the innocent. Where then
has he gone, you ask perhaps? Heaven (if it can be taken) is
his; if the award of virtue, he is far from it. But depart, trav-
eller, and beware: For this tomb Is the cave of a robber.]

EPIGRAM

In *Urbanum* viii. P.M.

Estne Papa Christianus?

Immo vero, Christianissimus.

Estne verus Petri Successor?

Immo verissimus:

5 Quotiescunque enim Gallus Cantat,

Dominum abnegat.

[*On Pope Urban VIII.*]

[Urban the Eighth a true Christian is

As sure as is the fourteenth Lewis

ASCRIBED POEMS

This Pope undoubtedly succeeds
 Unto St Peter in some deeds;
 5 As often as the French cock crows,
 So oft his Lord he disavows.]

TO QUEEN CHRISTINA

Ad Christinam Reginam.

(Ascribed to Milton or Andrew Marvell.)

Bellipotens virgo, septem Regina Trionum
 Christina, Arctoi lucida stella poli;
 Cernis quas merui dura sub Casside rugas,
 Utque senex armis impiger ora tero:
 5 Invia fatorum dum per vestigia nitor,
 Exequor & populi fortia jussa manu.
 Ast tibi submittit frontem reverentior umbra,
 Nec sunt hi vultus regibus usque truces.

[*English'd.*

Bright martial Maid, Queen of the frozen Zone,
 The Northern Pole supports thy shining Throne;
 Behold what Furrows Age and Steel can plow,
 The Helmet's weight oppress this wrinkled Brow.
 5 Thro Fate's untrodden Paths I move, my Hands
 Still act my freeborn Peoples bold Commands:
 Yet this stern shade to you submits his Frowns,
 Nor are these looks always severe to Crowns.]

LATIN AND ENGLISH EPIGRAMS
ON PRINCE CHARLES

(Ascribed to Milton or John Meredith)

Vivat io Vivat Princeps Carolinus, et Orbi.
Imperet, innumeris decorans sua sæcla Triumphis.

Flourish braue Prince, out shine thy Glorious Name,
Triumphant laurels ever crowne thy fame. J. M.

5 [*May Prince Charles live and reign over the globe,
glorifying his age with countless triumphs.*]

EPIGRAM ON ALEXANDER ROSS

*On Mel Heliconium written by
Mr Rosse Chaplain to his Matie*

These shapes, of old transfigur'd by the charmes
Of wanton Ovid, wakned with th' alarmes
Of powerfull Rosse gaine nobler formes; & try
The force of a diviner Alchimy.

5 Soe the queint Chimist with ingenious powre
From calcyn'd hearbes extracts a glorious flowre.
Soe bees to freight their thimy cells produce
From poisonous weedes a sweet, & wholesome Jyuce.

J:M:

EPITAPH ON MOLL CUTPURSE

Her Epitaph.

Here lies under this same Marble,
Dust, for Times last Sive to Garble;
Dust, to perplex a *Sadducee*,
Whither it rise a He or She,
5 Or two in one, a single pair,
Natures sport and now her care;
For how she'l cloath it at last day,
(Unlesse she Sigh it all away)
Or where she'l place it, none can tell,
10 Some middle place 'twixt *Heaven* and *Hell*;
And well 'tis Purgatory's found,
Else she must Hide her under *Ground*.
These Reliques do deserve the Doom,
That Cheat of *Mahomets* fine Tomb:
15 For no Communion She had,
Nor sorted with the Good or Bad;
That when the world shall be calcin'd
And the mixt Masse of humane kind
Shall separate by that melting Fire,
20 She'l stand alone and none come nigh her.
Reader, here she lies till then,
When (to say all) you'l see her agen.

HOBSONS EPITAPH

Here *Hobson* lyes amongst his many debtors,
 A man unlearned, yet of many letters:
 The Schollers well can testifie as much,
 That have receiv'd them from his pregnant pouch.
 5 His carriage was well knowne oft t'have begun,
 In Embassie 'twixt father and the Sonne.
 In *Cambridge* few (in good time be it spoken)
 But well remembreth him by some good token.
 From thence to London rode he day by day,
 10 Till death benighted him, he lost his way.
 No wonder is it, that he thus is gone,
 Since most men knew he long was drawing on.
 His Teame was of the best, nor could he have
 Bin mir'd in any ground, but in his grave:
 15 And there he stickes indeede, still at a stand,
 Vntill some Angell lende a helping hand.
 So rest in peace thou ever-toyling swaine,
 And supream Waggoner, next to Charls-waine.

LAVINIA WALKING IN A FROSTY
MORNING

I' the non-age of a winter's day,
Lavinia, glorious as May,
To give the morne an earlier birth,
Paced a mile of crusted earth,
5 When each place, by which she came,
From her veines conceiv'd a flame.
The amorous plants began to strive
Which should first be sensitive;
Every hoary-headed twigge
10 Dropp'd his snowy periwigge,
And each bough his icy beard:
On either side his walkes were heard
Whispers of decrepit wood,
Calling to their rootes for blood:
15 The gentle soyle did mildly greete
The welcome kisses of her feete;
And, to retaine such a treasure,
Like wax dissolving, took her measure.
Lavinia stood amaz'd to see
20 Things of yearly certaintie
Thus to rebel against their season:
And, though a stranger to the reason,
Back retiring quench'd their heate,
And Winter tooke his former seate.

ON WORTHY MASTER SHAKESPEARE
AND HIS POEMS

- A Mind reflecting ages past, whose cleere
And equall surface can make things appeare
Distant a Thousand yeares, and represent
Them in their lively colours just extent.*
- 5 *To out run hasty time, retrieve the fates,
Rowle backe the heavens, blow ope the iron gates
Of death and Lethe, where (confused) lye
Great heapes of ruinous mortalitie.*
- 10 *In that deepe duskie dungeon to discern
A royall Ghost from Churles; By art to learne
The Physiognomie of shades, and give
Them suddaine birth, wondring how oft they live.
What story coldly tells, what Poets faine
At second hand, and picture without braine*
- 15 *Senselesse and soulesse showes. To give a Stage
(Ample and true with life) voyce, action, age,
As Plato's yeare and new Scene of the world
Them unto us, or us to them had hurld.
To raise our auncient Soveraignes from their herse*
- 20 *Make Kings his subjects, by exchanging verse
Enlive their pale trunkes, that the present age
loyes in their joy, and trembles at their rage:
Yet so to temper passion, that our cares
Take pleasure in their paine; And eyes in teares*
- 25 *Both weepe and smile; fearefull at plots so sad,
Then laughing at our feare; abus'd, and glad
To be abus'd, affected with that truth
Which we perceive is false; pleas'd in that ruth
At which we start; and by elaborate play*
- 30 *Tortur'd and tickled; by a crablike way
Time past made pastime, and in ugly sort*

- Disgorging up his ravaine for our sport—
 —While the Plebeian Impe from lofty throne,
 Creates and rules a world, and workes upon*
 35 *Mankind by secret engines; Now to move
 A chilling pittie, then a rigorous love:
 To strike up and stroake downe, both joy and ire;
 To steere th'affections; and by heavenly fire
 Mould us anew. Stolne from our selves——*
 40 *This and much more which cannot bee exprest,
 But by himselfe, his tongue and his owne brest,
 Was Shakespeares freehold, which his cunning braine
 Improv'd by favour of the nine fold traine.
 The buskind Muse, the Commicke Queene, the grannd*
 45 *And lowder tone of Clio; nimble hand,
 And nimbler foote of the melodious paire,
 The Silver voyced Lady; the most faire
 Calliope, whose speaking silence daunts.
 And she whose prayse the heavenly body chants.*
 50 *These joyntly woo'd him, envying one another
 (Obey'd by all as Spouse, but lov'd as brother)
 And wrought a curious robe of sable grave
 Fresh greene, and pleasant yellow, red most brave,
 And constant blew, rich purple, guiltlesse white*
 55 *The lowly Russet, and the Scarlet bright;
 Branch't and embroydred like the painted Spring
 Each leafe match't with a flower, and each string
 Of golden wire, each line of silke .there run
 Italian workes whose thred the Sisters spun;
 And there did sing, or seeme to sing, the choyce
 Birdes of a forraine note and various voyce.
 Here hangs a mossey rocke; there playes a faire
 But chiding fountaine purled: Not the ayre
 Nor cloudes nor thunder, but were living drawne*
 60 *Not out of common Tiffany or Lawne.
 But fine materialls, which the Muses know*

And onely know the countries where they grow.

Now when they could no longer him enjoy

In mortall garments pent; death may destroy

70 *They say his body, but his verse shall live*

And more then nature takes, our hands shall give.

In a lesse volumne, but more strongly bound

Shakespeare shall breath and speake, with Laurell crown'd

Which never fades. Fed with Ambrosian meate

75 *In a well-lyned vesture rich and neate.*

So with this robe they cloath him, bid him weare it

For time shall never staine, nor envy teare it.

The friendly admirer of his

Endowments.

I. M. S.

[Poems ascribed to Milton with varying degrees of probability, but regarded generally with grave doubts, are given in the Notes.]

Apothegmata and Records of Conversations

[*From a letter of Sir Henry Wotton to Milton, April 13, 1638*]

[Wotton wishes for another meeting with Milton] that we might have banded together som good Authors of the antient time: Among which, I observed you to have been familiar.

[*From a letter of Christopher Arnold to Georg Richter*]

[*London, August 7, 1651*] Hujusdem strenuus Defensor,
5 *Miltonus*, libenter se in sermonem dat, pura ejus elocutio
est, & scriptio tersissima. De antiquis Anglorum Theologis,
horumque in S. Scripturæ libros commentariis (ipsam erudi-
tionem testor) sanè doctissimis, durius saltem, si non iniquius
judicare judicium, omninò is mihi videbatur.

10 [The strenuous defender (of the new commonwealth) Mil-
ton enters readily into talk; his style is pure and his writing
most terse. Of the truly learned old English theologians and
their commentaries on the books of Holy Scripture, the erudi-
tion of which I can attest, he seemed to me to entertain an
15 opinion altogether too harsh if not unjust.]

[*From the Journals of the House of Lords*]

Hereupon it is ORDERED, That it be referred to Mr. Justice
Reeves and Mr. Justice *Bacon* to examine the said [*Hezekiah*]
Woodward and *Milton*, and such others as the Master and
Wardens of the Stationers Company shall give information

of, concerning the printing and publishing their Books and Pamphlets; and to examine also what they know concerning the Libel [against the Peers, dispersed by George Jeffrey], who was the Author, Printer, and Contriver of it: and the
 5 Gentleman Usher shall attach the Parties, and bring them before the Judges; and the Stationers are to be present at their Examinations, and give Evidence against them.

[Dec. 28, 1644.]

[*From Orders of the Council of State.*]

That it be referred to the former Committee [Whitlocke,
 10 Vane, Lisle, Denbigh, and Marten] to speak with Mr. Milton, to know whether he will be employed as Secretary for the Foreign Tongues, and to report to the Council.

[March 13, 1648/9.]

That the letters brought in by Mr. Watkins be viewed by
 15 Mr. Frost or Mr. Milton, to see if any of them contain anything concerning the exportation of any prohibited goods.

[April 20, 1649.]

That Mr. Milton take the papers found with Mr. John Lee and examine them to see what may be found in them.

20 [May 30, 1649.]

That Mr. Milton and Mr. Serjeant [Dendy] shall view the papers of Mr. Small, and deliver out unto him such as are only of private concern, and the rest to bring to this Council.

[June 11, 1649.]

25 That a warrant be issued to Mr. Milton and to Mr. Serjeant Dendy to view the books and papers of Mr. Clement Walker that are seized at Kensington, and such others as he hath here

in Westminster or elsewhere, and to report what they find therein to the Council. [Oct. 24, 1649.]

The letters concerning Lady Killigrew, in the custody of Mr. Milton, to be brought to Council, that some resolution
5 may be taken about the pass desired. [November 21, 1649.]

That £100 be paid unto Mr. Thomas Waring for . . . compiling of a book containing several examinations of the Bloody Massacre in Ireland. . . . That Mr. Milton do confer with some printer or stationer concerning the speedy printing of the
10 book, and give an account of what he hath done therein to the Council. That Mr. Milton do prepare something in answer to the Book of Salmasius, and when he hath done it bring it to the Council. [Jan. 8, 1649/50.]

That orders be sent to Mr. Baker, Mr. Challoner, Mr. Weck-
15 herlin, Mr. Willingham, or any others who have in their hands any public papers belonging to the Commonwealth, to deliver them to Mr. Milton, to be laid up in the Paper Office for public service. [Feb. 2, 1649/50.]

That Mr. John Milton . . . did this day take the Engagement
20 following: "I, being nominated by this Council to be . . . for the year to come, do promise in the sight of God that, through his grace, I will be faithful in the performance of the trust committed to me, and not reveal or disclose anything, in whole or in part, directly or indirectly, that shall be debated or re-
25 solved upon in the Council, and ordered to be kept secret by the said Council, without the command, direction, or allowance, of the Parliament or Council. [Feb. 23, 1649/50.]

Mr. Milton to have warning to meet the Lords Commis-

sioners Whitlocke and Lisle at the Parliament door at ten of the clock tomorrow morning. [April 2, 1650.]

Ordered, That Mr. Milton do attend the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal with the papers given in by Dr. Walsall concerning the goods of *Felones de se*; to whom it is referred to take such course therein, for the advantage of the Commonwealth, as they shall think fit. [May 6, 1650.]

Ordered that a certain person brought to town by Cornet Joyce be searched by Mr. Serjeant Dendy, and that his trunks
10 be brought in and thoroughly searched by Mr. Milton, who is to report tomorrow what he finds in them. [May 15, 1650.]

That Mr. Milton do go to the Committee of the Army, and desire them to send to this Council the book of Examinations taken about the risings in Kent and Essex. [June 22, 1650.]

15 Mr. Milton be appointed to attend the Committee at their meetings [with the Portuguese Ambassador Guimaraes.] [Feb. 10, 1650/1.]

[That the committee on examinations] examine the complaint by him [Milton] made about Peter Cole his printing a
20 copy concerning the Rickets, which Mr. Dugard allegeth to be his. [March 5, 1650/1.]

That the letters that are to be sent to the Ambassador of Spain shall be sent unto him by Mr. Milton. [Mar. 27, 1651.]

That Mr. Milton do repair to the Public Minister of Portugal and desire of him from the Council a list of the names of
25 such persons as he desires to carry with him as his retinue, that the same may be affixed to his pass. [May 16, 1651.]

That Mr. Milton do inform himself from Mr. White what

he intends by his proposition to the Council mentioning a second impression of his late book with some additional, and acquaint the Council with his judgment concerning the thing.

[Oct. 17, 1651.]

- 5 Mr. Milton did this day take the oath of secrecy.

[Jan. 1, 1651/2.]

- Send Mr. Dugard to speak with Mr. Milton concerning the printing of the Declaration [against the Dutch]: Send to Mr. Milton the order made on Lord's Day was sevensnight concerning Dr. Walton.

[July 20, 1652.]

[From the Journals of the House of Commons]

- A Complaint being made, that the Serjeant at Arms had demanded excessive Fees for the Imprisonment of Mr. *Milton*; Ordered, That it be referred to the Committee for Privileges . . . to call Mr. *Milton* and the Serjeant before them; and to determine what is fit to be given the Serjeant for his Fees in this Case.

[Dec. 17, 1660.]

[From the MS. Report of Leo van Aizema]

- [London, March 5, 1652.] In't stuck van de Religie houden sij deese regel, dat se toestaen alle exercitie van religie, die niet doolt in de fundamenten, en die niet papist is. Onlangs was hier gedrukt catechismus Socin. Racov. Sulx wiert van't parlement qualijck genoomen: de drucker segt dat Mr Milton het hadde gelicentieert: Milton gevraegt seyde ja ende dat hy een bouckien op dat stuck hadde uytgegeven, dat men geen boucken behoorde te verbieden: dat hy in't approbeeren van dat bouck nit meer gedaen had als wat syn opinie was.

[*In the matter of religion, they hold this rule, that they allow the exercise of any creed which does not err in the fundamentals, and is not Popish. The Socinian Racovian Catechism was recently published here. This was resented by Parliament; the*
 5 *printer [Dugard] said that it had been licensed by Milton. Milton said, upon inquiry, that was true, and that he had published a pamphlet in which he argued against the prohibition of books. In licensing this book, he said, he had done no more than follow his conviction.*]

[*From a letter from Roger Williams to John Winthrop, July 12, 1654*]

10 It pleased the Lord to call me for some time, and with some persons, to practice the Hebrew, the Greek, Latin, French and Dutch. The Secretary of the Council, (Mr. Milton) for my Dutch I read him, read me many more languages. Grammar rules begin to be esteemed a tyranny. I taught two young
 15 gentlemen, a Parliament man's sons, as we teach our children English, by words, phrases and constant talk, &c.

[*From a letter from M. Nieuport to Alexander More, June 23-July 3, 1654*]

. . . . ai je prié deux Gentils-hommes de mes Amis, qui cog-
 noissoient le Sieur Milton particulièrement, de luy représenter
 les raisons pour lesquelles nous desirions en ceste constitution
 20 du temps & des affaires, qu'il ne divulgast le livre qu'on nous
 avoit assuré qu'il avoit escrit contre un aultre intitulé *Clamor Sanguinis Regii*, on pour le moins, qu'il ne vous fist ce tort, de
 vous attribuer cest ouvrage là, & que s'il persistast de refuter ce

livre, qu'il ny voulust rien inserer qui vous pouroit toucher, lesquels peu de jours apres m'ont rapporté, qu'il avoit une impression si forte, que ce n'estoit nul autre que vous; qu'ils ne l'avoient en aucune maniere sceu dissuader, seulement qu'il
5 leur avoit requis de nous assurer, qu'il ne laisseroit rien sortir de sa plume indecent on aulcunement prejudiciable à l'Estat des *Provinces Unies*.

*[I asked two gentlemen, friends of mine, who were particularly acquainted with Mr. Milton, to represent to him the
10 reasons for which we desired, in the present juncture of time and affairs, that he should not publish the book we had been assured he had written against another entitled Clamor Sanguinis Regii, or at least that he should not do you the wrong of attributing that work to you, and that, if he persisted in re-
15 futing that book, he would not insert anything in it that could affect you. These gentlemen brought me word a few days afterwards that he had so strong an impression that it was no other than you that was the author that they could by no means dissuade him: only that he had requested them to assure us
20 that he would let nothing proceed from his pen of an unbecoming nature, or in any way prejudicial to the States of the United Provinces.]*

*[From an unsigned letter to Alexander More,
August 7, 1654]*

This man [Milton] hath been told that you were not the author of the Booke which he refuted; to which he answr'd,
25 that he was at least assured that you had caused it to be im-

printed, that you had writ the preface, & hee believes some of the verses that are in it, & that, that is enough to iustifie him for setting upon you. hee doth also add, that hee is very angry that hee did not know severall things which hee hath heard
 5 since, being farre worse as he says then any hee put forth in his booke; but he doth reserve them for another if so be you answre this.

[*From a letter of Christian von Boineburg to Hermann Conring, Mainz, 16. Oct. 1662*]

[Miltonius] magnopere dolet, sibi non amplius licere satyram scribere.

10 [Milton greatly laments that he is no longer allowed to write satire.]

[*Remarks recorded in testimony about Milton's Will, 1674*]

[*From Christopher Milton's Testimony*]

1. [Milton declaring the will (20 July) told Christopher] what he then spoke should be his will if he dyed before his . . . [Christopher's] coming the next Terme to London.
- 15 2. [He hath heard him complain of his daughters that] they were careless of him being blind, and made nothing of diserteing him.
3. [Mrs. Elizabeth Milton told Christopher that the poet after the Trinity vacation, 1674, said to her] if she should have
 20 any overplus above 1000 £ come to her hands of . . . [his]

estate she should give the same to . . . [Christopher's] children.

4. [Milton said] his children had been unkind to him but that his wife had been very kind and carefull of him.

[From Elizabeth Fisher's Testimony]

- 5 5. [After dinner, Milton said to his wife] "God have mercy Betty I see thou wilt performe according to thy promise in providing mee such Dyshes as I think fitt whilst I live, and when I dye thou knowest that I have left thee all."
6. [He told Elizabeth Fisher that] hee had made provision for
10 his Children in his life time and had spent the greatest part of his estate in provideing for them and that hee was resolved hee would doe noe more for them liveing or dyeing, for that little parte which hee had left he had given it to his wife.
- 15 7. [And that] there was a thousand pounds left in Mr Powells hands to be disposed amongst his Children hereafter.
8. [Milton declared] that a little while before hee was marryed to Elizabeth Milton [his third wife] . . . a former Maidservant of his told Mary [his daughter] . . . that shee heard
20 [he] . . . was to be marryed, to which the said Mary replied to the said Maidservant that that was noe News to heare of his wedding but if shee could hear of his death that was something,—and further . . . [said] that all his said Children did combine together and counsell his Maidservant to cheat

him . . . in her Markettings, and that his said children had made away some of his bookes and would have sold the rest of his bookes to the Dunghill women.

[From the testimony of Mary Fisher]

9. [Milton said to his wife] Make much of mee as long as I live
 5 for thou knowest I have given thee all when I dye at thy disposall.

*[From John Aubrey's Minutes of the Life of
 Mr. John Milton]*

Extreme pleasant in his conversation, & at dinner, supper &c: but Satyricall. He pronounced the letter R very hard (Littera canina) a certain signe of a Satyricall Witt fr[om] Jo: Dreyden.

- 10 He was visited much by learned: more then he did desire.

Jo: Dreyden. . . much admires him, & went to him to have leave to putt his Paradise-lost into a Drama in Rhyme: Mr. Milton received him civilly, & told him he would give him leave to tagge his Verses. [circa 1673.]

- 15 His widowe assures me that Mr. Hobbs was not one of his acquaintance; that her husband did not like him at all: but he would grant [or] acknowledge him to be a man of great parts, a learned man.

- As he was severe on one hand, so he was most familiar and
 20 free in his conversation to those to whome most severe in his way of education . .

from Mr E. Philips. His Invention was much more free and

ease in the Æquinoxes than at the Solstices; as he more particularly found in writing his *Paradise lost*.

All the time of writing his *Paradise lost*, his veine began at the Autumnall Æquinocall and ceased at the Vernall or
5 thereabouts (I believe about May) and this was 4 or 5 yeares of his doing it. [1658ff.]

Whatever he wrote against Monarchie was out of no animosity to the King's person, or out of any faction, or Interest but out of a pure zeall to the Liberty [of] Mankind, which he
10 thought would be greater under a free state than under a Monarchall government. His being so conversant in Livy and the Rom[an] authors and the greatnes he saw donne by the Rom[an] commonwealth & the virtue of their great Commanders [or] Captaines induc't him to.

15 From Mr Abr. Hill. memorandum his sharp writing against Alexander More of Holland upon a mistake notwithstanding he had given him by the *Ambassador* all satisfaction to the contrary, viz. that the booke [called Clamor] was writt by Peter du Moulin. well that was all one, he having writt it, it should
20 goe into the world. one of them was as bad as the other.

[1653 or 1654.]

[From the Anonymous MS "*Life of Mr John Milton*"]

... hee arriv'd at Florence. Here hee liv'd two moneths in familiar and elegant conversation with the choice Witts of that City.
[1637.]

At Naples ... hee became acquainted with Marquis Manso
25 ... [who] Yet excus'd himselfe at parting for not having bin

able to do him more honour, by reason of his resolute owning his Religion: This hee did whensoever by any ones enquiry occasion was offred; not otherwise forward to enter upon discourses of that Nature. Nor did hee decline its defense in the
 5 like circumstances even in Rome it self, on his return thether; though hee had bin advis'd by letters from som friends to Naples, that the English Jesuits design'd to do him mischief on that account. [1639.]

. . . Geneva, where hee liv'd in familiar conversation with
 10 the famous Diodati. [1639.]

[He was not blindly prejudiced.] Of which were instances, among others, the Grand child of the famous Spencer, a Papist suffering in his concerns in Ireland, and Sir William Davenant when taken Prisoner, for both whom hee procur'd relief.

15 [1651?]

[He was very peaceful, and] so farr from being reckon'd disaffected, that hee was visited at his house on Bun-hill by a Chief Officer of State, and desir'd to imploy his Pen on thir behalfe.
 [After 1660.]

20 And when the Subject of Divorce was under consideration with the Lords, upon the account of the Lord Ross, hee was consulted by an eminent Member of that house. [1666ff.]

And hee waking early (as is the use of temperate men) had commonly a good Stock of Verses ready against his
 25 Amanuensis came; which if it happend to bee later then ordinary, hee would complain, Saying *hee wanted to bee milkd*. The Evenings hee likewise spent in reading some choice Poets, by way of refreshment after the days toyl, and to store his

Fancy against Morning. Beside his ordinary lectures out of the Bible and the best Commentators on the week day, that was his sole subject on Sundays. And Davids Psalms were in esteem with him above all Poetry.

[From *Anthony Wood's Life of Milton*, 1691]

- 5 Upon his publication of the said three books of Marriage and Divorce, the *Assembly of Divines* then sitting at *Westminster* took special notice of them, and thereupon, tho the Author had obliged them by his pen in his defence of *Smectymnus* and other their Controversies had with the Bishops,
 10 they impatient of having the Clergies jurisdiction (as they reckon'd it) invaded, did, instead of answering, or disproving what those books had asserted, cause him to be summoned before the House of Lords: but that House, whether approving the Doctrine, or not favouring his Accusers, did soon dismiss
 15 him.

[From *the Life by Edward Phillips*, 1694]

From *Florence* he took his Journey to *Siena*, from thence to *Rome*; where he was detain'd . . . by the conversation of *Lucas Holstenius*, and other Learned and Ingenious men. . [1638.]

- He had entertain'd some thoughts of passing over into *Sicily*
 20 and *Greece*, but was diverted . . . to *Rome* the second time he went, determining with himself not industriously to begin to fall into any Discourse about Religion; but, being ask'd, not to deny or endeavour to conceal his own Sentiments. [1638.]

[At *Geneva*] he staid for some time, and had daily converse

with the most Learned *Giovanni Deodati*, Theology-Professor in that City. [1639.]

The *Sunday's* work was for the most part the Reading each day a Chapter of the *Greek* Testament, and hearing his [Milton's] Learned Exposition upon the same.

... once in three Weeks or a Month, he would drop into the Society of some Young Sparks of his Acquaintance, the chief whereof were Mr. *Alphry*, and Mr. *Miller*, two Gentlemen of *Gray's-Inn*, the *Beau's* of those Times, but nothing near so bad
10 as those now-a-days; with these Gentlemen he would so far make bold with his Body, as now and then to keep a Gawdy-day.

One time above the rest, he making his usual visit [to his relatives the Blackbourns], the Wife was ready in another
15 Room, and on a sudden he was surprised to see one whom he thought to have never seen more, making Submission and begging Pardon on her Knees before him; he might probably at first make some shew of aversion and rejection; but partly his own generous nature, more inclinable to Reconciliation
20 than to perseverance in Anger and Revenge; and partly the strong intercession of Friends on both sides, soon brought him to an Act of Oblivion, and a firm League of Peace for the future. [1645?]

... neither his Converse, nor his Writings, nor his manner of
25 Teaching ever savour'd in the least any thing of Pedantry.

There is another very remarkable Passage in the Composure of this Poem [*Paradise Lost*], which I have a particular occasion to remember; for whereas I had the perusal of it from the

very beginning; for some years as I went from time to time to Visit him, in a Parcel of Ten, Twenty, or Thirty Verses at a Time, which being Written by whatever hand came next, might possibly want Correction as to the Orthography and
5 Pointing; having as the Summer came on, not been shewed any for a considerable while, and desiring the reason thereof, was answered, That his Vein never happily flow'd, but from the *Autumnal Equinoctial* to the *Vernal*, and that whatever he attempted was never to his satisfaction, though he courted his
10 fancy never so much. [1658 ff.]

The said Earl of *Anglesey* whom he presented with a Copy of the unlicens'd Papers of his History, came often here to visit him, as very much coveting his society and converse; as likewise others of the Nobility, and many persons of eminent quality;
15 ity; nor were the visits of Foreigners ever more frequent than in this place, almost to his dying day.

Thus I have reduced into form and order what ever I have been able to rally up, either from the recollection of my own memory, . . . or the Information of others . . . , or from his own
20 mouth by frequent visits to the last.

Before the War broke forth between the States of *England* and the *Dutch*, the *Hollanders* sent over Three Embassadors in order to an accommodation; but they returning *re infecta*, the *Dutch* sent away a *Plenipotentiary*, to offer Peace upon
25 much milder terms, or at least to gain more time. But this *Plenipotentiary* could not make such haste, but that the Parliament had procured a Copy of their Instructions in *Holland*, which were delivered by our Author to his Kinsman that was

then with him, to Translate for the Council to view, before the said *Plenipotentiary* had taken Shipping for *England*; an Answer to all he had in Charge lay ready for him, before he made his publick entry into *London*. [1651.]

- 5 In the next place there came a person with a very sumptuous train, pretending himself an Agent from the Prince of *Conde*, then in Arms against Cardinal *Mazarine*: The Parliament mistrusting him, set their Instrument so busily at work, that in Four or Five Days they had procured Intelligence from
 10 *Paris*, that he was a spy from K. *Charles*: whereupon the very next Morning our Author's Kinsman was sent to him, with an Order of Council commanding him to depart the Kingdom within Three Days, or expect the Punishment of a Spy.
 [Circa 1651.]

[From a letter from Thomas Gill to Charles Hatton,
 May 1, 1694]

- Henry Hills* the Printer told me that he had heard *Bradshaw*
 15 and *Milton* laugh at their inserting a Prayer out of Sir *Philip Sidney's Arcadia* at the end of King *Charles's* his book.

[From Toland's *Life of Milton*, 1698]

- I don't question but it was from *Manso's* Conversation and their Discourses about *Tasso*, that he first form'd his design of writing an Epic Poem, tho he was not so soon determin'd about
 20 the Subject. [1638.]

[In Rome he stayed two months,] neither concealing his Name, nor declining openly to defend the Truth under the

Pope's nose, when any thought fit to attack him. . . . [1638.]

[During his separation from his first wife he passed his time] at other times in conversation with the Lady *Margaret Lee*, Daughter to the Earl of *Marlborough*, whose sprightly Wit and
 5 good Sense drew frequent Visits from him. . . . [1642-45.]

His Admirer *Leonardus Philaras* coming upon som occasions to *London*, went to see *Milton*, who, tho he could not see him again, was extremely pleas'd with his Conversation.

[1653?]

10 . . . his Vein never happily flow'd but from the Autumnal to the Vernal Equinox, as his Nephew *Edward Philips* affirms, who says he was told this particular by *Milton* himself; and yet I fancy he might be mistaken as to the time, because our Author in his *Latin* Elegy on the approach of Spring seems to
 15 say just the contrary. . . . A more judicious Friend of his informs me, that he could never compose well but in the Spring and Autumn.

In the year 1670 he publish'd his *Paradise Regain'd*, consisting of four Books; but generally esteem'd much inferior to
 20 *Paradise Lost*, which he could not endure to hear, being quite of another mind. . . .

Sir *Robert Howard* . . . was a great admirer of *Milton* . . . and being his particular Acquaintance, would tell many pleasant Stories of him, as that he himself having demanded of him
 25 once what made him side with the *Republicans*? *Milton* answer'd, among other Reasons, because theirs was the most frugal Government; for that the Trappings of a Monarchy might set up an ordinary Commonwealth.

Towards the latter part of his time he contracted his Library, both because the Heirs he left could not make a right use of it, and that he thought he might sell it more to their advantage than they could be able to do themselves. [1670 ff. ?]

- 5 As he look'd upon true and absolute Freedom to be the greatest Happiness of this Life, whether to Societies or single Persons, so he thought Constraint of any sort to be the utmost Misery: for which Reason he us'd frequently to tell those about him the intire Satisfaction of his Mind, that he had constantly
10 employ'd his Strength and Faculties in the defence of Liberty, and in a direct opposition to Slavery. He ever exprest the profoundest Reverence to the Deity as well in Deeds as Words; and would say to his Friends, that the divine Properties of Goodness, Justice, and Mercy, were the adequat Rule of hu-
15 man Actions, nor less the Object of Imitation for privat Advantages, than of Admiration or Respect for their own Excellence and Perfection.

... Love of Dominion, or Inclination to Persecution, . . . he said, was a piece of Popery inseparable from all Churches.

[From Dryden's *"Fables Ancient and Modern,"* 1700]

- 20 *Milton* has acknowledg'd to me, that *Spencer* was his Original.

[From *A Vindication of King Charles the Martyr*, 1697]

[Edward Hooker testified that in March, 1650, Mr. Milton was sent to the printer Dugard in prison for printing *Eikon*

Basiliſke], who offer'd him his Liberty, if he would do what he would have him; who refused his Propoſals. [*But later yielded.*]

[*From the Monitor, 1713*]

We ſhall here beg the Reader's Pardon for mentioning a
 5 Paſſage told a Gentleman of our Society almoſt Forty years
 ſince by Mr. *Dryden*, who went with Mr. *Waller* in Company,
 to make a Viſit to Mr. *Milton*, and deſire his Leave for putting
 his *Paradiſe loſt* into Rhime for the Stage. Well, Mr. *Dryden*,
 ſays *Milton*, it ſeems you have a mind to *Tagg* my Points, and
 10 you have my Leave to *Tagg* 'em, but ſome of 'em are ſo Awk-
 ward and Old Faſhion'd, that I think you had as good leave
 'em as you found 'em. [*circa 1673.*]

[*From The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood, 1714*]

This Perſon, having filled a Publick Station, in the former
 Times; lived now a private and retired Life in *London*: and
 15 having wholly loſt his Sight, kept always a Man to read to him;
 which uſually was the Son of ſome Gentleman of his Acquain-
 tance, whom, in Kindneſs, he took to Improve in his Learning.

Thus, by the Mediation of my Friend *Isaac Penington* with
 Dr. *Paget*, and of Dr. *Paget* with *John Milton*, was I admitted
 20 to come to him; not as a Servant to him (which at that time he
 needed not) nor to be in the Houſe with him: but only to have
 the Liberty of Coming to his Houſe, at certain Hours, when
 I would, and to read to him what Books he ſhould appoint
 me; which was all the Favour I deſired. [*1662?*]

He received me courteously; as well for the sake of Dr. *Paget*, who introduced me: as of *Isaac Penington*, who recommended me; to both whom he bore a good Respect. And having inquired divers things of me, with respect to my former
 5 Progression in Learning; he dismissed me, to provide my self of such Accommodations, as might be most suitable to my future Studies.

I went therefore and took my self a Lodging as near to his House (which was then in *Jewen-Street*) as conveniently as I
 10 could: and from thenceforward went every Day in the Afternoon (except on the *First Days* of the Week) and sitting by him in his Dining-Room, read to him in such Books in the *Latin Tongue*, as he pleased to hear me read. [1662?]

At my first sitting to read to him, observing that I used the
 15 *English Pronunciation*, he told me, *If I would have the Benefit of the Latin Tongue (not only to read and understand Latin Authors, but) to Converse with Foreigners, either abroad or at home, I must learn the Foreign Pronunciation.* To this I consenting, he instructed me how to sound the Vowels; so
 20 different from the common Pronunciation used by the *English* (who speak *Anglice* their *Latin*) that (with some few other Variations in sounding some Consonants, in particular Case; as *C.* before *E.* or *I.* like *Ch.* *Sc.* before *I.* like *Sh.* &c.) the *Latin* thus spoken, seemed as different from that which
 25 was delivered as the *English* generally speak it, as if it was another Language.

I had before, during my retired Life at my Father's, by unwearied Diligence and Industry, so far recovered the Rules of

Grammar (in which I had once been very ready) that I could both read a *Latin* Author, and after a Sort hammer out his Meaning. But this Change of Pronunciation proved a New Difficulty to me. It was now harder to me to read, than it was
 5 before to understand when read. But

Labor omnia vincit Incessant Pains,
Improbis. The End obtains.

And so did I. Which made my Reading the more acceptable to my Master. He, on the other hand, perceiving with what
 10 earnest Desire I pursued Learning; gave me not only all the Encouragement, but all the Help he could. For, having a curious Ear, he understood by my Tone, when I understood what I read, and when I did not: and accordingly would stop me, Examine me, and open the most difficult Passages to me.
 15 Thus went I on, for about Six Weeks time, reading to him in the Afternoons, and Exercising my self, with my own Books, in my Chamber, in the Forenoons: I was sensible of an Improvement. [1662?]

[*After an illness*] I was very kindly received by my Master, who had conceived so good an Opinion of me, that my Conversation (I found) was acceptable to him; and he seem'd heartily glad of my Recovery and Return. [1662?]

Some little time before I went to *Alesbury* Prison, I was desired by my quondam Master *Milton* to take an House for him,
 25 in the Neighbourhood where I dwelt, that he might get out of

the City, for the Safety of himself and his Family, the *Pestilence* then growing hot in *London*. I took a pretty Box for him in *Giles-Chalfont*, a Mile from me; of which I gave him notice: and intended to have waited on him, and seen him well settled
5 in it; but was prevented by that Imprisonment.

But now being released, and returned Home, I soon made a Visit to him, to welcome him into the Country.

After some common Discourses had passed between us, he called for a Manuscript of his; which being brought he delivered to me, bidding me take it home with me, and read it at
10 my Leisure: and when I had so done, return it to him, with my Judgment thereupon.

When I came home, and had set my self to read it, I found it was that excellent POEM, which he entituled *PARADISE*
15 *LOST*. After I had, with the best Attention, read it through, I made him another Visit, and returned him his Book, with due Acknowledgement of the Favour he had done me, in Communicating it to me. He asked me how I liked it, and what I thought of it; which I modestly, but freely told him:
20 and after some further Discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, Thou hast said much here of *Paradise lost*; but what hast thou to say of *Paradise found*? He made me no Answer, but sate some time in a Muse: then brake of that Discourse, and fell upon another Subject.

25 After the Sickness was over, and the City well cleansed and become safely habitable again, he returned thither. And when afterwards I went to wait on him there (which I seldom failed of doing, whenever my Occasions drew me to *London*) he

shewed me his Second PoEM, called *PARADISE REGAINED*; and in a pleasant Tone said to me, *This is owing to you: for you put it into my Head, by the Question you put to me at Chalfont; which before I had not thought of.*

[1665.]

[*From a letter from Jacob Tonson, 1732*]

- 5 I was very intimately acquainted . . . with one Mr. William Davenant 2nd Son to Sir William the Poet. . . . This Mr. Davenant told me that Mr. Milton helped him in his study of the lattin & Greeke Authors, to whom he used to goe in order to his Learning.
- 10 [Sir William Davenant helped Milton regain his liberty after the Restoration] & Milton was very acknowledging for it & uppon that score offered his willingnes [and] assistance in doing any thing that shoud be grateful to Sir William. [1660.]

[*From Jonathan Richardson, Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost, 1734*]

- I had the Good Fortune to have Another Picture of him
- 15 from an Ancient Clergy-man in *Dorsetshire*, Dr. *Wright*; He found . . . *John Milton* . . . Pale, but not Cadaverous, his Hands and Fingers Gouty, and with Chalk Stones. among Other Discourse He exprest Himself to This Purpose; that was he Free from the Pain This gave him, his Blindness would
- 20 be Tolerable. [1673.]

I remember a Story I had from a Friend . . . who lov'd to

talk of *Milton*, as he Often Did. *Milton* hearing a Lady Sing
Finely, *now will I Swear* (says he) *This Lady is Handsom.*
his Ears Now were Eyes to Him.

He was a Chearfull Companion; but no Joker: his Conver-
5 sation was Lively, but with Dignity. and as he was whilst
Young, he Continu'd to be in his more Advanc'd Age.

So remarkable was he for his Knowledge in the *Italian*
Tongue that the *Crusca* (an Academy Set up for the Reducing,
and keeping the *Florentine* Language to its First Purity) made
10 no Scruple to Consult Him, Whom they had receiv'd an
Academician, on Difficult and Controverted Points. [1638.]

Homer he could Almost repeat without Book.

[*Milton's* daughter *Deborah*] said He was Delightful Com-
pany, the Life of the Conversation, and That on Account of
15 a Flow of Subject, and an Unaffected Chearfulness and
Civility.

his Aversion to, and Contempt of These Pretended Divines,
I am the more persuaded of from a Story I well remember to
have heard Many Years Since, in Such a manner, as to make it
20 Credible. . . . *Milton* had a Servant, who was a very Honest,
Silly Fellow, and a Zealous and Constant Follower of these
Teachers; when he came from the Meeting, his Master would
frequently Ask him What he had heard, and Divert Himself
with Ridiculing Their Fooleries, or (it may be) the Poor Fel-
25 low's Understanding. . . . This was so Grievous to the Good
Creature, that he left his Service upon it.

it has been said *Milton* was put upon translating *Homer*;
he was Certainly the Best Fitted for it of any Man on Some
Accounts, on Others not at All. . . . Declining it, as he did.

My Authority is *Henry Bendish* Esq; a Descendant by his Mother's side, from the Protector *Oliver Cromwell*; Their Family and *Milton's* were in Great Intimacy Before and After His Death, and the thing was known among them; Mr. *Bendish* has heard the Widow or Daughter or Both say it, that
 5 Soon after the Restauration the King Offer'd to Employ this Pardon'd Man as his Latin Secretary. . . . *Milton* Withstood the Offer; the Wife press'd his Compliance. *Thou art in the Right* (says he) *You, as Other Women, would ride in your*
 10 *Coach; for Me, My Aim is to Live and Dye an Honest Man.*
 [After 1660]

[It was difficult for Milton] not in Circumstances to maintain an Amanuensis, but Himself Oblig'd to teach a Couple of Girls (or as Some say One) to Read Several Languages, and
 15 to Pronounce them, so as not to be Grievous to an Ear as Delicate as His, or even to be Intelligible. to be perpetually Asking One Friend or Another who Visited him to Write a Quantity of Verses he had ready in his Mind, or what should Then occur.

I have been also told he would Dictate many, perhaps 40
 20 Lines as it were in a Breath, and then reduce them to half the Number.

[*Lord Onslow's memorandum on a picture of Milton,*
about 1740]

This original picture of Milton I bought in the year 1729 or
 30 and paid 20 guineas for it of Mr Cumberbatch, a gentleman of very good consideration in Chester, who was a relation and
 25 executor of the will of Milton's last wife who died a little while

before that time. He told me it hung up in her chamber till her death and she used to say that her husband gave it to her to show her what he was in his youth being drawn when he was about 21 years of age.

AR. ONSLOW.

[*From Bishop Newton's Edition of Paradise Lost, 1749*]

5 . . . his chief diversion, after the business of the day, was now and then in an evening to visit the Lady Margaret Lee . . . This Lady, being a woman of excellent wit and understanding, had a particular honor for our author, and took great delight in his conversation; as likewise did her husband Captain Hob-
10 son, a very accomplished gentleman.

. . . he determined to marry again, and made his addresses to a young lady of great wit and beauty, one of the daughters of Dr. Davis.

[After dinner Milton usually] played on the organ, and
15 either sung himself or made his wife sing, who (he said) had a good voice but no ear.

But he was led out sometimes for the benefit of the fresh air, and in warm sunny weather he used to sit at the door of his house near Bunhill Fields, and there as well as in the house
20 received the visits of persons of quality and distinction; for he was no less visited to the last both by his own countrymen and foreigners, than he had been in his flourishing condition before the Restoration.

After his severer studies, and after dinner as we observed
25 before, he used to divert and unbend his mind with playing upon the organ or bass-viol . . . for he was a master of music as

was his father, and he could perform both vocally and instrumentally, and it is said that he composed very well, tho' nothing of this kind is handed down to us. It is also said that he had some skill in painting as well as in music, and that
5 somewhere or other there is a head of Milton drawn by himself.

[The third Mrs. Milton] died very old, about twenty years ago, at Nantwich in Cheshire: and from the accounts of those who had seen her, I have learned, that she confirmed several things which have been related before; and particularly that
10 her husband used to compose his poetry chiefly in winter, and on his waking in a morning would make her write down sometimes twenty or thirty verses: and being asked whether he did not often read Homer and Virgil, she understood it as an imputation upon him for stealing from those authors, and
15 answered with eagerness that he stole from no body but the Muse who inspired him; and being asked by a lady present who the Muse was, replied it was God's grace, and the Holy Spirit that visited him nightly. She was likewise asked whom he approved most of our English poets, and answered Spenser,
20 Shakespear, and Cowley: and being asked what he thought of Dryden, she said Dryden used sometimes to visit him, but he thought him no poet, but a good rimist: but this was before Dryden had composed his best poems, which made his name so famous afterwards. She was wont moreover to say, that her
25 husband was applied to by message from the King, and invited to write for the Court, but his answer was, that such a behaviour would be very inconsistent with his former conduct, for he had never yet employed his pen against his con-

science. By his first wife he had four children, a son who died an infant, and three daughters who survived him; by his second wife he had only one daughter, who died soon after her mother, who died in childbed; and by his last wife he had no
 5 children at all. His daughters were not sent to school, but were instructed by a mistress kept at home for that purpose: and he himself, excusing the eldest on account of an impediment in her speech, taught the two others to read and pronounce Greek and Latin and several other languages, without
 10 understanding any but English, for he used to say that one tongue was enough for a woman; but this employment was very irksome to them, and this together with the sharpness and severity of their mother in law made them very uneasy at home; and therefore they were all sent abroad to learn things
 15 more proper for them, and particularly imbroidery in gold and silver.

Elizabeth, the youngest child of Mrs. Clarke, was married to Mr. Thomas Foster a weaver in Spittle Fields, and had seven children who are all dead; and she herself is aged about sixty,
 20 and weak and infirm. She seemeth to be a good plain sensible woman, and has confirmed several particulars related above, and informed me of some others, which she had often heard from her mother: that her grandfather lost two thousand pounds by a money-scrivener, whom he had intrusted with
 25 that sum, and likewise an estate at Westminster of sixty pounds a year, which belonged to the Dean and Chapter, and was restored to them at the Restoration; that he was very temperate in his eating and drinking, but what he had he always loved

to have of the best: that he seldom went abroad in the latter part of his life, but was visited even then by persons of distinction, both foreigners and others: that he kept his daughters at a great distance, and would not allow them to learn to write,
5 which he thought unnecessary for a woman: that her mother was his greatest favorite, and could read in seven or eight languages, tho' she understood none but English.

[*From Thomas Birch's edition of the Works, 1753*]

[Deborah Milton informed Ward that] she and her sisters used to read to their father in eight languages . . . though
10 they understood what they read in no other language but English; and their father used often to say in their hearing, 'one tongue was enough for a woman.'

[It is recorded that Milton's granddaughter Mrs. Elizabeth Foster, speaking of Milton's daughters, told Birch on Feb. 11,
15 1737/8, that Milton] would not allow them to learn to write, which he thought unnecessary for a woman. [Apparently an inaccurate reminiscence of a remark probably connected with the limitations of the eldest daughter.]

[*From Charles Symmons' edition of the Prose Works, 1806.*]

[The editor Charles Symmons, records, as he says "on what
20 authority, I know not," a tradition that when James, Duke of York, in visiting Milton, suggested that Milton's blindness was a judgment of God on him for his anti-regal writings, Milton replied:] If your Highness thinks that the calamities

which befall us here are indications of the wrath of Heaven, in what manner are we to account for the fate of the king, your father? The displeasure of Heaven must, upon this supposition, have been much greater against him than against
5 me—for I have lost only my eyes, but he lost his head.

[*From Todd's edition of the Poetical Works, 1809*]

Paradise Regained was, in the poet's own opinion, the better poem, though it could never obtain to be named with *Paradise Lost*; and that Milton gave this reason for the general dislike, namely, *That the people had a general sense of the loss of*
10 *Paradise, but not an equal gust for the regaining of it.*

[*From the hitherto unprinted certificate accompanying Milton's writing case in the Bodleian Library*]

[Mrs. Milton told her nephew, Richard Lovekin, that the poet] used the raised oval at the Bottom of the Tortoise Shell Case as a Seal, also that he did intend to have had his own Coat of Arms engraved on it.

15 [Records of Mylius, describing his intercourse with Milton, including many descriptions of conversations, are given in the Appendix at page 484. In the Notes will be found references to a few doubtful anecdotes, conversations referred to by Milton himself in his letters, etc.]

Legal Documents

I. The Warcupp Receipt

The 16th Day of February. 1649.

Received then more of Robert Warcupp Esq. one of the Feof-
fees in trust of Rodolph Warcupp late of English Esq. deceased
by the handes of John Coster the summe of five poundes of
5 lawfull english mony in part of payment of fifty poundes prin-
cipall debt & the interest due by bond by the sayd Rodolph
Warcupp & others unto me John Milton esq., I say received
by mee

£
v.

John Milton

2-5. Documents relating to the Powell Lands

10 To the Honourable the Commissioners for sequestration at Haberdashers
Hall, the Petition of John Milton, sheweth

That he being to compound by the late Act for certaine land at
Whately in Oxfordshire belonging to Mr. Richard Powell late of Forest-
hill in the same County, by reason of an extent which he hath upon the
15 said lands by a Statute, did put in his Petition about the middle of
August last, which was referrd accordingly; but having had important
business ever since by Order of the Councell of State, he hath had no
time to proceed in the perfeting of his composition; and in the mean
time finds that Order hath bin giv'n out from hence to forbid his
20 tenants to pay him rent. He therefore now desires he may have all con-
venient dispatch, and that the Order of sequestering may be recalld, and
that the composition may be moderated as much as may bee, in regard
that Mrs. Powell the widow of the said Mr. Richard Powell hath her
cause depending before the Commissioners in the painted Chamber for
25 breach of articles, who have adjudg'd her satisfaction to be made for the
great damage don her by seizing and selling the personall Estate divers
days after the Articles were seald. But by reason of the expiring of that

Court she hath receivd as yet no satisfaction, and beside she hath her thirds out of that land, (which was not considerd when her Husband followd his Composition, and lastly the taxes, freequartering, and finding of armes were not then considered, which have bin since very great,
 5 and are likely to be greater.

And your Petitioner shall be ready to pay what shall be thought reasonable at any day that shall be appointed.

25.Feb:1650.

John Milton

Mr. Brereton is desired by the Commissioners to perfect his report in
 10 Mr. Milton's case by Tuesday next. H.S. E.W.

[1650/1.]

I doe swear that this debt for which I am to compound according to my petition is a true & real debt, as will appear upon record

Jur.25.Feb:1650.

John Milton

15 A Particular of the Lands late Richard Powells of Forrest Hill in the County of Oxford now under Extent, And for which John Milton Esquire desireth to compound./.

20 The said Rich:Powell was seised in his Demeasne as of fee of the tythe Corne of Whatley and certaine Cottages then of the cleare Yearlye value of } £ 60 per annum

25 The said Richard was seised alsoe in his Demeasne as of fee of three Yards ½ of Land arable and pasture of the cleare yearlye value of } £ 20. per Annum

Out of which He craveth to be allowed for the thirds, which he paieth to Mrs Anne Powell the Relict of the said Richard Powell, for her dower } £ s d 26. 13. 04

And alsoe craveth that his just Debt of
 three hundred pounds as he hath deposed, } £
 may be allowed upon his Composition./. } 300
 John Milton.

- 5 Whereas Richard Powell of Forresthill in the Countie of Oxford gentleman and William Hearne late Cittizen and Goldsmith of London deceased, By their writing or recognizance of the nature of a statute staple beareing date the eleaventh day of June which was in the third
 10 year of the raigne of the late King Charles of England &c made and provided for the recovery of debts and taken acknowledged & sealed before Sir Nicholas Hide Knight then Lord Cheife Justice of the Court then called the Kings Bench att Westminster did acknowledge themselves to owe unto John Milton then of the University of Cambridge gentleman sonne of John Milton Cittizen and Scrivener of London the
 15 somme of five hundred pounds of lawfull money of England, Which said statute or recognizance is by a writing beareing even date therewith defeazanced for the payment of the somme of three hundred and twelve pounds of like money unto the said John Milton the sonne his Executors, Administrators or Assignes on the twelveth day of December then next
 20 ensuing, As by the said statute or recognizance and defeazance thereupon whereunto relation being had more att large may appeare. Now I John Milton the sonne (being one and the same partie before mentioned for Cognizee in the said statute or recognizance) doe make oath that (since the extending of the said statute) I have received att severall
 25 tymes in part of satisfaction of my said just and principall debt with dammages for the same and my costs of suite the somme of one hundred and fowerscore pounds or thereabouts, And that there is yett remayneing due and oweing unto mee of my said principall money interest and costs of suite the somme of three hundred pounds or thereabouts, And
 30 I doe further make oath, That neither I the said John Milton or any other for mee or by my direction privity or consent have or hath released or otherwise discharged the said statute or recognizance Neither doe I know or conceive any reason or cause either in law or equity why

I should not receive the said remainder of my said debt, dammages and costs of suite.

Juratum John Milton, Jur. cor Com^{us} 28^o Feb 1650.

E. Winslow

5 [*Endorsed,*] Milton John Esq. 4^o Martij 1650 Fine 130 £.

To the honourable the Commissioners for Compounding, &c. The humble petition of Anne Powell widow the relict of Richard Powell of Forest hill in the County of Oxon, deceased Sheweth

That the petitioner brought 3000 £ portion to her late husband, & is
10 now left in a most sadd Condition, the estate left being but 80 £ per annum, the thirds whereof is but 26: 13: 4 to maintaine her selfe and 8 children.

The said estate being extended by Jo: Milton on a Statute Staple for a debt of 300 £: for which he hath compounded with your honours on
15 the Act of the first of August, & therein allowance given him for the petitioners thirds, yet the said Mr Milton expects your further order therein before he will pay the same.

She therefore humbly prayeth your honours order & direction to the said Mr. Milton for the payment of her said thirds & the arreares thereof
20 to preserve her & her children from starving
And as in duty bound &c.

Anne Powell.

To be Read next petition Day: July the 11th 1651
16^o July 1651

S.M.

25 [*Continued on another page:*]

Mrs. Powell By the law she might recover her thirds without doubt, but she is so extreame poore, she hath not wherewithall to prosecute, & besides Mr. Milton is a harsh & Chollericke man, & married Mrs. Powells daughter, who would be undone, if any such course were taken
30 against him by Mrs. Powell, he having turned away his wife heretofore for a long space upon some other occasion.

This note ensuing Mr Milton writ whereof this is a copy.

Although I have compounded for my extant & shalbe so much the longer in receiving my debt, yet at the request of Mrs. Powell in regard of her present necessitis I am contented as farre as belongs to my consent to allow her the 3ds. of what I receive from that estate, if the Commissioners shall so order it, that what I allow her may not be reckoned upon my accompt.

[*Endorsed:*] Mrs. Powells note, 16 July 1651. The estate is wholly extended & a saving as to the 3ds prayed but not granted we cannot therefore allow the 3ds to the petitioner.

6. Milton's Answer to Sir Robert Pye. 1646/7

10 The answere of John Milton gentleman to the Bill of Complaynt of Sir Robert Pye Knight Complaynaunte.

Juratum 22^o February 1646

Robert Aylett

Smythe

15 The said Defendant saveinge to himselfe nowe and all tymes hereafter all advantage of exception to the uncertaintie and insufficiencie of the said Bill of Complaint for answere thereunto hee this Defendant sayth That hee this Defendant Doth not knowe That Richard Powell in the said Complainants said Bill named did at anie tyme for anie Consideration at all, or otherwise by his Dede in the Bill pretended or otherwise graunt, or otherwise Convey unto the said Complainaunte. All or anie parte of the mannor or Lordshippe of Foresthill alias Forsthill alias Fosthill in the said Bill mentioned or anie other lands in Fosthill aforesaid for anie terme whatsoever or upon anie provisoe whatsoever to be
20 voide or Determined, for non payment of anie summe of money whatsoever, Nor Doth this Defendant Knowe that the same or anye such terme or estate as in the said Bill is mentioned, became absolute for the same, or anie such Cause as in the said Bill is pretended. Howbeit this

Defendant saith That hee this Defendant Conceiveth it to bee true That the sayd Richard Powell in his life tyme was lawfullye seised in his Demesne as of Fee or of some other good and lawfull estate of inheritance or otherwise was possesst of some longe terme of yeares yett to come
5 of and in the said mannor lands and premisses in the said Bill mentioned enablinge him to make the graunt hereafter mentioned./And that the said Richard Powell, beinge thereof soe seised or possessed as aforesaid and beinge justly and truely indebted unto this Defendant in the summe of three hundred pounds of lawfull English money for repayment
10 whereof with Damages, for the forbearance thereof, Hee the said Richard Powell together with one William Hearne of London Gouldsmith did by one statute staple bearinge date on or about the elleventh Day of Julye in the third yeare of his majesties Raigne that nowe is become bound to this Defendant in the summe of five hundred pounds to bee
15 paid at midsommer then next, which said statute was Defeazansed to bee void uppon payment of three hundred and twelve pounds to this Defendant his heires executors or administrators on or about the twelveth Day of December next after the Date of the said statute as by the said statute and Defeazance readdye to bee shewed to this honour-
20 able Court, whereto for more Certainty therein this Defendant refereth himselfe is Doth and may more fully, and at large appeare./And, this Defendant further saith, That the said three hundred and twelve pounds or anie part thereof was not paid accordinge to the said Defeazance the twelveth Day of December or at any tyme since to or to
25 the use of this Defendant But all the said three hundred and twelve pounds together with Damages for the forbearance thereof for Divers yeares last past is justly and truely oweinge unto this Defendant, which the said Richard Powell from tyme to tyme hath refused or neglected to pay though hee hath often bene in all freindlye manner thereto required
30 by this Defendant wherefore and for that this Defendant hath now present occasions for his said moneys true it is, That hee this Defendant intendeth and endeavoureth by Due Course of lawe to putt the said Statute in execution, for the recoverye of his said just true Debt and Damages aforesaid, as hee hopeth under the favour of this honourable
35 Court is lawfull for him this Defendant to Doe without anie wronge

at all as hee Conceiveth to the Complainant whose tytle to the premisses sett forth by the said Bill is of his owne shewing subsequent to the said statute, Nor Doth this Defendant knowe of anie possession the Complainant hath or ought to have in the premisses or anie part thereof
5 or howe or when hee entred, or that this Defendant hath any wayes Disturbed interrupted or Disquieted him therein, or intends soe to Doe otherwise then in a legall waye for recoverye of his Debt and Damages aforesaid./And saith that hee Claymeth noe other tytle estate or interest whatsoever in or to the premisses, but by vertue of the said statute
10 which he never refused to Discover or sett forth to the said Complainant, And this Defendant saith That the said statute ought not to be vacated released or Determynd for the reasons aforesaid But uppon receipt of his said Debt of three hundred pounds with Damages for the forbearance thereof yett unsatisfyed togeather with this Defendants
15 Costs at Lawe and Charges in this honourable Court occationed by the non payment of the said Debt in tyme hee this Defendant is and wilbe readdye and willinge to Deliver upp the same to be Cancelled./Without that, That anie other matter or thing Clause sentence Article or allegation in the said Bill of Complaint conteyned and not before herein
20 sufficiently answered unto confessed and avoided denyed or Traversed is true soe & in such sort manner and forme as in & by the said Bill of Complaint the same are sett forth & alledged All which matters & things this Defendant is & wilbee readie to averre justify maintaine & prove as this honourable Court shall award And prayeth to bee thence dismissed
25 with his reasonable Costs & charges in this behalfe most wrongfully sustained./

John Bradshawe.

7. Milton's Answer to Elizabeth Ashworth. 1653/4

The severall Answere of John Milton Esquire one [of] the Defendants to the bill of Complaint of Elizabeth Ashworth Widdow Complainant.

Sworn the 22th of February 1653.

Thomas Estcourt.

- 5 The said Defendant now and att all times hereafter saving to himselfe &c All Advantages of Exception to the incerteintie and insufficiencie of the said bill of Complaint For Answere to soe much thereof as concerneth him this Defendant to make answere unto saith that hee knoweth not that Richard Powell the elder deceased in the bill named
- 10 did Att any time make or Agree to make any lease of the messuage and lands in the bill mentioned Or of any other lands or Tenements whatsoever unto Henry Ashworth in the bill named and the Complainants husband Edward Ashworth in the bill alsoe named or either of them by way of Mortgage as in the bill is pretended or otherwise howsoever
- 15 Neither doth this Defendant know that the said Richard Powell did at the time in the bill mentioned or at any other time borrow of the said Henry Ashworth the some of fower hundred pownds in the bill mentioned Or any summe whatsoever And this Defendant doth deny that hee hath possessed himselfe or in any wise Intermedled with or disposed
- 20 of any stocke of Cattell household stuffe money plate Jewells or any other the goods and chattells of the said Richard Powell for the Ends and purposes in the bill pretended Or for any other end or purpose whatsoever or that this Defendant either by himselfe or with any other person or persons whatsoever hath att any time sett on foote Any ancient
- 25 or other Mortgage whatsoever as in and by the said bill is most untruly suggested But this Defendant saith that true itt is That the said Richard Powell and one William Hearne by A wryting or Recognizance in the nature of A statute Staple bearing date the Eleventh day of June in the Third year of the late King Charles Acknowledged before Sir Nicholas
- 30 Hide deceased, then Lord Cheife Justice of the kings bench att Westminster became bound unto this Defendant in the Some of five hundred

pounds of lawfull English money defeazanced for the payment of Three hundred pownds principall debt and Twelve pownds Interest for the same upon the Twelveth day of December then next following Which said Three hundred pownds principall was for the like some then justly
5 and truely lent unto the said Richard Powell by John Milton deceased Father of this Defendant in his life time And this Defendant sayth that the said Three hundred pownds principall debt was not payd unto this Defendant nor Any parte thereof upon the said Twelveth day of December Accordinge to the purport and Intent of the said Defeazance
10 nor hath the same or any parte thereof been payd att any time since the said Twelveth of December but hath bin forborne continually from time to time Att the Earnest request of the said Richard Powell But this Defendant Alsoe sayth and verely beleeveth that the said Twelve pownds Interest was payd upon the said Twelveth day of December Or soone
15 after And that the growing Interest for the forbearance of the said Principall debt was for some yeares then following likewise payd And soe continued to bee payd untill June In the yeare of our Lord One Thousand six hundred Fortie and Fower Att What time the said Richard Powell failed not onely in the payment of the Interest then due and payable and from thence growing due and payable butt of the said principall debt of three hundred pownds also Whereupon this Defendant Did
20 take out severall Extents upon the said Statute before hee could gett any of the Lands and Tenements of the said Richard Powell duely extended Butt this Defendant saith that after the death of the said Richard Powell
25 by vertue of an Extent and An Inquisition thereupon taken before the Sherriffe of the County of Oxon in the Citty of Oxon by the oath of lawfull men of the said County upon the fifth day of August In the yeare of our Lord One Thousand six hundred Fortie and seaven itt was then and there found that the said Richard Powell att the time of the Acknowledgement of the said Statute That is to say upon the Eleventh day of
30 June in the said Third yeare of the late king was seized in his Demesne as of Fee of and in All that portion of tithes of Corn with the Appurtenances in Whately in the parish of Cuddesden in the County aforesaid of the cleare yearly value in all yssues Over and above All Reprizes
35 Twenty six pownds three shillings and foure pence And also of and in

One messuage Two barnes One Cottage and One Yard land and A halfe conteyning Thirty and seven Acres and One Rood of land three Acres of meadow and Eight Acres and A half of pasture with the Appurtenances lying and being in the Towne and Feilds of Whateley aforesaid in the parish of Cuddensden aforesaid of the cleare yearly value in all yssues over and above Reprizes Fifteene pownds And that the aforesaid Richard Powell after the day of the Acknowledgement of the said Statute and debt aforesaid to bee payd as aforesaid And before the day of the taking of the said Inquisition was seized in his Demesne as Fee of and in Twoe yard land with the Appurtenances lying and being in Whateley aforesaid conteyning forty and Eight Acres and One Rood of Arrable land And fower Acres of meadow with the Appurtenances of the cleare yearly value in all yssues Over And Above Reprizes thirteene pownds six shillings and Eight pence and of and in one Cottage with the Appurtenances in Whateley aforesaid then in the Tenure or Occupation of One Walter Simonds of the cleare yearly value in all the yssues over and Above reprizes Twenty shillings and of and in other Cottage with the Appurtenances in Whateley aforesaid then in the Tenure Or Occupation of One Richard Clorke of the cleare Yearly value in all yssues over and Above Reprizes Twenty shillings And of and in One messuage with the Appurtenances in Whateley aforesaid in the Tenure or Occupation of One Thomas Church of the Cleare yearly value in all yssues over and Above Reprizes of Twenty shillings And also of and in one other Cottage with the Appurtenances in Whately aforesaid in the tenure Or Occupation of William Platt of the cleare yearly value in all yssues Over and Above Reprizes of Thirteene shillings and Foure pence And that Anne Powell widdow which was the wife of the said Richard was then seized of and in the Third parte of all and singuler the premises aforesaid with the Appurtenances as of her Freehold For Terme of her life as her dower by the Indowment of the said Richard her former husband And that the said Anne was then surviving that is to say in Whateley aforesaid All which premises aforesaid the Sherriffe aforesaid the said day of the takinge the said Inquisition did take and seize into the hands of the said King And itt was further found by the said Inquisition that Richard Powell aforesaid the

said Time of his death had noe goods or chattells nor any other or more lands or Tenements in the said County to the knowledge of the said Jurors of the said Inquisition which might bee seised or Extended As by the returne of the said Inquisition upon the files of Record in this
5 honourable Courte more fully may appeare By vertue of which extent Inquisition and a liberate thereupon had Retornable Fifteene Dayes after Saint Martin in the Said Twenty Third yeare of the raigne of the said late king the said portion of tithes with the Appurtennances and alsoe All and singuler the lands Tenements Cottages and premises with their
10 Appurtennances upon the Twentieth day of November in the Twenty Third yeare aforesaid were delivered to this Defendant by the said Sherriffe to hold to him and his assignes as his Freehold untill hee should bee fully satisfied of his said Debt with all dammages costs and chardges in that behalfe And this Defendant saith that the totall of
15 all his costs and chardges and expenses in Rideing Journeying Fees to the Sherriffe and others and also in other chardges costs and expences necessarily layd out in and about the execution and perfecting the said Extent Amounts in the whole to the some of Forty and nine pownds Twelve shillings att the least As by severall billes ready to bee produced
20 to this honorable Court may Appeare And this Defendant also further sayth that att the time of the Delivery of the said Tithes lands and premises unto him by vertue of the Extent and Inquisition aforesaid there was due unto him besides the said Three hundred powndes principall debt for three yeares and a quarters Interest upon seaventy Eight
25 pownds which said principall debt of Three hundred pownds and seaventy eight pownds interest with the said Forty nine pownds and Twelve shillings costs before mentioned Amount in the whole to Fowre hundred Twenty seaven pownds and Twelve shillings And this Defendant further saith that by An Act of Parliament of the fift of August In the
30 yeare one Thousand six hundred and Fiftie enjoyning all persons who were seized or possessed of the Estates of Delinquents by Extent or otherwise to compound for the said Estates or to Forfeit and loose the same this Defendant was Enforced to compound about our Lady day then following for the said Tithes landes Tenements and premisses for
35 that the said Richard Powell in his life tyme was reputed A delinquent

And had not compounded for the same for which Composition as aforesaid this Defendant was Ordered to pay by the then Committee for Compositions the sume of One hundred and Thirty pownds which this Defendant paid Accordingly and did Also lay out and disburse in necessary Chardges for the perfecting the said Composition the some of
5 Two pownds One shilling and six pence As by An Order of the said Committee and this Defendants bills of chardges ready to bee produced to this honorable Court may Appeare which some of one hundred and Thirty Two pownds One shilling and sixpence out of the Rents yssues
10 and proffitts of the said premisses soe compounded for as aforesaid is to bee Allowed unto this Defendant not onely by the Order of the said Committee butt by the expresse provision of the said Act which said some of One hundred Thirty Two pownds One shilling and six pence being Added to the former some of foure hundred Twenty seven
15 pownds and Twelve shillings Amounts in All to five hundred Fifty nine pownds Thirteene shillings and six pence And this Defendant further saith that the said Tithes landes Cottages and premises being delivered unto him by vertue of the said Extent as aforesaid in the said Month of November being in the year One Thousand six hundred
20 Forty and seven this Defendant that winter season could not make any thing thereof save onely Two powndes and Thirteene shillings rent out of the Cottages not being Able to lett the rest of the premises untill the Lady day following Att what time this Defendant did lease the said Tithes and Cottages to John Robinson Esquire of Whateley afore-
25 said for six yeares from thence fully to be compleat & ended reserving the yearly rent of threescore pounds and the said lands Tenements and rest of the said premisses to John Gadbury and Graland Page for the same terme of yeares att the severall yearly rents of Twentie pounds a peice And this Defendant saith that Accordingly hee hath received of the
30 said Tennants from halfe yeare to halfe yeare Taxes and the Dower of the said Anne being deducted as followeth That is to say Att Michalmas One Thousand six hundred Fortie and eight (the said leases continuing from the Five and Twentieth of March before) Thirty and One pownds Thirteen shillings and Eight pence upon the Five and Twentieth of
35 March One Thousand six hundred Forty and nine Thirty One Pownds

Foureteene shillings and nine pence Att Michalmas One Thousand six hundred Fortie and nine Thirty One pownds Three shillings and Tenn pence upon the five and Twentieth of March One Thousand six hundred and Fifty Thirty One pownds and Tenn shillings At Michalmas
5 One Thousand six hundred and Fifty Thirty Two pownds Two shillings upon the Five and Twentieth of March One Thousand six hundred Fifty and One about which time this Defendant made the Composition aforesaid upon which Composition this Defendant was ordered to Receive the whole proffitts of the said Tithes lands and premises
10 without deducting any parte thereof for the Dower of the said Anne as formerly the said Anne not being Admitted to any Composition This Defendant received Forty and seven pownds Twelve shillings and foure pence Att Michalmas One Thousand six hundred Fifty and One This Defendant Received of the said Tenements Forty Five pownds Eighteen
15 shillings and Eleven pence upon the Five and Twentieth of March One Thousand six hundred Fifty and Two Forty seven pownds Two shillings and seven pence Att Michalmas One Thousand six hundred Fifty and Two Forty Eight pownds and six shillings upon the Five and Twentieth of March One Thousand six hundred Fifty and Three Forty
20 seven pownds Fifteene shillings and foure pence Att Michalmas One Thousand six hundred Fifty and Three Forty seven pownds Fourteene shillings and six pence which is all this Defendant hath received to the best of his knowledge and which Amounts in the whole to Four hundred Forty Five pownds seven shillings and five pence And which being
25 deducted from five hundred Fifty nine pownds Thirteene shillings and six pence there Remaynes yet due and payable out of the Rents yssues and proffitts of the said Tithes lands and premises besides all the growing Interest from the time of the said Extent the some of One hundred and fourteene pownds six shillings and One peny whereof untill
30 hee this Defendant shalbee fully satisfied hee doubteth not butt hee may justly hold and Enjoy All the said premises According to Law Equitie and good conscience Butt this Defendant knoweth not of any Statute or Recognizance or Mortgage att the Time in the bill mentioned or att any time before or since made or Acknowledged by the said Richard
35 Powell to the said Sir John Powell in the bill named Or to Any other

person or persons whatsoever conditioned or defeazanced as in the bill is sett forth or otherwise howsoever And this Defendant doth utterly deny that hee did ever give out in speeches that the said Mortgage Statute or Recognizance or any of them or any such like were att any time
5 assigned to him this Defendant or to any others to this Defendants knowledge as in and by the said bill is most untruely suggested And this Defendant Alsoe utterly denyeth that the said Mortgage statute or Recognizance in the bill mentioned or any other Mortgage statute or Recognizance to this Defendants knowledge was att any time Ante dated
10 as this Complainant most untruely suggesteth And this Defendant hopeth this honourable Court will give him very good costs for the said false and scandalous suggestion surmised causelessly without any grownd to defame and discredit this Defendant And this Defendant saith that the statute aforesaid was Dated and extended and the moneys there-
15 from have been levied and received in such manner as hath been already declared and not otherwise And this Defendant claymeth not any estate or Interest in the said Tithes lands and premises or in any other the lands or Tenements of the said Richard Powell otherwise than by the said statute and extent in such manner as hath been Already sett forth
20 And this Defendant saith that the said Tithes lands and premises were for ought this Defendant knoweth to the contrary duely extended and found att an equall and true value by the oath of lawfull men however this Defendant hath as aforesaid given A true and just Accompt what monneys have been raised and received by him out of the Rents issues
25 and proffitts of the said lands and what remaynes behind and unpaid by which itt plainly Appeares that the said debt and interest with costs and chardges in that behalfe by this Defendant susteyned Are not yett satisfied as they ought to bee and therefore the Extent not yett Discharged as by the said bill is supposed And this Defendant denyeth
30 that hee caused the said Tithes lands and premises to bee chardged with the Dower of the said wife of the said Richard Powell named in the said bill by the name of Elizabeth but intended as this Defendant conceiveth by Anne aforesaid the Relict of the said Richard this Defendant not knowinge of any other wife that the said Richard had And this De-
35 fendant conceiveth that the said Tithes lands and premises were

charged by the said Jury with the Dower of the said Anne upon the said Annes making knowne her clayme and Right thereunto by reason whereof her said Dower was Allowed unto her by this Defendant as hee conceiveth Rightfully untill upon his composition aforesaid and the Refusall of the Committee to Admitt the said Anne to Any composition And their expresse Order to this Defendant to take and Receive the whole Rents yssues and proffitts of all the sayd Tithes lands and premises As by the said Order Appareth this Defendant then Refused Any longer to Allow the said Dower to the said Anne and hath since Received the whole proffitts And hath Accounted for the same as aforesaid But this Defendant saith hee knoweth nothing of Any Joynture either before or since Marriage made by the said Richard to the said Anne As in the said bill is pretended true itt is this Defendant hath heard of some bond entred into by the said Richard Powell to that purpose but what Or how this Defendant knoweth not Or what benefitt the said Anne hath Reaped by the said bond if Any such bee And this Defendant knoweth not of any other lands Tenements or hereditaments of the said Richard besides the premises before mentioned lyable to the payment of the debt aforesaid or otherwise And this Defendant Denyeth that hee hath forborne or doth forbear the Raiseing and levyeing of the said debt as in and by the said bill is most untruly suggested This Defendant using All the meanes hee cann for his most speedy satisfaction and the levying of his said Debt dammages and chardges And this Defendant doth utterly deny all combination and confederacy wherewith hee is charged in the said bill And All Combination and confederacy whatsoever without that that any other matter or thing in the said bill mentioned materiall for this Defendant to make answere unto and herewith well and sufficiently answered unto confessed Avoyded traversed or denyed is true to the knowledge of this Defendant All which matters and things this Defendant is ready to Avert and prove as this honourable Court shall Award And humbly prayes to bee dismissed from forth the same with their reasonable costs and chardges in this behalfe wrongfully susteined.

Christopher Milton

8. Milton's Bill against Lady Cope. 1654

The xvith of June 1654. Smythe.

To the Right honourable the Lordes Comissioners for the Custody of the greate Seale of England humbly Complayninge sheweth unto your Lordshippes your Oratour John Milton of Westminster in the
 5 County of Middlesex Esquire, That whereas Sir John Cope late of Hanwell in the County of Oxon deceased together with Robert Lee of Bilseley in the County of Warwick Esquire and Thomas Ofley of greate Doulby in the County of Leicester alsoe Esquire by their Obligation or writinge Obligatory bearinge date the first day of February in the thirteenth
 10 year of the late Kinge Charles and in the year of our Lord god 1637 became joyntly & severally bound to your Oratour in the penall summe of 300 £ of lawfull English money conditioned for the payment of 150 £ principall money lent & 3 £ Interest for the same upon the third day of May then next ensueing the date of the said
 15 Obligation or writinge Obligatory & aboute A yeare after the date thereof the said Sir John Cope beinge seized in his demeasne as of Fee of and in divers Messuages Landes Tenementes & other hereditamentes of A very greate yearely value and being alsoe possessed of A very great personall estate in Leases ready money plate houshold stuffes Corne Cattle
 20 & other goodes & chattells to A very greate value made his last will & Testament in wrytinge & did therein expresse & declare his will to be that as for his Landes which were nott entayled & wherein hee had power to dispose they should be disposed of for the payinge of his debtes & for the raisinge of portions for his yonger children & for his sisters
 25 whom hee there particularly named and by his said will gave full power & authority to the Lady Elizabeth his wife to the Right honourable the Countess Dowager of Westmerland to William Lord Say and Seale being his kinsmen & Richard Knightley Esquire & Gyles Harris of Churchill in the County of Oxon gentleman to sell sett or otherwise
 30 dispose of all the Landes nott entayled for the payinge of his debtes & raisinge of portions as aforesaid in and by his said will declareing & ex-

pressing that by a Deed under his hande & seale hee had conveyed the said Landes to the uses intentes & purposes aforesaid as in & by the same will & Testament relation beinge thereunto had it may & doth more att lardge appeare & of this his last will & Testament hee the said

5 Sir John Cope made & ordeined the said Lady Elizabeth his wife sole executrix & soone after dyed after whose death the said Lady Elizabeth proved the said will in due forme of Lawe & by vertue thereof possessed herself of all the Leases bondes bills wrytinges monie & plate jewells houses & household stuffe Corne Cattle & of all other the goodes Chattles

10 & personall estate whatsoever of the said Sir John Cope her said husband and as your Orator is informed is since marryed to [blank] Cope Esquire Nowe so it is may it please your Lordshippes that the said Lady Elizabeth intendinge to defraud your Orator & the rest of the Creditours of their just & due debtes & to convert the said personall estate to her

15 owne use hath by divers secrett meanes conveyed the same to persons unknowne to your Oratour & secretly disposed thereof to the Intent that the said personall estate may remayne undiscovered & concealed from your Oratour & the said Creditours soe that neyther your Oratour nor any of the said Creditours might bee able to chardge her the said Eliza-

20 beth with Assettes in any action which they should Commence att Lawe for the recovery of their said just & due debtes & thereupon hath nott onely given out in speeches but likewise pleaded to severall persons whoe for the recovery of their just debtes have Commenced actions at Lawe against her as executrix of the said Sir John Cope her late husband

25 that shee hath fully Administered & hath nothing in her handes to satisfy the said debtes whereas in trueth she the said Dame Elizabeth hath Assettes in her handes of the said personall estate to satisfy & pay all the debtes whatsoever due by the said Sir John Cope her late husband with A very greate overplus And your Oratour also sheweth unto your Lord-

30 shippes that the said Lady Elizabeth the said Countesse Dowager of Westmerland the said William Lord Say & Seale the said Richard Knightley & Gyles Harris by combination & Confederacy amongst themselves & with Sir Anthony Cope sonne & heire of the said Sir John Cope contrary to the good intent & meaninge of the said Sir John & con-

35 trary to the trust by him reposed in them, ever since the death of the

said Sir John Cope have or some or one of them hath taken and received
eyther to their owne or some of their owne private use & benefitt or to
the use & behoofe of the said Sir Anthony all the rentes yssues profits of
all the said Messuages Landes Tenementes & other hereditamentes
5 whereof the said Sir John was seized in his demesne as of Fee & where-
of hee had power to dispose & which hee did dispose as aforesaid & in
particuler they the said Trustees have or some or one of them hath ever
since the death of the said Sir John Cope taken and received to their or
some of their private use and benefitt as aforesaid severall rentes to the
10 yearely value of 500 £ or thereabouts due payable & yssuinge out of
the Messuadge or house called the Custome house in London and the
Wharfe or Key there & out of divers Tenementes & houses thereunto
neare adjoyning or scituate in the streetes Lanes or places neere there-
abouts beinge parte of those Landes & hereditamentes whereof hee was
15 seized in his demesne as of Fee att the tyme when hee made the provi-
sion aforesaid for the payment of his debtes aforesaid & being according
to his true intent and meaninge included within the said provision of
the said Sir John Cope & within the purport & intent of the said will &
deed before mentioned to be made for that purpose And your Oratour
20 further sheweth that notwithstandinge the said Sir John Cope left such
A great personall estate sufficient to satisfy all his debtes & legacies with
A greate overplus which the said Lady Elizabeth hath gott into her
possession & secretly conveyed & imbeizilled as aforesaid & alsoe not-
withstandinge that the said Ladye Elizabeth & the rest of the Trustees
25 aforesaid have either taken & received the rentes yssues & profittes of
all the said Landes Tenementes & other hereditamentes intended & Al-
lotted by the said Sir John Cope for the Payment of his debtes as afore-
said & converted the same to their or some of their private use &
benefitt or suffered the said Sir Anthony to take & receive the rentes
30 yssues & profittes thereof or of A greate parte thereof or have secretly
sould & conveyed the same to persons unknowne to your Oratour & the
moneyes raysed upon such sale & conveyance deteyne & keep in their
or some of their owne handes & convert to their or some of their
owne use & benefitt yett nott onely the said Elizabeth but the other trus-
35 tees before named alsoe & the said Sir Anthony Cope sonne & heire att

Lawe of the said Sir John Cope hath and every of them hath hitherto utterly denied & refused & still doe & every of them doth utterly refuse & deny to pay or satisfy or cause to be payd or satisfied unto your Oratour his said just and due debt of 150 £ or any parte thereof or any
5 Interest for the forbearance of the same notwithstanding that all the said parties well knowe & see the truth is that neyther the said principall debt of 150 £ nor any parte thereof nor any Interest due for the forbearance of the same since November 1641 hath beene paid or satisfied unto your Oratour or any other for his behalfe either by the said Sir
10 John Cope in his life tyme or by the said Robert Lee and Thomas Offley or eyther of them or by any other person or persons whatsoever before or since his death & that the said principall debt with Interest as aforesaid remaines to this day wholly unpaid & unsatisfied to the greate losse & Damage of your Oratour & the better to coulour the unjust deteyning
15 of the said debt & Interest from your Oratour & to discourage your Oratour in prosecution of his lawfull Action for the recovery of his said just & due debt shee the said Lady Elizabeth doth give out in speeches & affirme that shee hath nott Assetts in her handes of the personall estate of the said Sir John Cope her late husband whose executrix shee is as
20 aforesaid to pay or satisfy the said debt whereas in truth the said personall estate of the said Sir John Cope is amply sufficient fully to pay & satisfy nott onely your Oratour but all other the Creditours of the said Sir John if the said Lady Elizabeth would discover the true value thereof & have nott wasted imbeizilled or by some secrett waies & meanes
25 fraudulently conveyed away to some person or persons in trust for her & to her private use & benefitt or to & for the use & benefitt of the said Sir Anthony her son or of some other of her children And the said Sir Anthony Cope alsoe whoe came very lately to his age of 21 yeares doth give out in speeches & hath lately pleaded to your Oratour in barr of
30 an action of debt longe since brought by your Oratour upon the said bond or writinge obligatory that the said Sir Anthony as heire att Lawe unto the said Sir John Cope that noe Landes Tenementes or other hereditamentes are descended upon him in Fee simple as heire unto the said Sir John Cope his Father, except Landes to the yearely value of
35 40 £ or thereaboutes whereas in truth although noe Landes Tene-

mentes or other hereditamentes bee actually descended upon him in Fee simple from his said Father in regard the said Sir John Cope his said Father did convey & dispose of all his said Fee simple Landes as aforesaid yett seeing the said Lady Elizabeth & the said other Trustees before
5 named have nott imployed the same according to the trust reposed in them by the said Sir John Cope for the payment of his debtes but have permitted & suffered the said Sir Anthony to receive & enjoye the rentes issues & profittes of the said Landes Tenementes & hereditamentes or of the greatest parte thereof to his owne use & benefitt your Oratour there-
10 fore humbly conceives the said Sir Anthony ought in all Conscience & equity to bee as justly chardgable & lyable to the payment of his said Fathers debtes as of the said Landes Tenementes or other hereditamentes the profittes whereof hee doth soe receive & enjoye as aforesaid were actually descended upon him in Fee simple from his said Father
15 otherwise the good & honest intention & provision of the said Sir John Cope his Father for the true payment & satisfaction of his debtes wyll nott onely bee frustrated & diverted but may bee wrongfullie made use of by the said Sir Anthony for his advantage to defraud and delude your Oratour & the rest of the Creditours of his said Father by descent from
20 whom besides the said Fee simple Landes hee the said Sir Anthony doth likewise enjoy diverse Messuages landes tenementes & other hereditamentes of A very greate yearely value which beinge intayled are nott lyable by the strict course of Lawe to any of the debtes of his said father And the said Lady Elizabeth & the rest of the said Trustees before
25 named doe alsoe pretend & give out in speeches that they have sould & disposed of the said Landes accordinge to the intent of the said Sir John Copes last will & have accordingly paid & satisfied his debtes whereas in trueth if they have paid any of the said debtes it is onely some fewe speciaall persons whome they had A desire to pleasure, & if they have
30 sould or disposed of any parte of the said Landes for the purpose aforesaid it is onely some small parte & that att very great undervalues & nott accordinge to the true worth thereof & upon some secret Condition reservation or trust and the residue of the said Landes they have secretly conveyed to divers persons unknowne to your Oratour upon Confidence
35 & in trust that they or some of them or the said Sir Anthony Cope or

some other person or persons by his theire or some of their appointment or on his theire or some of their behalfe should take & receive the rentes Yssues and profittes thereof To the end that they or some of them may convert the same to their owne private benefittes to the
5 greate wronge & damage & injury of your Oratour & the said Creditours & contrary nott onely to the good intention & meaninge of the said Sir John Cope but to all Justice & equity & good Conscience In tender Consideration whereof & for that your Oratour by reason of the said secret & fraudulent practizes and Contrivances aforesaid is unable
10 directly to chardge eyther the said Lady Elizabeth or the said Sir Anthony with Assettes in their severall capacities accordinge to the strict rules of the Common Lawe of this Nation & for that alsoe your Oratour cannot properly be releived elsewhere then in this honourable Courte against the said Lady Elizabeth & the other Trustees before named to
15 compell them or any of them to pay & satisfy unto your Oratour his just & due debt aforesaid accordinge to the trust reposed in them by the said Sir John Cope as aforesaid & the true intent & meaninge of his said will And to the end that the said Lady Elizabeth beinge executrix of the last will & testament of the said Sir John Cope as aforesaid may sett forth &
20 discover what goodes Chattles money plate houshold stufte corne cattle bondes billes writeinges or either personall estate whatsoever of the said Sir John Cope her late husband or in any wise belonginge to him or to his estate hath att any tyme come to the handes or possession of the said Lady Elizabeth or to any other person or persons in trust for her or to
25 her use or in right of her said executorshipp & of what value the said goodes Chattles & personall estate soe come to her or their handes as aforesaid nor are or where, & how shee hath disposed of the same & what debt or debtes of the said Sir John Cope shee hath really satisfied or paid with or out of the same & to what person or persons & how &
30 upon what Consideration the said debt or debtes or any of them became due & payable that it may appeare whether there bee Assettes remayninge in her handes to pay & satisfy your Oratour his said debt of 150 £ with interest for the forbearance thereof or nott And to the end alsoe that the said Sir Anthony Cope may cleerely & truely sett forth & discover what messuages Landes Tenementes or other hereditamentes are

descended upon him as heire to the said Sir John Cope his Father & of what yearly value & whether there bee any person or persons whatsoever seized of any Messuages Landes Tenementes or other hereditamentes which at any time were the Landes Tenementes or other hereditamentes of the said Sir John Cope his Father by any Conveyance from
5 his said Father or otherwise in trust for him the said Sir Anthony or upon Confidence that hee the said Sir Anthony should take & receive the rentes yssues & profittes thereof or upon any other trust & confidence whatsoever & of what yearly value the said Messuages Landes & Tene-
10 mentes are And whether he doth nott upon some trust or otherwise take & receive the rentes yssues & profittes of any Messuages Landes Tenementes or other hereditamentes whereof his said Father Sir John Cope was seized in his demeanne as of Fee & what Messuages Landes Tenementes or other hereditamentes they are the rentes yssues & profit-
15 ittes whereof he doth soe take & receive as aforesaid & of what yearly value they are And whether there bee not Assettes eyther actually descended upon him in fee simple from his father to pay & satisfie your Oratour or by cullour of some trust as aforesaid taken & enjoyed by him in the rentes yssues & profittes thereof And to the end alsoe that the said
20 Lady Elizabeth Sir Anthony son or either of them may sett forth & discover whether the said Sir John Cope at the tyme of his death or some short tyme before was seized in his demeanne as of Fee of or in certeyne Messuages Tenementes or houses & of Wharfes, Keyes, or some other hereditamentes at in or neere the Custome House aforesaid & what the
25 said Messuages tenementes Wharfes Keyes or hereditamentes are & of what quality & yearly value And whether the said Messuages Tenementes Wharfes Keyes or other hereditamentes did not descend upon the said Sir Anthony as heire unto his said Father, or how the said Sir John Cope did dispose of the same, & what estate or Interest hee had
30 therein & who take & receive or att any tyme since the death of the said Sir John Cope hath taken & received the rentes issues profittes thereof or of any parte thereof And whether the aforesaid Lady Elizabeth Cope and Sir Anthony Cope or eyther of them or any other by their or eyther of their direction or appointing or to their use or in trust for
35 them or eyther of them doe take or receive or att any time have taken

or received the rentes issues profits of the said Messuages tenementes Wharfes, Keyes or other hereditamentes or of any other Messuages Tenementes Wharfes Keyes or other hereditamentes at in or neere the Custome house aforesaid & what right & authority they or any of them
5 doe or have taken & received the same & who they be that soe take & receive or have taken & received the same by their direction & appointment or in trust for them or any of them as aforesaid And lastly that the said Lady Elizabeth the said Countesse Dowager of Westmerland the said William Lord Say & Seale Richard Knightley & Gyles Harris &
10 every of them may truly & cleerly sett forth & discover what Messuages Landes Tenementes or other hereditamentes soere conveyed settled or assured to or upon them or any of them either by the said last Will & Testament of the said Sir John Cope & the deed under the handes & seale of the said Sir John therein mentioned or eyther of them or by any
15 other Deed or deeds in trust for the payment of the debtes of the said Sir John Cope & what the true & cleere yearly value of the said Messuages Landes tenementes or other hereditamentes so settled conveyed & assured as aforesaid & whome take & receive or att any tyme since the death of the said Sir John Cope have taken & received the rentes yssues
20 hereof or of anie parte thereof And whether they the said Trustees or any of them have sold conveyed sett lett or otherwise disposed of the said Messuages Landes Tenementes & other hereditamentes or any of them or any parte thereof & to whome they have sould conveyed sett lett or disposed of the same & how & in what manner the said Sale convey-
25 ance Lease or disposall hath bin made & upon what Consideration, & what money or moneyes they or any of them have raised or received by or upon the said sale Conveyance Lease or Disposall as aforesaid and what rentes yssues & profits & to what vallue they or any of them or any other by their or any of their licence direction or appointment or interest for them or any of them since the death of the said Sir John Cope
30 have taken levied or received upon or out of the said Messuages Landes Tenementes other hereditamentes or any of them & what debtes they the said Trustees or any of them have satisfied or paid according to the trust in them repoused as aforesaid & whome, & when the said debts were
35 paid & how and upon what consideration they or any of them became

due & payable And that all the said parties may alsoe discover what summe or summes of money are remayninge in theire or any of theire handes arrisinge out of the sale or other disposall of the said premisses or any parte thereof And may shew cause if they can why your Oratour
 5 should nott be satisfied & paid his said just debt & Interest eyther out of the personall estate of the said Sir John Cope or out of the Landes descended upon the said Sir Anthony Cope or out of the said Messuages lands tenementes or other hereditamentes conveyed appointed & allotted by the said Sir John Cope for the payment of his debtes as aforesaid or
 10 by some other lawfull wayes or meanes accordinge to equity & good Conscience May it therefore please your Lordshippes to graunt vnto your Oratour A Writt or Writtes of Subpena to bee directed to the said [blank] Cope Esquire the Lady Elizabeth Cope William Lord Say & Seale [blank] Countesse Dowager of Westmerland Richard Knightlie
 15 Sir Anthony Cope & such other Confederates as shall be hereafter discovered thereby Commandinge them & every of them upon A certeyne day & under A certeyne paine therein to bee Lymmitted personally to appeare before your Lordshippes in the high Courte of Chancery then & there to Answere the said premisses truely & particularly upon their
 20 & every of theire corporall oathes And to stand to & abide such further order & direction therein as to your Lordshippes seeme agreeable to equity & good Conscience. And your said Oratour shall ever pray Etc.

Staunton

Christopher Milton

9. Milton's Stay in the Ashworth Suit. 1656

A Elizabeth Ashworth widdow plainant John Milton esquire Anne
 25 Powell widdow and Richard Powell esquire defendants

Tuesday 13 May

Upon opening of the matter this presente day by Mr Milton being of Counsel with the defendant John Milton It was alladged on the behaulf of the said defendant that the other defendants Anne and Richard were
 30 onely named by the plainant in her bill to take away their testimoney

they being materiall witness for the defendant Milton in this cause and that the said defendants were never served with any processes to answer the said bill It was therefore praied that the said defendants Anne Powell and Richard Powell may be examined de bene esse on the behaulf
 5 of the said defendant Milton in this cause and that the Defendant may have time to examine them until the first Day of the next Tearme which is ordered accordingly and in the meane time publication is to stay.
 executed. H.

10. Milton's Protest in the Ashworth Suit. 1656

A Lord Commissioner
 10 Elizabeth Ashworth plainant John Milton and others
 Defendants

Tuesday 2d December

Forasmuch as this Court was this present day unto this Court by Mr Milton being of the defendants Councell that the plainants bill Containes
 15 in it matter of impertinency and scandall against the Defendant Milton It is ordered that the Masters of this Court doe looke into the plainants bill and examine and certifie whether the same bee scandalous or not Whereupon such further order shall be taken as shall bee meete.
 executed J E

11. Milton's Endorsement on Maundy's Lease

20 "M^r Maundys Lease to me with Proviso to pay
 .530 £ vizt. 15 £ thereof on the 16th. of July. 1658
 & .515: on the 16th. of January. 1658

530.

14 January 1657.

12. Powell-Milton Bond, 1627-1659

(P.R.O., C 152/61)

Noverint universi per presentes nos Richardum Powell de Forest Hill in Comitatu Oxoniensi generosum et Willelmum [Hearne] Aurifabricatorem Londinensem teneri et firmiter obligari Johanni Milton de universitate Cantabrigiense generoso in [quingentas libras de] legalis
 5 monete Anglie solvendas eidem Johanni, aut suo certo Attornato hoc scriptum ostendendo heredibus vel executoribus suis in festo Nativitatis scilicet Johannis baptiste proxime futuro post dato presentium, Et si defecerimus in solutione debitæ predictæ volumus [et concedimus quod tunc] Currat super nos et utrumque nostrum heredes et executores nos-
 10 tros pena in Statuto Stapule de debitis provocandis in eandem [empti- nem] recuperandum ordinata et provisa. Datæ undecimo die Junii, Anno regni domini nostri Caroli [dei gratia regis] Anglie [Scotie] Francie et Hibernie fidei defensoris &c Tertio.

15 Ric: Powell [seal]
 William Hearne [seal]
 Ni: Hyde [seal]

[Know all men by these presents that we, Richard Powell of Forest Hill in the county of Oxford, gentleman, and William Hearne, goldsmith of London, hold ourselves firmly bound to John Milton of the
 20 University of Cambridge, gentleman, in five hundred pounds of lawful English money to be paid to the said John (or to his specified attorney on presentation of this writing), his heirs or executors, on the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist next ensuing after the date of these presents. And if we fail to pay the aforesaid debt, we are willing and
 25 consent that there shall fall on us and both our heirs and executors the penalty ordained and provided in the Statute of the Staple, in case of debts, for the recovery of the said sum. Given this eleventh day of June, in the third year of the reign of our Lord Charles, by the grace of God

King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith,
etc. [1627].

Richard Powell
William Hearne
Nicholas Hyde]

5

[endorsed]

Memorandum that upon the nyne and Twentieth day of November
in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred Fiftie and nyne
Before the keepers of the liberty of England by authority of Parliament
10 did come the within named John Milton and did acknowledge himselfe
to be fully satisfied the within mentioned Five hundred pounds and all
the damages costs and expences any waies susteined in and aboute the
recovery thereof And thereupon he the said John Milton instantly
requireth that this wryteing obligatory may be Cancelled and made
15 voide Att whose instance this said wryteing obligatory is altogether
Cancelled vacated and made voide. John Milt[on]

I know the above named John Milton.

Tho: Gemm'/'

13. Conveyance to Cyriack Skinner

Know All Men by theis presents that I John Milton of the City of
20 Westminster Esqr. for valuable considerations mee thereunto moveing
doe by theise presents for mee my Heires Executors, & Administrators,
graunt, assigne transferr & sett over unto Cyriack Skinner of Lincolns-
Inn Gent his Heires Executors, Administrators, & Assignes the præced-
ing & annexed assignments and all that sume of foure hundred pounds
25 therein mentioned togeather with interest for the same from the 13 of
November last 1659 till it shall become payable out of the Excise in
course and I doe hereby authorize the Commissioners of Excise to make
payment thereof accordingly to the said Cyriack Skinner or to whom

hee shall appoint whose Receipt or Receipts shall bee their sufficient
Discharge Witness my hand & Seale this fifth day of May. 1660

John Milton

Scaled & delivered in the presence, of us.

5 Jer Picard
Elizabeth Wightman

14. Marriage Allegation

11th Feb. 1662/3.

Which day personally appeared JOHN MILTON of the parish of
St Giles Cripplegate London Gent aged about 50 yeares and a Widdower
10 and alledged that he intendeth to marry with ELIZABETH MINSHULL
of the parish of St Andrew Holborne in the County of Middlesex May-
den aged about 25 yeares and att her owne disposing and that he knoweth
of noe lawfull lett or impediment by reason of any precontract con-
sanguinity affinity or otherwise to hinder the said intended marriage
15 and of the truth hereof he offered to make oath & prayed Licence to be
married in the parish church of St George in the Burrough of South-
wark or St Mary Aldermay in London.

John Milton.

15. Milton's Acquittance for Baldwin Hamey

I John Milton of the parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate in the
20 County of Middlesex Esq^r Doe hereby acknowledge to have received
and had at and before th'ensealing and delivery hereof of and from
Baldwin Hamey of London Doctor of Physick the summ of Five hun-
dred pounds of lawfull money of England for and in full payment and
satisfaction of the Consideration of Twoe severall Indentures tripartite
25 of Assignment bearing date the Day of the Date hereof made or men-
tioned to be made betweene me the said John Milton of the first part,

Thomas Maundy Citizen and Goldsmith of London of the second part
 And the said Baldwin Hamey and Jeremy Hamey of London Gent. of
 the Third part, The one of which said Indentures doth purport an
 Assignment by and from me the said John Milton (with the Consent of
 5 the said Thomas Maundy) unto the said Jeremie Hamey of a Mortgage
 by Indenture bearing date the Fourteenth Day of January in the yeare
 of our Lord 1657, made by and from the said Thomas Maundy unto me
 the said John Milton (by the name of John Milton of the City of West-
 minster in the County of Middlesex Esq^r) Of and concerning Certaine
 10 Messuages and grounds lying in the parish of Kensington in the said
 County of Middlesex for securing the payment of the sum of Five hun-
 dred pounds with Interest at Certaine daies of payment already past,
 And thother of the said Indentures doth purport an Assignment by and
 from me the said John Milton unto the said Jeremie Hamey of a Statute
 15 bearing even date with the said Mortgage, and of the penalty of One
 thousand pounds and made and entered into by and from the said
 Thomas Maundy unto me the said John Milton And of the said summ
 of Five hundred pounds and of every part thereof I doe Clearly acquite
 and discharge the said Baldwin Hamey his executors and administrators
 20 for ever by theis presents, In witnes whereof I the said John Milton
 have hereunto set my hand and Seale Dated the Seaventh Day of June
 An^o Dni. 1665. And in the Seventeenth yeare of the reigne of our Sove-
 reigne Lord King Charles the Second of England &c.

John Milton [Seals]

25 Sealed and delivered in the presence of us
 Geo:Peryer & John Hare Scrivener.
 Rich.Gower

16. Agreement for "Paradise Lost"

These Presents Made the 27th day of Aprill 1667 Betweene John
 Milton gent of thone parte And Samuel Symons Printer of thother parte
 30 Wittness That the said John Milton in consideration of five pounds to

him now paid by the said Samuel Symmons & other the considerations hereund[er] mentioned Hath given granted and assigned, and by these presents doth give grant & assigne unto the said Samuel Symmons his executors and assignes All that Booke Copy or Manuscript of a Poem
5 intituled Paradise lost, or by whatsoever other title or name the same is or shalbe called or distinguished now lately Licensed to be printed To-geather with the full benefitt proffitt & advantage thereof or which shall or may arise thereby And the said John Milton for him his executors & administrators doth Covenant with the said Samuel Symmons his execu-
10 tors & assignes That hee and they shall at all tymes hereafter have hold and enjoy the same and all Impressions thereof accordingly without the lett or hinderance of him the said John Milton his executors or assignes or any person or persons by his or their consent or privitie, And that he the said Jo:Milton his executors or administrators or any other by his or
15 their meanes or consent shall not print or cause to be printed or sell dispose or publish the said Booke or Manuscript or any other Booke or Manuscript of the same tenour or subject without the consent of the said Samuel Symmons his executors or assignes In consideration whereof the said Samuel Symmons for him his executors & administrators doth
20 Covenant with the said John Milton his executors & assignes well and truly to pay unto the said John Milton his executors & administrators the summ of five pounds of lawfull english money at the end of the first Impression which the said Samuel Symmons his executors or assignes shall make and publish of the said Copy or Manuscript, Which impres-
25 sion shalbe accounted to be ended When thirteene hundred Books of the said whole Copy or Manuscript imprinted Shalbe sold and retaild off to particular reading Customers, And shall also pay other five pounds unto the said Mr. Milton or his assignes at the end of the second Impres-
30 sion to be accounted as aforesaid And five pounds more at the end of the third Impression to be in like manner accounted, And that the said three first Impressions shall not exceede fifteene hundred Books or volumes of the said whole Copy or Manuscript a peice; And further That he the said Samuel Symmons and his executors administrators & assignes shalbe ready to make Oath before a Master in Chancery con-
35 cerning his or their knowledge and beleife of or concerning the truth

of the Disposing & selling the said Books by Retail as aforesaid whereby the said Mr. Milton is to be intitled to his said money, from time to time upon every reasonable request in that behalfe or in default thereof shall the said five pounds agreed to be paid upon each Impression as aforesaid
 5 as if the same were due, & for & in leiu thereof In witness whereof the said parties have to this writing Indented Interchangeably sett their hands & seales the day & yeare first above written.

John Milton. [Seal]

Sealed and Delivered in the presence of us.

10 John Fisher.

Benjamin. Greene servant to Mr. Milton

17. Receipt for Payment on "Paradise Lost"

April 26 1669

Recd then of Samuel Simmons five pounds being the second five pounds to be paid mentioned in the Covenant. I say recd by me

15

John Milton

Witness Edmund Tipton

18. Milton's Nuncupative Will

The portion due to me from Mr. Powell, my former wife's father, I leave to the unkind children I had by her, having received no parte of it: but my meaning is, they shall have no other benefit of my estate than the
 20 said portion, and what I have besides done for them; they having been very undutifull to me. All the residue of my estate I leave to disposall of Elizabeth my loving wife. [20 July 1674.]

[19, etc. *In the Notes is a list of other surviving legal documents signed by Milton, and of several lost documents of which we have defi-*
 25 *nite knowledge.*]

Joannis Philippi

ANGLI

RESPONSIO

Ad *F. Hall-White: &c.*

Apologiam *Anonymi* cu-
jusdam tenebrionis pro
Rege & Populo Angli-
cano infantissimam.



J. Le Sauma

LONDINI,

Typis *Du-gardianis*. An. Dom.
M. DC. LII.

Joannis Philippi

ANGLI RESPONSIO, &c.

[*Written in collaboration with John Milton.*]

CONTRA famosum Anonymi cujusdam Libellum, in quo Senatus Populúsque Anglicanus turpissimis cōvitiis lacerabatur, quem jam vulgo
5 notum est, Salmasii Grammatici infame opus fuisse, prodiit nuper Joannis Miltoni Angli pro patriâ suâ defensio. Liber sanè probus, omniúmque doctorum virorum judicio domi
10 forísque multùm approbatus. Qui cùm talis esset, expectabatur quidē vel Salmasii ipsius, vel alíus alicujus viri literati responsio. Illarum certē partiū magni intererat electū aliquē
15 & disertum virum ad causam suam jam diu laborantem & ruentem adhibuisse. Cùm ecce demum ex omnibus illis rumorum montibus, quos assiduē fama nostras ad aures afferebat, tandem prorepit exiguus iste mus, qui
20 miserè stridens rodit tantummodo, aliud quidem nihil agit; vel, ut veriùs dicam, inanes quasdam mortiunculas captat, dentémque in dente fatigat,
25 authorē certē non lædit, ejus autem argumentorum vim & acumen nè assequitur quidem. Mirati primùm sumus quis esset; nomen enim ignobile, futilitatis certē suæ conscius, celat.

Cùm verò libellus ejus, macri nescio cujus & jejuni ingenii indicium, perlectus esset, in eo statim, tanquam in speculo, virum conspeximus. Quis igitur sit, pòst videbimus. Hoc verò
5 jam tacere non possum, hominem quendam valdè obscurum, & vilem eum esse apparere; qui tamen arrogantia suâ mendaciisque fretus, ut morientem & penè defunctam regis
10 sui causam aliquantulum resuscitare videretur, hominúmque animos jam sedatos, & judiciis Dei statim acquieturos iterum commoveret atque irritaret, Dei Omnipotentis voluntati, sum-
15 mæque justitiæ se opponere (quam ille tam insignibus & mirandis iræ suæ exemplis in regem, régisque fautores editis, omnibus vult esse notam) & supremos reipublicæ nostræ Magistratus
20 accusare, convitiisque indignissimis infamare ausus est. Veruntamen ità obtorpescit, tam insulsus est, tamque somniculosus se glirem præbet, ut certissimum causæ suæ jam lan-
25 guentis, & in totum penè perditæ omen præ se ferat. Omnium enim debilissimam atque iniquissimam certē causam illam necesse est esse, quā in de-

fendendâ fautores ejus non solùm ar-
 mis, verùm etiam ratione & argumen-
 tis inferiores sint. Meritò igitur cùm
 talis esset, ab ipso Miltoño neglectus &
 5 contemptus est. Multo enim indignior
 ab omnibus existimabatur, quàm ut
 spectata jam facundia limati illius at-
 que culti authoris ad eruēda sterqui-
 linia, rabidámque loquacitatem tam
 10 effrænis atque stulti blateronis refu-
 tandam descenderet. Verùm nè inter
 suos perfugas inanis iste rabula se ven-
 ditaret & aliquid magnum, vel quod
 uno sanè prandiolo dignum sit, se
 15 scripsisse crederet, equidem cùm in
 Patriam pietate, tum instauratæ nuper
 Libertatis apud nos amore ductus, nec-
 non illi etiam viro mihi semper obser-
 vando, quē iste insectatur, multis Offi-
 20 ciiis devinctus, pati non poteram, quin
 hujus ineptissimi nebulonis petulan-
 tiam retundendam mihi, nè rogatus
 quidem, susciperem. Quemadmodum
 igitur Romani olim Tirones in palum
 25 se primò gladiis & pilis exercebant, ità
 ego in hunc caudicem stylum acuere
 & ingenii vixdum pubescentis rudi-
 menta deponere haud incommodè me
 posse confido. Cum adversario enim
 30 tam insipido & vulgari, exiguo saltem
 quivis ingenio, & eruditione quan-
 tumvis leviter imbutus, etiam de im-
 proviso congrèdi sine periculo pote-
 rit. Priùs igitur quàm opus ipsum ag-
 35 grediar, operæ pretium videtur, au-
 thorem hujus Apologiæ illustrem, si
 diis placet, & disertum, in occulto ta-
 men latentem investigare. Sunt, qui
 dicunt nomen illi Jano esse, obscuro
 5 homini & bonarum literarum rudi, ex
 illo grege leguleiorum, quos pragma-
 ticos vocant. Verùm cùm meminissem
 bifrontem esse Janum, alterum sinci-
 pitium in ejus occipitio quærendum
 mihi esse statui. Itaque alteri sincipi-
 10 tio nomen, uti ego indiciiis quibusdam
 comperi, Brāmalo est. Is librū nuper
 stylo atq; sensu huic penè geminum
 scripsit Anglicè in *Εἰκονολογίαν*,
 15 cujus & hunc fætum esse haud temerè
 plures autumant. Virum igitur, quan-
 quam & hic vultum in occipitio gerit,
 si libet, cognoscite. Nam, ut ipse pro-
 fitetur, Theologiæ doctor est, & Epis-
 copus Hiberniensis. Is cùm ab ineunte
 20 ætate homo discinctus & ebriosus, epis-
 coporum, qui tunc in Angliā domi-
 nabantur, luxum, opes, ambitionem
 ante oculos haberet, inediā pressus &
 25 latrantis stomachi instinctu, nihil sibi
 utilius esse duxit, quàm ut sacerdotis
 munere indutus, Ecclesiam, tunc qui-
 dem lupis omnibus patentem, invade-
 ret; & conciunculis aliquot ad illorum
 30 temporum pravitatem compositis in-
 structus, quas de scripto recitandas
 circumferre solebat, nobilium homi-
 num mensas, & sacellani pinguem ali-
 quam mercedem, siqua ejusmodi offa
 se obtulisset, ambiebat; ubi cœnis 35

quàm lautissimis, precibus quàm brevissimis uterentur. Inter alios Derbyæ comiti se clanculùm offerebat. Tandem verò nequitiis co-opertus, benevolentiam & favorem comitis Straffordiz, proregis in Hibernia, quem multiplicis nomine perduellionis totus populus ad supplicium tandem poscebat, assentationibus & impudentiâ turpiter aucupatus est. Ille hominem se nactum esse ratus ad omnia facinorosa paratum, quique populum adulatoriis & aulicis concionibus suis ad suscipiendum servitutis jugum paratiorem redderet, Episcopum cum Derriensem in Hibernia creavit. Jam verò post expulsos Reges & Prælatos, ad priorem vitæ inopiam redactus, rursus esuriens, *Curium* nunc *simulat* qui *Bacchanalia* modò vixit, útque pietatis obtentu cunctam rabiem in eos effunderet, qui & ipsum & cæteros istiusmodi latrones ovilibus Ecclesiæ opimis expulerunt, spe etiam nonnulla ampliorem aliquem Episcopatû, mendaciorum suorum & audaciæ præmium sub minore Carolo devorandi, pellem ovinam induit, nil præter pietatem & sanctimoniam præ se fert; ita tamen, ut oblonga Lupi cauda infra institam Sacerdotalem facillè appareat.

En virum egregium præ cæteris qui apologiam pro rege & Populo Anglicano scribendam sibi sumit. Age verò, pro rege ut libet. Sed quid tu pro Po-

pulo *Anglicano*, qui Dominum tuum Straffordium, hostem Populi acerrimum meritis pœnis affecit, tèque pessimum ejus in Ecclesia Hiberniensi ad omnia scelera ministrum pari supplicio affecisset, nisi aut fuga aut obscuritas tua eorum manibus, qui Dominum plectebant, te furem eripuisset. Cur etiam apologiam *pro Populo*? An pro iis qui Regem puniverunt? haud credo; dices, pro iis qui regi favebant. At illi id non requirunt, ut qui, factâ pace, modicè multati, sua jam bona securè possideant, suâque fidem Reipublicæ nostræ obstrinxerint. Unde tua ista Apologia aut absurda planè est, aut nimium intempestiva. Verùm tu is homo es, qui titulum istum libri tui, utpote speciosum, vel cum maxima quavis absurditate arripere voluisti. Contra *Johannis* scilicet *Polypragmatici* defensionem. Sic ejus nimirum contra Claudium Anonymum, satis concinnè, quidem dictum, si Claudium cum Anonymo conjunxeris, insulsè imitaris. Verùm non is Polypragmaticus est, qui libertatem laudat, tyrannos damnat, civium suorum rectè & decorè facta defendit; sed tu potius, tuisque similes verè sic dici debent, qui cum Ecclesiasticos esse vos profiteamini, & Ecclesias vestra Polypragmaticâ perdidistis, & rerum civilium administrationem nihil ad vos pertinentem perpetuò conturbatis. Sed

causa suberat gravis cur scriberes, credo, contra *defensionem* Miltoni *destructivam*.

Brammale dic nobis cujū pecus? anne latinum?

Non, verū monachorum, illi sic rure loquuntur.

Cognoscite jam hominem in illa nempe barbarie Scholasticorū quā in clarorum authorum puritate & sapientia versatorem, quorum lucem vesperilio iste ferre nunquam potuit. Unde demum prodeat Apologia ista videamus. *Antuerpiā*; hoc enim solum praeclarus iste Protestantium Episcopus, asylum, ut videtur, invenire sibi potuit, inter Jesuitarum & Monachorum catervas, quibuscum tales pseudopiscopi libentissimè esse solent. Rectè igitur meo judicio & se dignè faciunt Protestantes exteri, qui turbatores istiusmodi errabundos suis cœtibus abigunt. Saltem non ausus est apud ullam Batavorum civitatem hoc suum opusculum typis mandare, veritus nè Illustrissimi Fœderatorum Ordines, ut Salmasii nuper sui libellum publicè damnârunt, ita se quoque extorem & erraticum nebulonem multò severiùs punirent. Quod illis quidem in laudem atque honorem, huic meritò in opprobrium cedere debet.

Jam ad lectorem quædam præfatur, & pauca sanè, sed quæ stultitiam hominis & ignorantiam illiteratam plùs

nimio prodant. Queritur *unam tantum* Salmasii *impressionem*, idque *magna cum difficultate in lucem erupisse*; ejus autem libri quem Miltonus scripsit, *tot esse exemplaria, ut nesciat cui lectorem remitteret*. Itaque nihil hic reperio, cur non amico nostro gratulemur, Salmasium falsè rideamus. Annon hæc satis ad arguendam causæ tuæ fœditatem visa sunt? Miltonum omnes cū favore & plausu te ipso teste legunt; Salmasium abjiciunt, nihili faciunt. His tua pervicacia aded non movetur, ut omnes idcirco *mortales veritatem odisse, mendaciorum convitiis amore flare*, impudentissimè accuses, ipse interim non Apostolus, non Propheta, neque Evangelista, sed scortator & heluo satis notus, & ganeonum duntaxat Episcopus. Vos verò lectores, quos non humaniter appellat, sed in ipso exordio tam petulanter perstringit, tam docti reprehensoris vestri imprimis sensum, deinde literas vereri jam discite; primum enim ait Miltoni *defensionem invidiosè elaboratam*, deinde tot excussis exemplaribus approbatissimè esse fatetur; hæc sanè apud omnes qui Latine intelligunt pugnancia sunt. Tum *tot sunt*, inquit, *illius exemplaria, ut nescio cui lectorem remitterem*. Satiùs tu quidem qui vel primā paginā solœcismos evitare non potes, ad Orbiliij cujusvis flagra remittendus es, apud

quem nulla poteris apologiâ uti, quin omnes te pueri virgis & ferulis pulchrè depexum atque ornatum dimittant. Verum te jam primò auguror hac in
 5 parte haud rarò peccaturum, qui tam rem manè incipis. Neque lectorem stultè alloqui satis habes, sed eò etiam ulteriùs audaciæ processisti (quo vitio ignorantia maximè laborare solet) ut
 10 Leidensi Academiæ celeberrimæ inep-tias tuas foetidissimas Epistola etiam stultissimè scripta dedicare ausus sis. *Alumnum* te Academiæ *quondam* fuisse affirmas. Tùne verò Academiæ
 15 ullius unquam alumnus, cujus infan-tiæ propemodùm illiteratæ quemlibet vel in agris ludum literarium pude-ret? Leidensem autem *alumnum* fuisse unquam te dicere audere, dubiù
 20 tibi ne sit, quin illa Academia vehe-mentissimè indignetur; majori enim contumeliâ urbem illam afficere non potes, cujus te *quòdam alumnum* fuisse prædicas; quanquam illud *quondā*,
 25 si unquā fuit, multorum postea anno-rum crapulâ in lustris atque popinis jam diu proluiisti. Sed & tu *eorum tu-telam expetis*. Hominū stupidissime, tutelam tu tuæ barbariæ in Musarū
 30 domicilio quæris, quarū hoc ipsum munus est, vinctam barbariem catenis in terras ultimas exterminare: nescis medios dilapsus in hostes. Saltem dum Academicos alloqueris, simula te lite-
 35 ratum quempiam esse, vel ad punctū

temporis, si potes. *Salmasius*, ais, *mihi ansam præbuit qui, tamen omnibus arripuit*. Quenam ista balbuties est? Fac modo Academia, quam interpel-las, te intelligat alumnum suū, vix
 5 credo annotinum. *Nec calamum*, in-quis, *in manum sumere auderem* (sapuisses tu quidem si ausus non fuisses) *nisi Miltoni amentia me in-vitum provocâsset*. At ille te non ma-
 10 gis provocavit, quàm qui prætereunt importunum & improbissimi oris canem, quem inani latratu insequentem ità contemnit, ut vix fuste te dignetur
 15 aut calce. *Quid verò*, inquis, *ab extero qui inter inhospitales Caucasos vitam degit, expectari poterit?* Nihil sanè: Expectationem tu nostram minimè
 20 fefellisti: neque certe erat opus ut te inter Caucasos vitam degere faterere, lingua te tua, ipsique mores barbarum
 clamitant, Tuâque illa Caucasea *poma* si dare velles, scito omnes Alcinoos magnoperè aspernari. Ad Academiam
 25 quereris inter alia, quòd *Banausi Mechanici in pulpitam ascenderunt*. Perdoctus tu quidem & idoneus, qui banausos & Mechanicos in pulpitem
 ascendentes insecteris, qui pariter at-
 30 que illi Grammaticæ rudis, haud illis magis pulpitem declinare potes. Postremò *Alienigenam te Anglum ap-pellas*. Id quidem rectissimè: Aliena enim sentis, aliena loqueris, quidni
 alienigenam te Anglum esse dicas, id

est spurium, quem Angli veluti purgamentum suæ Patrię atque piaculum jure quidem ad Caucasos ablegârunt.

In præludium ad

PRÆFATIONEM.

IN præludiis esse se existimat vir gra-
vis; ludos ut videtur Episcopales
mox editurus. Favete spectatores Ludioni Episcopo. Verum putaret quis hominem non prologum agere, sed in ipso Procœmio Orestem insanum aut
Athamanta saltare. *Nè insaniens Caco-*
dæmon Joannes Miltonus, &c. O mitem & mansuetum! quàm non iracundè, quàm humaniter exorditur! quod aliis, quamlibet furentibus, extremum
maledicentię est, id huic pro levi tantum præludio habetur. Sed hoc novum non est: Sic enim Pharisei olim, veri ejus progenitores, Christum ipsum à Cacodæmone agitari dicebant; ut nemo vel hoc vel pejus in se dici, præsertim ab hoc Episcopo verè Diabolico, molestè ferat. Offenditur imprimis quòd Miltonus Reipub. insignia, quemadmodum Salmasius regis in fronte
Libri posuit. Hęc ille posita ibi aūt tanquam fœnum in cornu, *ut cuncti sibi caverent*; quid hoc ad alios nescio. Te verò Brammale non miror fœnum in cornu usque adèd horrescere, quoties
tot tua adulteria animo revolvis. Omitto deinde quæ de cruce furcifer atque

etiam de lyra stultissimè delyras: & certè præludia professus, nihil aliud nisi nugas agis. *Parlamentum & Concilium satis ætatis habent seipsos armis defendere.* Atqui tuum erat potius cogitare, satisne ætatis haberes Latinè ut possis id ipsum scribere. *Sed ringit illum Salmasius*, vel ut postea perdoctè sanè emendavit, *ringit ille pro Salmasio* (menda an emendatio vitiosior sit, lectorum esto judicium) *peregrinos veretur: num tu credis quòd tot nefanda, &c.* Væ tibi Prisciane! nam solécismos hic non singulos, sed turmatim effundit. Quàm verò Peregrinos vereatur Miltonus, & imprimis illum Thrasybombomachidem Salmasium, qui libros ejus perlegerit abundè nôrit. *Ego, inquis, libertatem peto à libero suo populo Anglicano, ut quod in re tantū ponderis liberè sentiam, liberè proferre possim.* Tūne ut quicquam quod liberum sit liberè proferre possis, mancipium aulæ fœdissimum, Straffordii Famulus & minister, gulæ etiam atque inguini turpissimè serviens Episcopus? Quem populus opinor Universus de libertate concionantem veluti obscœnum portentum abominaretur; vel etiam lapidibus obrueret, aut siquid mitius, ecquis huc vincula & compedes, exclamarent; ut Romani olim, Claudii quodam aulico ad concionandum misso, *Jo Saturnalia* repentè clamabant. Nam servis Romæ,

nisi festis Saturnalibus, liberè loqui non licebat. *Nos, inquis, super dejectos cantando epiniceia triumphamus.*

Rectè quidem super hostes qui propter commoda quædam sua cum tyranno conjurati, patriam ad servitutem redigere conabantur: & epinicia nos quidem minimè omnium superbè cantamus. Deo semper gloriam tribuimus. Verùm quid sibi volunt *epiniceia* tua, Bardocuculle? An quia tam strenuè pergræcari solitus es, Græcè idcirco intelligere te putas? *Angit Miltonū, inquis, quòd Salmasius extraneus aliquam notitiā caperet illarum rerum, quæ nunc sunt in Anglia:* non quòd *notitiam caperet*, sed quòd rerum nihil ad se pertinentium arbitrum se faceret, veritatem turpissimis mendaciis perverteret, quos non nôrat, in eos convitiis & contumeliis inveheretur. *Fures, inquis, lucem timeant.* Tu igitur fur omnium pessimus qui lucem times & nomen celas. Sacra etiam impuris manibus attrectas. Prov. 29. Cùm boni regnant, populus gaudet; cùm mali dominantur, populus dolet: eâ de causâ cùm Carolus dominabatur, populus dolebat. Quod omnes satis meminerunt. Neque leve signum est, eos jam gaudere, bonis reipub. gerentibus; Carolum enim Filium, etiam cum exercitu jam venientem, & libertatem, quâ incedit, omnibus pollicentem, tanquam hos-

tem aversantur ubique, & fugiunt, vi etiam & armis cum summa alacritate propulsant.

Quàm autem sis ineptus nunquam clariùs perspicitur, quàm cùm de te loqueris, ut hîc. *Fateor, inquis, ut huic veteratori respondeam, me multò inferiore bonis omnibus & adjumentis vitæ spoliatum.* Quibusnam bonis? Si bonis animi, doctrinâ & ingenio sis inferior, cur non parem tibi congressum potiùs quæsisvisti? Sed is puto es, qui esse doctum, esse eloquentem nihil aliud nisi esse divitem existimes: ut bonis externis & vitæ adjumentis spoliatus si sis, Doctrinâ quoque & ingenio spoliatus tibi videre. Ain' verò tu *bonis omnibus spoliatum te esse?* Callidus nimis es & vafer, cupis celare divitias tuas, verùm non potes. Indicabo ego te & facultates tuas. Præter illa bona, quæ erepta tibi esse dicis, restat adhuc tibi, non enim celabis, ingens, eoque ingentius, quòd nemo tibi eripiet, solæcismorum peculium; in eo genere divitiarum, neminem te locupletiore cognovi. Extorrè præterea te esse queritaris; Vah quàm indignè! Ut perspicias igitur quàm sum pro te sollicitus, est in Cilicia oppidū, Soli, antiquū, ut perhibent, & satîs amplum; illuc omnes qui solæcismos tam strenuè facere solent, coloniam ducunt; Sarcinas igitur quàm primū collige, eò enim te, tuasque omnes

- facultates suadeo transferàs. Permagna ibi te latifundia, mihi crede, manent, immò nisi fallor, Solæcorum omnium principatum facilè unus obtinebis. Verùm quod nullum tibi unquam fuit (si ingenium dicis quo inferiore te factum fateris) id tibi nos scilicet eripuisse insimulas. Cùm te contrà ab adversario multas dictiones, & aptè usitata ab eo verba ineptè suffurari non pudeat. *Superbire* Miltonum aïs, *nominibus suis & titulis in Frontispicio suspensis*. Quæ ille nomina præter suum, quos ille titulos in Fronte Libri suos posuit? An ideo superbus, quia se sui neque nominis neque causæ pudebat? Hæccine tibi *Phylacteria* sunt? *Salmasium*, inquis, *Miltonus, tanquam anonymum convitiis & scommatibus scurrilibus persequitur*. Multo certè sermonis lepore & facetiis in hominem jocatur, tu scurrile quicquam ab eo dictum nequis ostendere. *Sed seculo venturo Omnes Miltoni hoc nomine miserè vapulabunt, nè fortè* (id est est ejus loquelâ, nisi fortè) *judicet mundus, &c.* Quicquid de Miltonis seculo venturo fiat, tu vates ventriloquus & infantissimus fide nullâ es dignus. *Sed nil novi viros optimos nomina sua reticuisse*. Nempe quia tu ita facis. *Sic sanctus Paulus ad Hebræos*; scripsit enim ad Nationem suo nomini infensissimam, de rebus admodum novis & parùm creditis; tu verò Populo Anglicano, tu exteris tibi & causæ tuæ, ut ipse ais, minimè iniquis, de re notissimâ, & apud omnes gentes, ut idē ais, receptissima, & tamen malè tibi conscius nomen occultas. *Sic Beza*. Rectè meministi, scripsit enim *Vindicias contra tyrannos*, quas tu inter *veritates* illas, quæ, ut nunc temporis, vix hiscere audebant, recensens. *Virtus*, inquis, apud nos *vicio vertitur*, Quia Brammali scilicet virtutes, ebrietas, voracitas, alea, scortatio vitia habentur. *Sed Cantabrigia & Oxonium suis invictis declarationibus se ab hoc crimine liberârunt*. At invictæ illæ Declarationes fatuitatis & væcordiæ facilè evincuntur: Academiarum enim non erant, sed Prelatorum factionis, quæ ibi reliqua erat. Rectiùs nunc sapiunt Academix. *Genevam*, inquis, *Deodatus* hoc crimine liberavit. Solus fortasse sensum ille suum, non totius Academix judicium explicavit. *Leidam quoque Salmasius*. Non Leydensis tamen, sed externus. Leydenses libertate priùs recuperatâ, quàm literis clari erant.
- Tot ergò doctorum & bonorum agmine circumvallatus*, vix uno videlicet atque altero, *faciam rem non difficilem, causam Dei omnipotentis dicturus*, Dei nimirum tui, hoc est ventris, aut Bacchi, qui tibi omnipotens est; cujus auspiciis Brammalus

*Grammaticus, Geometra, Minister,
Alipta, Sacerdos,
Augur, Scœnobates, Medicus,
Magus, omnia novit.*

5 *Brammalus esuriens, in cœlum,
jusseris, ibit.*

sed eodem credo successu, quo Grammaticatur. Nam *in tantam crevit audaciam, ut quicquid libet dicere, licet:*

10 *hæc ejus syntaxis est. Sed Miltonus monarchiam è mundo tollere laborat.*

Dic ubi? Omnibus enim populis semper hoc liberū reliquit, sive monarchiam vellent, sive aliam regiminis for-

15 *mam; tantummodo nolentibus imponi noluit. Ad solœcismos tuos redeo,*

qui jam vix intermittunt; Quidni Salmasio non pepercit rabula? Videtur tamen sua canina ferocia catenis vinc-

20 *tus vel potiùs vincendus, qui omnes undique mordit.* Unde tibi isti nitores Orationis & lumina, Brammale? Fieri non potest, quin omnes obscurorum virorum epistolas & loculos expilaveris.

25 *Crimini das Miltono, quòd is in partem adjutorii* (ejus enim Barbarismis utor) *Deum vocet.* Facis ut te decet Episcopum atheum & prophanum. Sed miraris *quâ fronte Miltonus ausus*

30 *est dicere, se hæc, jubente Parlamento, evulgasse.* Primùm Miltonus hoc nusquam dicit; sed dixisse finge, ut certè fingis, quid tu contrâ? *Si vera,* inquis, *narrat, ubi Brown, vel Elsing, vel Sco-*

35 *bel, Clerici Parlamentariorum? Næ*

tu homo verè minutulus es, & nullius pretii: Nihilne putas jubente atque etiam libente Parlamento prodire in lucem posse, nisi cui nomen Clerici Parlamentarii adscribatur? Mirum est 5 tot tibi nugas cogitanti non hoc etiam in mentem venisse, quod vulgò dicitur,—

Clericus in libro non valet ova duo.

præsertim cujus tu farinæ clericus es, 10 qui mediocriter saltem latinè non intelligis; si enim intellexisses, non hæc ejus verba, *quæ autoritate Parlamenti scripta & declarata sunt,* de ejus libro dicta existimares, verùm de publicis 15 Parlamentis scriptis, & declarationibus passim editis. Neque te quicquam ex verbis ejus lucratum esse censisses, quamvis quod dixisse eum falsò accusas, *factionem* rempub. dixisset; *factionem* enim tam in bonam quàm in 20 malam partem olim dici vel pueris notum est. Progredieris deinde, *Una factio erat & armis se tuetur (non jure) tui.* Quid tu hìc tibi velis? Si 25 capis ipse benè est, ego quidè non capio. Ut nec sequentià tua de *Parlamento supremo, Concilio summo, de Grammaticâ* denique *comparandi gradibus laborante.* Id te angit potiùs 30 quòd Hierarchia tua gradibus laborat. *Hunc,* inquis, *honorem Deo ceditis, ut dum vos vestris mundanis gaudeatis, nè minimam Religionis aut animarum curam suscipere velle pa-* 35

lām profitemini. En iterum fœdè so-
lœcum! Sed sanè dignum est, ut tu,
qui animarum cura quid sit, nun-
quam scivisti, eam civili gladio com-
missam crederes. Nos verò, aïs, *magno*
impetu prosternimus veræ religionis
cultores. Hostes quidem civiles & pro-
ditores, Religionis autem cultores Re-
ligionis causâ non prosternimus. *Sal-*
masium deinde crepas: tace de Salma-
sio, ille suos patitur manes, & in Sue-
corum aulâ jam diu friget. Sed Mil-
tonus, ut omnes republicas, & *Illu-*
strissimos etiam Hollandiæ Ordines
in partes suas pelliceret, *Illorum prin-*
cipi oblatrat. Advertite Hollandi,
Principem nuper mortuum, vestrum
principem appellat, nec vos quidem
liberos esse patitur. Cavete, dum licet,
ne parvagante hujusmodi aulicorum
doctrinâ elatus, alter quispiam apud
vos princeps ac Dominus succrescat.
Tandem *Praeludium* hoc grandi so-
lœcismo penè claudit, *hereditarium*
regis imperium, cui totus populus per
multos annos juratus consentierunt.
Vos Lectores eruditi, quotquot literas
humaniores amatis, præfantem hunc
Bavium, immò barbarum, odio, quo
dignus est, & sibilo prosequimini.

CAP. I.

PRÆLUDIIS amotis fabulam expec-
tabamus, promissas nimirum illas
Miltoni confutationes. Et certè hoc

sensu revera fabulam agit; eorum
enim quæ promisit, nihil præstat; sed
partim maledictis, partim insulsis re-
giæ fortunæ miserationibus totum hoc
caput exhaurit. *Non sum,* inquit, *tam*
audax Phormio, ut Salmasio me com-
pararem, quàm Miltonus, qui se Sal-
masio opponere auderet. Næ tu Phor-
mio quis fuerit in Comœdia parùm
videris intelligere. At quid aïs? *Mil-*
tonum Salmasio opponere se audere,
Grammaticorum Pyrgopolynici? Fa-
cinus ingens narras. *Nam si authori-*
tate, inquis, *dirimendalis sit, plus fidei*
uni Salmasio, quàm mille millenis Mil-
tonis omnes ingenui & docti darent.
At verò qui auctoritatem vel Salmasio
vel Miltono dant, nisi quam eorū al-
teruter ratione & argumentis sibi ac-
quiret, ipsi neque docti, neque inge-
nui sunt. Miltonum exteris antehac
ignotum veritas & ratio commendavit:
Salmasium inane nomen, & multæ
Lectionis opinio commendare sine
ratione non valuit, quin ab amicis
etiam ejus, & fautoribus longè infe-
rior in hoc certamine sit judicatus. Tu
totam de patribus disputationē satis
callidè abs te amoves, ut quos nunquā
consulueris. *Miltonum in plurimis*
Salmasio castigandum relinquis. Mu-
nus profectò satis arduum Salmasio
reliquisti, qui Miltoni responsum cùm
legeret, ità, ut videtur, percussus est
& quatefactus, ut, solutâ alvo, in latri-
35

nam putem confugisse: Unde scripsit ad amicos, cacabundus in hæc verba. *Ego istum Miltonum permerdabo & permingam.* Balistam satis validam
 5 in postico geras oportet, Salmasi, quam merdas tam longè contorquere aut explodere te posse putas. Hinc est quòd tam foetida meditantè jam diu in Aula Sueciæ fœtere te dicant: Neque mirū
 10 est, si Sueciæ regina, quamvis opinione vulgi primū decepta, nunc suo acri iudicio compertum te & cognitum tam olentem Mæviū à se abjecerit. Ferunt alii, cū paginam unam atque
 15 alteram responsi illius percurrisset, furore correptum sic subitò rodomontari cœpisse. *Ego perdam istum nebulonem & totum Parlamentum.* Hæc verba ipsius ad nos delata retuli; &
 20 sanè si istiusmodi homo est, non is idoneus qui castiget alios, sed qui ipse castigetur, in Phreneticorum potiùs gymnasium deportandus. Progredere, *Prætermis-*
 25 *sis, ut aïs, Oratoris & verisimilibus ex Cicerone, Aristotele, Euripide, Sophocle, & aliis Ethnicorum scriptis. Non enim Christianis necessariò recurrendum est ad Ethnicos.* Nescis ergò Salmasium tuum hanc
 30 priùs affectâsse viam? Miltonus eò tantū adversarium secutus est provocantem. Tu verò interim hypocrita ignaviz tuæ consulis, qui cum nulum sanè bonum, aut facundum auctorem unquam attigeris, id studio

pietatis non fecisse te simulas. Miltonus aiebat, *pater nos genuit, non Rex.* Tu inde nomen patris à specie ad numerum detorques, ut captiones hinc quasdam & amphibolias frigidissimas
 5 consuere possis; quas ne recitatione quidem dignas existimo; adeo sunt ineptæ & mucosæ. *Si verò,* inquis, *rex juvenis uxorem ambiens Papam Patrem sanctissimum appellaverit, non*
 10 *tam acri censura perstringendus.* Sic Zimri juvenis Moabissam uxore ambiens à religione vera defecit; an excusator idcirco est? *Probabile,* verò, *aïs, esse quòd literam secretariis suis*
 15 *scribendam commisit.* Eò magis culpandus, qui rem tanti momenti, quæque Religionem atque honorem suum in dubium vocare poterat, Secretariis tam minimè probis commiserit. Verū
 20 rū & nos *Regem Hispaniarum Regem Catholicum* appellamus. Istarum literarū exemplar æquum est te proferre, si potes, sicuti nos Regis ad Papam protulimus. *Et quidni,* inquis,
 25 *Papam Patrem sanctissimum appellaveritis, si in politicis vobiscum sentiret.* Sic scurræ solent deprehensi; quod se fecisse constat, id alios facere velle calumniantur. Hos mores scurrarum
 30 lepidissimè depingit Plautus.

*Nihil est profecto stultius atque stolidius,
 Neque mendaciloquius, neque perjurius*

*Quàm urbani assidui cives, quos
scurras vocant;*

*Qui omnia se simulant scire, nec
quicquam sciunt,*

5 *Quod quisquam in animo habet,
aut habiturus est, sciunt.*

*Quæ neque futura, neque facta
sunt, tamen illi sciunt.*

Si hos vermes, aïs, Regum auribus
10 *insidiantes, & velut intus existentes,*
prohibent alienum, ut neminem sibi
fidelem audire poterat, Rex radicibus
extirpasset, &c. Credo istos vermes
& auribus & cerebro tuo insidiantes,
15 *Grammaticæ rudimenta, siqua tibi in-*
sculpta erant, penitus exedisce. Rursus
Deodatum affers, qui regem nostrum
unicum Reformatæ Religionis defenso-
rem insignivit. At, inquam, longius
20 *abfuit Deodatus, quàm ut Carolum in*
cute nōsse posset; ne dicam clausisse
oculos, si post Rupellenses Reforma-
tos tam à Carolo præclare defensos hoc
dixerit. Sed pergis, vobis qui Carolum
25 *è mundo sustulistis, tandem redeundi*
patet via in Ægyptum, ex quo ægrè
detinemini. Eia Solorum decus, quàm
te jam in municipio tuo Solensi oblec-
tas, à quo nemo te possit detinere, ne
30 *si furcâ quidem expelleret. Miltonus,*
aïs, nec locum, nec librum, ubi à se
prolata, è summorum Theologorum
libris inveniemus, exhibet. At ista loca
Miltonus facillè protulisset, nisi ipse

Salmasius adversos sibi pleròsque re-
formatos Theologos haud uno in loco
fassus esset; quæ tamen loca eorum
scripta legentibus ità passim occur-
runt, ut hinc tua potiùs ignorantia 5
constet, qui neque illos, neque ipsum
Salmasium prelegisse videris. Jam
Davidis exemplum omnibus notù nar-
ras. Rationes autem illas, quas attulit
Miltonus, cur exemplum illud ad cau- 10
sam hanc non pertineret, non attingis;
tantummodo Unctum Domini, Unc-
tum Domini ingeminas. Dic sodes ergò,
Estne omnis Rex unctus Domini?
Omnis, aïs, præsertim Christianus. 15
Cur ergò dux Josua quinque unctos
Domini uno die suspendit? Nam
Christianos si dices non fuisse, ridicu-
lum est; quandoquidem Christianū
profiteri, cùm sit maleficus, neminem 20
supplicio debito eximere potest. *Da-*
vid, inquis, viam nobis monstravit
tolerantiæ, ut Deo judici relinquatur,
qui impœnitentem percutiet, ut mor-
rietur. Quid me cogis? defessus jam 25
penè sum, Solenses tuas delitias per-
ambulando. Ad Davidem recurris;
Salmasio responsum erat eadem in-
culcanti, Davidem privatum privatas
injurias ulcisci noluisse. Tu Parlamen- 30
tum omne privatū esse dicis, Regem
Carolum, unctum Domini fuisse; ni-
hil tamen horum probas, nihil ab ad-
versario dictū cum ratione oppugnas.
Si ex aura populari, inquis, diademata 35

regibus auferenda, quis non vellet se ex infima plebe terræ filium potiùs esse quàm regem? Id noli timere; ut-

cunque non deessent reges. Neque te, 5 credo, hoc deterreat, quò minùs Episcopatum turpiter ambires, quamvis populo invisum. At Miltonus, aïs, *dum potestatem populi in reges suos imprudenter prædicat, reges omnes* 10 *esse tyrannos instruit.* Sic sanè ut lex instruit homicidas, quia vetat.

—*Jam Troja maneret, aïs*
Consilio Priami si foret usa senis.

At verò noster Priamus, vel Paris potiùs, non Trojæ usus consilio, sed Helenæ suæ, & se perdidit & regnum suum. Jam ordine perrupto ad nonum puto vel decimum caput excurris. Miltonus, aïs, asseruisse, *nullum membrum Parlamenti absque proprio consensu in judicium vocari posse, Regem* 20 *autem tu saltem membrum Parlamenti esse dicis.* Præpropere tu quidem id ibas petitū, quod nusquam erat, neque à quoquam quod memini, 25 unquam dictum. Hoc etiam responsum tulisse Regem, cùm quinque Membra posceret, falsissimum est; quòd ex illa re gesta satis liquet. *Nosti,* 30 *inquis, quòd nisi à sicariis vestris impediùs populus esset, regem è vestris manibus eripuissem.* Verùm quos tu populū esse existimas, nos non putamus. An verò Regionum gregem

illum perditum, totiésque domitum, populum appellas? Nos ità non existimamus: victi bello, quod ipsi intulerant, jus populi amiserunt. Miltonum graviter accusas, quod dixerit, Salmasium Regis mortem ineptè plorantem legentium neminem pilo tristiorum reddidisse. Non ergo in Miltonum, sed in stolidissimas Conducti ploratoris nœnias culpam conferre debes. 10

Men' moveat quippe, & cantet
si naufragus, assem

Protulerim.—Verum, nec nocte
paratum

Plorabit, qui me volet incurvasse 15 *querelâ.*

Majori patientia, inquis, ferunt Episcopi convitia tua. Episcoporum sanè patientia omnibus nota est. Hic vero quasi interno dolore percussus, magno 20 fervore & conatu, Episcoporum Cæremonias & ambitiones asserere contendis. Unde apertiùs licet conjicere, te Brammalum lurconem illum, quem antea diximus esse, qui Episcopos 25 combibones, & commessatores tuos, belli civilis faces, tam gnaviter defendis. *Quot duxerit Hippiæ mæchos, inquis, innumerabiles sunt.* At multò magis innumerabiles, quot Brammalus fecerit mæchas. *Sed Rex noster* 30 *aïs, Templo nostra decenter ornavit, & honoravit in honorem Dei, nunquam in equorum stabulos converte-*

bat. Nunquam, mihi crede, Tempa
vestra tam *decenter ornavit*, quàm tu
Solorum Tempa egregiis tuis ornasti
solæcismis, quorū monumenta sanè
5 sempiterna nunquam interibunt. Te
Deum omnes solæci, te patronū tam
præclarè de illo municipio meritum
colent posthac in secula, & invocabunt;
in memoriam etiam eloquentiæ tuæ
10 tam asininæ, non Scholas discipulis
tuis sed *stabulos* dicabunt. Regem au-
tem vestrum aïo minimè omnium
Templa ornâsse, sed ipsum potius in
equorum stabula, atque in haras etiam
15 convertisse, dum tot immundos præ-
latos, tot porcos Episcopos, te denique
spurcissimum in Ecclesiam introdu-
xit. *Regias* jam *partes agi* dicis, si Præs-
byterianos gravius incusemus. Nec ta-
20 men Christus ipse & Apostoli, falsos
Evangelii Doctores, fratres subditios,
Religionis prætextu Ecclesiæ insidian-
tes, mitius olim increpabant. An ergò
dicta eorum aut scripta *digladiari in*
25 *se invicem* dicis, quòd suos vel laben-
tes, vel deficientes à fide atque inte-
gritate liberrimè reprehenderent? *Ubi*
Mutatur forma reipublicæ ex Monar-
chia in aliam, non datur successio,
30 *&c.* Non hunc Miltonus solū, sed
Salmasius *obicem Carolo secundo* po-
suit; ejus enim verba sunt, si adver-
tens. Verū tu, aut cæcus aut de-
mens, in socios pariter ac hostes in-
35 curris. *Tantā*, inquis, *illorum astutiā*

omnia oblitterata sunt, ut conclama-
tum est, de viribus humanis; Sed nos
qui per fidem in Deum expectamus
resurrectionem futuram, &c. Apage
sis temulente. Quid tibi aut vinolen- 5
tiis tuis cū fide, quem si pocula tua
majora itā conspirent, ut resurgere
nunquā posses, felicius profectò con-
sultum tibi foret. *Scires libenter quid*
per populum velimus. Scirem ego vi 10
cissim, quid Romani per Senatū Po-
pulūque Romanum voluerint. Quæ-
ris *quod remedium restet populo con-*
tra tyrannidem Parlamenti. Tum id
quoque dicam, cū causæ quid erit; 15
nunc supervacua ne quære.

CAP. II.

DEFINIERAT Salmasius regem *Deo*
solo minorem, legibus solutum;
si nostram rempub. sic definirēt ali-
quis, consensuros nos esse aïs; qui ta- 20
men Regis illam definitionem oppug-
navimus. Institutum hoc tuum esse
video, cū refutare nihil possis, posse
saltem calumniari. Et *qui penetrabit*
Miltoni *scripta*, inquis, *nil præter bar-* 25
bariem & insaniam inveniet. Dirum-
pi ergo necesse est te, qui tot viros
doctos & probos de Miltoni scriptis
longe aliter sentire, invitus quotidie
cernis. Barbariem verò tu cuiquam 30
impudentissime? quem præter linguæ
fatuitatem, cū sensus belluini & stu-

por, tum etiā mores turpissimi in ipsa vastitate Barbariæ natum atque nutritū clamant. Utcunque tamen siquid affers audiamus. *Petrus supremū vocat Regem* Supereminētē quidem vocat; idque vulgari potiū loquendi more, quā verē politico, pro eorum captu ad quos scripsit. Sic Consul Romanus ὕπατος est vocatus, id est supremus, quo modo & Poloniæ Rex, & Dux Venetiarum supremus vocari potest; qui tamen, si politicas rationes accuratiū inire volumus, & multorum instituta regnorum, supremi non sunt.

Itā igitur supremum vocāse rege apostolus censendus est, ut tamen leges cuiusque gentis, & jura, & reipub. formam inviolatam esse vellet. Et certē non tam supremus quis sit, docet aut disputat, quā quas ob causas & quatenus obedientiam sive supremis, sive præsilibus præstare debeamus: id Miltonus copiosē explicuit; tu nescio an tuæ conscientiā væcordiæ, consultō prætermittis. *Quasi, inquis, triginta Athenis tyranni non plus poterant in damnum populi, quā unus si maxime tyrannus esse voluerit.* At inquam ego contrā, nullus unquam fuit unus, si maxime tyrannus esse voluerit, quin tyrannos non triginta solū, sed trecentos, atque etiam multō plures in damnum populi constituere soleret: frustra igitur sub uno, sive Monarchā,

tyranno melius populo fore speras:

nullus enim in republicā tyrannus unquam unus fuit, quin plurimos sibi adsciscere tyrannos necesse habuerit. *Rex si abutetur, inquis, potestate sua in regni detrimentum, à suis subditis impediri potest & debet.* Rectē concedis: sed quousque impediri possit ac debeat non dicis. Potest enim tyrannus eousque procedere in detrimentum regni, ut nisi vim vi repellamus, eūque pro hoste habeamus, impedire nullo modo possimus. Concedis igitur ipse, & frustra contendis veritate victus, sed videri concedere non vis, pertinaciā studiosior, quā veritatis; nam quod impediri aīs tyrannum debere, non in iudicium trahi & capite plecti vel ab uno vel ab omnibus, sed Dei iudicio relinquendum esse, nūq̃ sunt, & gratis dictæ; quæ singula, non affirmanda, sed probanda tibi restant. Vis Monarchiam reipublicæ formā esse perfectiorem. Id nos in præsentia non agimus. Tua tamen argumenta, quoniam vacat, videamus. *Introducā à Deo dicis in ultimum & præstantissimum remedium populo toties ab inimicis subacto sub iudiciis.* Primū cur illud præstantissimum remedium non primō potiū, quā ad ultimum adhibitum fuerit, cū Deus Rempub. suam quā præstantissimis legibus formare; Deinde cū Israëlitz Regē peterent, pōst annos circiter quadringentos sub iudici-

bus exactos, si Monarchia præstantis-
 simū illud remedium Deo visum est,
 cur ab ea dissuaserit populum suum
 ac deterruerit. Cur denique petentes
 5 eos peccati gravissimi reos fecerit, fac
 quæso intelligamus: *quodd Theocra-*
tiam, inquis, *rejicerent*, nempe sub
 iudicibus. At verò illi non minùs in
 Monarchiâ Theocratican retinere po-
 10 terant, ac debebant: sin minùs, tu
 Monarchiam dum præstantissimam
 esse dicis, non Theocratican, sed Athe-
 ocratian cave dixeris; in qua Deus
 tam præsens regere suum populum
 15 quàm sub iudicibus non potuit. Certè
 si gubernantibus illis Theocratiam in
 Republica fuisse dicis, ut certè fuit,
 haud aliam gerendæ Reipublicæ for-
 mam præstantiorem, ut sunt res mor-
 20 talium, invenire quisquam poterit.
Respondeat mihi, inquis, *tuus Popu-*
lus Anglicanus, utrūm ligneo Caroli
jugo excusso, aliquam miseriarum re-
laxationem inveniant. Respondet ita-
 25 que jugum se Caroli ferreum à con-
 scientiis suis depulisse, jugum idem
 Episcoporum; sua vectigalia, suósque
 census non nunc aulicæ luxuriæ, &
 libidinibus, sed vincendis hostibus &
 30 propagandis imperii finibus ultrò se
 impendere. *Leges*, ais, *Mosi & regi-*
bús à Deo datas quibus regant popu-
lum; num populo lex data, ut Reges
regeret? Immò apertè leges tam Mosi
 35 & regibus, quàm cætero populo sunt
 datæ, ut tam se, quàm populum rege-
 rent; sin minùs, ità ut regerentur ab
 aliis, ut ne lex Dei cuiusvis mortalium
 frustra daretur. *Quis gerit*, inquis,
gladium? populus? Immò populus 5
 per Magistratum, quem sive unum
 sive plures ex omni suo numero ele-
 gerit. Neque ullas propterea cōfusio-
 nes, quas metuis, excitari necesse erit,
Si vel pedem, inquis, *figeres*, de regi- 10
 bus actum erit, *ὁδὸς τοῦ στῆσω καὶ*
τῆν γῆν κινήσω. Utinam pedem ipse
 tandem figeres Silene, si Brammalus,
 es. Nam nos locum, ubi stes ebrius,
 dare non possumus, quin ea quæ fixis- 15
 sima sunt & firmissima, tibi in gyrum
 moveri, & cum cerebro tuo semper ma-
 dente circumnatare videantur. *Quis*
te, inquis, *juramento Regi præstito*
liberare potuit? Juramentum ipsum, 20
 quo Regi non propter Regem, sed rei-
 publicæ causâ obstricti fuimus; quam
 cū perditum iret, & suum ipse priùs
 jusjurandum violavit, & nostrum sol- 25
 vit. Nihil enim naturæ, nihil rationi
 aut gentium juri contrarium magis
 esset, quàm si Regi jusjurandū suum
 violare ad libidinē liceret, populus ser-
 vare fidem ad perniciem suā teneretur.
 30 *Ut dicto audientes Mosi fuimus*, 30
ita crimus tibi, modo Deus tecum sit,
quemadmodum fuit cum Mose. Sic
 Reubenitæ ad Jehosua. *Conditionem*
hìc nullam vides expressam. Ad An-
 ticyras ergo naviga aut domi crapu- 35

- lam edormisce; cras, mihi crede, nihil expressius videbis, neque tam stultè interrogabis, *quid si Deus Josuam desereret*, sed quid si Josua Deum desereret: Tum enim quid facturi essent Reubenitæ, tibi respondebimus. *Nutare mihi crede jus Regium videtur.* Hoc de jure regio, prout Salmasius describit, dictum est. Neque est hoc
- 10 *Monarchiam legitimam in Carolo trucidare*, quod tu toties invidiosè & parasiticè vociferaris. Nunc quod minimè es, vatem scilicet & concionatorem piissimum multis deinceps verbis agere cupis; dùmque adulterinū. *Digitum Dei agnoscimus & veneramur punientem ingratum populum.* At populo benè est & prosperè, quem tu nequicquam ingratitudinis accusas; tu potiùs Dei digitum agnosce, te tuosque unà cum omnibus tyranni fautoribus insigniter punientem. *Nondum*, ais, *Hispania & Pontificii velum abduxerunt.* Quid nobis Hispaniā & Pontificios toties immeritò objicis; qui non ignoremus Carolum tuum minorem in Belgio commorantem legatos ad Papam misisse, ut vel ab ipso Antichristo Rex reformatus contra patriam & reformatos auxilium imploraret. *Persecutio*, inquis, *jam in Anglia maxima est, quæ fuerat à tempore quo populus aliquis inhabitabat.* An major
- 35 eā quam Brammalus in Hiberniā nuper excitavit, qui curiam Inquisitionis conscientiis hominum tam infestam & tyrannicam, primus omnium in Hiberniam introduxit. Te verò illum ipsum fuisse sequentia clariùs ostendunt. In hoc enim jam totus es, ut Ecclesiasticā tyrannidē defendas. *Nam quod tanta*, inquis, *jam patimur, hæc est ratio præcipua, quod in aliquibus Anabaptistarum & cæterorum omnium scismaticorum clamoribus viam concedentes, uno dato absurdo sequuntur infinita.* Ipsissimus hic Brammalus ille antiquū obtines, qui reformatis omnibus scismaticorum nomine infamatis omnem conscientię libertatem adimere perpetuò studebas. Nunc illorum importunitati, id est conscientię, etiam nonnulla unquam concessa fuisse graviter doles. *Reges Anglorum judicari posse à suis subditis* Miltonum ais docere, *exemplo pravorum temporum, & jure à sapientibus damnatis chartis obsoletis, & ob multas corruptiones meritò explosis.* Quid isto hominum genere absurdius aut impudentius? quærunt modò quo jure, quā lege factum quidque à nobis sit, si leges non recitamus, contra eas fecisse nos judicant; si leges nostras proferimus antiquas, ratas, atque notissimas, hi statim *obsoletas & meritò explosas* esse aiunt: nec tamen quo tempore explosæ aut abrogatæ fuerint, usquam ostendunt. Ità, dum tyrannidem

sine autoritate asserere cupiunt, & vetera & nova pariter rejiciunt. *Quidni*, inquis, *Uzzias Rex leprosus à Sacerdotibus templo deturbaretur, cum Deus* 5 *lepræ probandæ, & leprosi omnis excludendi potestatem & mandatū sacerdotibus dederat.* At verò idem Deus, lex eadem omnis malefici puniendi potestatem & mandatum magistratibus dederat, neque magis tamen leprosi regis exturbandi, quàm malefici regis puniendi vel hìc vel illìc mentio facta est. Si lepræ judicio regem eximi non vis, quia nominatim non 15 excipitur, eàdem certè ratione neque ullis aliis legibus aut judiciis regem exemeris. Sed video quid agitis, ut regem quamvis vestrâ sententiâ supremum, vobis tamen sacerdotibus subjiciatis, útque rex in populum absoluto atque supremo dominaretur imperio, vos sacrificuli supremo superiores eodem imperio dominaremini in regem. *Consensus*, inquis, *populi &* 20 *inauguratio tantùm adjuncta necessaria fuère.* Hoc in Saule, Davide, ejúsque posteris concedo, de quibus nominatim creandis Dei mandatum præcesserat. Tu idem de Carolo aut 30 ullis ejus majoribus ostende. *Rex*, ais, *nunquam pepigit cùm populo ut illi eum castigarent, si aliter quàm benè regeret.* Quod populus cùm rege pepigit, se illi quicquid collibitum est 35 facienti, in perniciem suam obtempe-

raturus. Neque verò in privato quovis syngrapho, ullus unquã pepigit ut creditoribus liceret, si is debitum non solveret, lege in eum agere, & in carcerem conjicere, ejúsque bona possidere, 5 quoad plenè sibi satisfactum esset. Hæc & istiusmodi quæ accidere nolumus, in pactionibus & fœderibus vel honoris causâ vel boni ominis consultò non exprimimus; quia cùm paciscimur, talia nunquam eventura optamus; quæ etiam sine monitis intelligere per se quisque & cavere debet. Tu hìc tritum illud ingeris; per me reges regnant; fatemur, sicut & per 15 eum sunt, agunt, & moventur omnia: Tu *modo peculiari*, inquis. Tu, inquam de tuo hoc dicis, autoritatem verbi divini nullam affers. Subjicis, *alioqui cui fini illa præcepta obedientiæ in novo Testamento.* Quoties tibi 20 respondebitur, obedientiâ absurdam & irrationabilem in novo Testamento non præcipi; sed qualis ea, & quibus, & quam ob causam præstanda sit, luculentissimè doceri. Qui habet aures, audiat. *Qui repugnant*, inquis *damnabuntur, quod proculdubio nunquam minaretur Apostolus, si privatorum tantum rationem vel paucorum ha-* 30 *buerat.* Quasi verò multi privati sine Magistratu autoritate seditiosi esse non possint; quid hoc ad populum cùm Magistratibus & Parlamento contra tyrannos arma sumentem? *Hoc* 35

honore Deus dilectos suos decoravit, ut Gentium Reges vinculis coërcerent, &c. Id fieri dicis Evangelicis non legalibus catenis. Insuper prorsus. An vindicta ergo sic exercetur in gentes? An ferreæ compedes Evangelii vincula sunt? quas Psalmus ille regibus & proceribus minatur. Tu hoc, ut soles, de Sacerdotibus, non de bonis Magistratibus & populo intelligi vis, qui pontificale quoddam regnum tuorum in omnes laicos futurum somnias. *Israëlita*, inquis, *quia regem rejecere, à Salmansore in Captivitatem sunt abducti. Judæi, qui regi Rehoboamo fideles manserant, sub illius tutela securi vivebant.* Historiâ sacræ Scripturæ si consulisses, non nescires Hierosolymas sub ipso statim Rehoboamo à Sesako Ægyptiorum rege captas, & Thesauris suis spoliatas, longè prius quàm Israëlita in captivitatem abducerentur. *Jeroboamo Deus decem tribus assignavit, quod de vestra repub. nobis non constat.* Tam nobis, inquam, de nostra repub. quàm vobis de vestro Carolo: Immo longè plùs. *Vestros, inquis, Capnomantes & Entheos pro Dei vatibus non recipimus.* Neque nos te præsertim à leatorem, Ebriosum & Scortatorem Episcopū: cujus vaticinia hoc capite solæcorum floribus ornatissima in gratiam tui studiosorum, nequid tam emuncti auctoris desideraretur, huc in fine con-

gessimus. *Aristocratia nonnunquam cachistocratia dicenda.* Tàm Orthographicè hoc abs te quàm Etymologicè est dictum, siquidem duo contraria simul vera esse possunt. *Spes nulla restat ut in pristinam felicitatem restituemur. Nec dubitamus quin plus apud Deum valebunt miseriæ nostræ. Regibus potius mandasset Apostolus populo obedire ne solio suo dejicerentur. Non dicimus quin Reges tenentur. Velut defessi reformatæ Religionis; In aliquibus illis viam concedentes, uno dato absurdo sequuntur infinita, &c.*

CAP. III.

DUOBUS capitibus à tergo relictis. Etiámne à fuga incipis, tergiversator? At nos non tergum, sed frontem, sed nomen etiam tuum fronti inscriptum maluimus. Manedum igitur, obverte faciem illam insignem Brammaleam, non ferri sed vini vulneribus sauciam, gemmulis cæruleis, rubeolis, purpureis & purulentissimis bullatam atque distinctam; nam quibus te quisquam telis, nisi si raphanis fugientem insequatur mœchū, nescio. Sed fortasse more Parthico fugiens soles tela conjicere: Conjice ergo. *Qui populo, inquis, potestatem gladii ascribit, populum impunem relinquere necesse habet; enim populū puniret leges transgredientem.* Fateor, siquidem

- universus peccat, nam universum punire populum, ne Rex quidem aut solet aut potest. Non magis ergò necesse est populum impunem relinquere, si
 5 populus, quàm si Rex potestatem gladii solus habeat; cùm in statu populari pœnis æquè obnoxius quisque sit atque in Monarchiâ. *Liturgiam profligavimus.* Missale scilicet Papisticū,
 10 paucis admodum mutatis, ex Latino duntaxat Anglicè editum, unà cum Episcopis qui tam fraudulenter eam & Papisticè concinnârunt, quid nî profligaremus? nam & aliam, ut fateris
 15 ipse, substituímus, magis videlicet Orthodoxam, & verbo Dei consentaneam, ut, qui requirit, habeat, si necesse est, quâ salubriter possit uti. *Subjecti estote propter dominum, quamobrem?*
 20 *quia constituitur potestas à Deo ad ultionem facinorosorū, &c.* At Rex, cui subjecti esse jubentur, erat Nero vel Claudius. Generalem doctrinam de Magistratu, quis sit aut esse debeat,
 25 tradit Apostolus, déque obedientia, quare Magistratui præstanda sit, quod tibi satis sit. Nero an Claudius regnaverit, nihil refert; desine tandem nugis istis nos obtundere. *Judæorum,*
 30 *inquis, caeremoniis & lege judiciaria liberamur.* Incassum igitur tu tantopere laboras, ut nos regii apud illos imperii exemplo in servitum regibus addicas. *Utcunque, inquis, de Dei*
 35 *instinctu gloriamini, ad tribunal divi num sistendi, respondebitis, &c.* Quid alii tunc responsuri sint, ne sit tibi curæ. Tu, quid de alea, de scortis, de ebritate Episcopali respondebit Brammalus, ipse cogita. Potestates non legi- 5
 titimas, sed quasunque intelligi, aïs, ab Apostolo, quia Deus præfecit Saullem & cæteros malos Reges Judæis. At verò Paulus de potestate loquitur, quam & summè legitimam describit; 10
 non loquitur de viro, qui, à Deo licet electus, si postea nequissimus evadit, & potestatem exercet longè aliam, atque à Deo accepit, & cui duntaxat nos illic obedire jubemur, id sibi, non Deo 15
 imputandum erit. *Verisimilius, inquis, quòd Anglia Carolo filio debellandi, tandem in crepitum putidissimum & ridiculum erupturi sint.* Vidésne jam ut Deus, omnium rerum 20
 arbiter, omen hoc tuum, ventriloque, in te tuosque avertit? Vidésne ut ipse tuus Carolus in crepitum evanuit, immò ipse crepitus fieri putidissimus optaret, dummodo ex hostium manibus 25
 hoc pacto elabi queat. *Supponemus, inquis, tuam rempub. in tyrannidem degenerare, non teneris obedire illorum potestati?* Concede tu priùs, si Rex in tyrannum degeneraret, non 30
 teneri te Regi obedire; tum nos satis maturè tibi de republica respondebimus. *Potuit, inquis, Apostolus dixisse bonos Magistratus.* At verò ità dixisse, ex descriptione Magistratûs quam ibi 35

posuit apertè liquet. *Sed nullo*, inquis, *argumento fortiùs evincitur regis potestas, quàm quod Apostoli mandant nullis conditionibus limitatam.* At rursus inquam, ipsa potestatis descriptio, quæ copiosissima ibi est, conditiones sapienti abundè suppeditat. *Rex*, inquis, *à Deo missus quantumvis malus ferendus, cætera mala in pœnam veniunt.* Quasi verò Rex etiam malus in pœnam non veniret, quod tibi toties in ore est, *remediis* idcirco vel tuo iudicio *auferendus.* *Multum*, inquis, *Milto debent Orthodoxi, quòd tam*
 15 *ridiculam opinionem iis assignaret, populum scilicet universum Regi ignavissimo esse parem.* Magno sanè acumine mendaciù hoc vibras; sed parum inde lucraris. Miltonus enim populum
 20 non solum parem Regi, sed superiorem semper affirmavit. Hoc loco sententiã suam non profert, Salmasium tantummodo perstringit, quod ex Sorbonistarum scriptis populum Regi vel
 25 parem esse negaverit, quem superiorè dixisse oportuerit. Verù ità miserè cæcutire soles, ut in Salmasium pro Milto impetum sæpiusculè facias. Hæc præter ineptias densissimas, quas infra
 30 omne responsum esse iudico, confutationum tuarum in hoc capite summa est; unde otium nobis hic etiam tam pingue accidit, ut rursus vacet elegantias hominis nitidissimas gleba Solorum ubere natas ad ornandas Solæ-

corum porticus & spatia decerpere. *Tuba sonitum incertum edit, ut nemo se ad colendum Deum præparare potest. Non dubitamus quin multi Religionem Christianam amplexi sunt.* 5
Tanquam nulla erat malorum principum potestas. Non quin Deus omnia ità disposuit. Si enim ad populum provocandum (ut vos primò fecistis ut omnia confundaretis) nemo per diem 10
integrum imperare poterat. Omnes patres nullius æstimat. Sed utinam tam humaniter cùm Carolo agere voluistis. Populum contra Regem defendere suscipis. Et alia hujusmodi. 15

CAP. IV.

IN præcedentibus Miltonus Leo rugiens, qui Regis omnes devoraret, hic Draco occultè insidians, & vulpeculam agit, nam quo lapidem non potest, vota jactat. Aut insanit hic homo, 20
 aut versus facit, novas chimæras, novas metamorphoseis fingit sibi lymphatus. Certè Miltonus si Leo rugiens vobis est visus, facitis haud absurdè, ut id sponte fateamini. Te contrà Asi- 25
 num rudentè prima voce agnovimus, tèque risu perinde & fustibus excipimus. *Semper*, inquis, *populum in adjutorium vocat Priapus in horto.* Quod Priapus in horto, id Brammalus in Sacello. Verissimum hoc esse tota ferè Hibernia non ignorat. *Quos Populus,* inquis, *creat, si nulla Dei ratio habea-*

tur, potius obedientiam ab iis postulare, quàm illis præberet. Præter illa quæ prius respondi, qualem requirat obedientiam Apostolus, scias insuper,
 5 Apostolos non toti Romano Senatui & Consulibus, neque magno ullius gentis Concilio, aut ullius Regni Ordinibus conventus legitimos peragentibus obedientiam præcepisse, sed pri-
 10 vatis & singulis. Rex verò, ut nosti, singulis quidem major, universis verò minor est. Beneficia deinde Caroli in Populum enumeras, quæ nulla unquam extitere, sed damna potius & de-
 15 trimenta, & summa planè dedecora. *Unctum Domini, inquis, vel Christum Domini si dicas Christianum non tam interest.* Atqui Salmasius Saulem Christum Domini nuncupaverat. Tibi ut videtur, Saul non solum
 20 inter prophetas sed inter Christianos est. Dicitur autem, 1 Reg. 11. Salomon obdormivit, & Rehoboamus regnavit loco ejus. Et hoc, inquis, dicitur,
 25 *antequam Populus Sechem venit ut illum Regem facerent.* Hoc verò non aliter dictum fuisse, quàm ut Historiæ series manifestior esset, ex primo sequentis capitis versu apparet. Populus
 30 enim Sechemum venit, ut Rehoboamum Regem constituèrent, vel regnare facerent; ut est Hebraicè; ergò antea certè aut non regnavit, aut in Judæa tantum. *Populum, inquis, per*
 35 *incendarios fuisse incitatum, videlicet*

Jeroboamum & Comites suos. At verò Jeroboamus non populū, sed Populus illū incitavit. Jeroboamus enim, audita Salomonis morte, adhuc in
 5 Ægypto morabatur. Sed Israëlitz mittentes accersiverunt eum, 1 Reg. 12. Miraris *impudentiam* ejus qui affirmaret, *non vocari rebelles qui in Roboamum arma sumpserunt.* Tuam potius non impudentiam solū, sed
 10 impietatem demiror, qui eos rebelles appellare ausus sis, quos Deus eo ipso loco fratres sui populi nominavit. At instas, ibidem etiam dictum esse, *sic rebellavit domus Israël à domo David.* 15
 At verò verbum hic *rebellavit* mitiùs intelligi pro quacunque defectione, neque in malum sensum rapi debet. Propterea vertunt alii *defecit*, non *rebellavit*; cujus enim defectionis au-
 20 thorē se Deus ipse profitetur, scriptura malam & illicitam proculdubiò non dicit. Sic Ezechia verbo non minus duro rebellasse in Regē Assyriæ dicitur; quod tamen ejus factum Deus 25
 etiam auxilio cælitus misso approbavit. Deus Israëlitis Regem petentibus graviter iratus est, quamvis regis petendi, si vellent, ex lege Mosis jus habuerint. Tu, *num irascitur Deus,* 30
 inquis, *Populo petenti quod ad illos jure pertinet.* Id, inquam, faciliè potest fieri; nihil enim obstat quo minus id ad populū jure pertineret, & tamen irasci Deus illis meritiò potuit, quòd 35

cùm in eo quod optimum erat acquie-
visse penes ipsos esset, deterius quod
erat anteponebant. Affirmas *Deum*
graviore pœna puniisse rebelles Israël-
5 *litas*, quippe *veram sui cognitionem*
ab iis abstulisse. At ubi id unquam
legisti, Nugator, Israëlitas illam de-
fectionem Idololatria fuisse, cùm Deus
ipse Jeroboamo mox rebellaturo bona
10 omnia pollicitus sit, seque illi Israël-
litas traditurum esse, si ejus preceptis
ascultasset, 1 Reg. 11. Sed Orthodoxi,
inquis, *semper cùm Carolo fuere, nam*
quicquid moribus peccant nonnulli,
15 *inopia coacti, Religionem tamen re-*
formatam non deseruerunt. Num ve-
rò vestros Orthodoxos, cùm Rege suo,
inopia coëgit gentes vicinas ebrio ag-
mine, blasphemio, libidinosissimo ac
20 ferocissimo oberrare, omnique impie-
tatis genere omnes Anglos, tanquam
sui similes, infames reddere? *Nobis-*
cum tua sententia vitulæ aureæ; vo-
biscum mensa dominica, oratio domi-
25 *nica, symbolum Apostolorum, decem*
mandata. Atqui ea ipsa sacra quæ
apud vos solos esse inaniter jactas,
vobis, pro more vestro superstitiosè
& hypocriticè abutentibus, nihil aliud
30 profectò quàm vitulæ aureæ sunt.
Deum, inquis, *sibi contrarium statui-*
mus. Quidni? An quòd Argumentū
Salmasii nihil valere ostendit Milto-
nus, idcircone Deum sibi contrariū
35 statuit. Dixerat Salmasius, omnes Re-

ges esse à Deo; Miltonus non omnes
Reges, sed omnes regendi formas,
salutis causâ adhibitæ, cujus etiam
causâ populi conventus, comitia, &
consilia habentur. Ergo vel ipsius ar-
5 gumento non magis Regi licet resi-
stere populo propter Rempub. convo-
cato, quàm populo licet resistere Regi
à Deo ordinato, quandoquidē & po-
puli conventus legitimi à Deo quoque
10 sunt ut Sechemi olim contra Roboamū
fuisse testificatur ipse Deus. *Utrum*,
inquis, *ille tyrannus, qui viginti tri-*
bus annis regnans, neminem pro sua
voluntate mori coëgit; An vos qui in-
15 *ter decem annos Regem ipsū* & *plus*
quàm quingentos mille hominum tru-
cidastis. Quid ais, mille quingentos?
numerus sanè perexiguus narras;
neque ullus unquam, credo, minori
20 jacturâ bellū tam sævum confecit. Pro-
fectò si tam scires latinè quàm sis
malitiosè loqui, non quingentos mille,
sed quingenta millia, opinor te dicere
voluisse. Quis verò Carolo pejor ty-
25 rannus, quis pœnâ dignior, qui per
tria regna plus decies centena homi-
num millia partim Lanienâ illa hiber-
nica, partim bello iniquissimo occidit.
Negas quod superiore argumento dic-
30 tum est, regem non debere populo
resistere: negas populum quicquam
posse in Regem, quia populus, *infer-*
rior est, Rex superior. At meminere
Regem naturâ superiorem non esse, 35

sed consensu tantum & suffragiis populi ad eam esse dignitatem evectum, publicæ salutis causâ; quo ab officio si planè desciverit, superior esse desinit;
 5 quia cur esset superior causa nulla amplius est. Cùm munus Regiū perperâ administraverat, ob quod mundumtaxat, cùm unus è multis primò fuërit, factus omnium supremus est.
 10 Ad id quod dixerat Miltonus, Non quod Deus jussit tyrannum interimi, ideo bonum erat, sed quod bonum erat, idcirco Deus jussit, tu respondes, *Cujus contrarium verum est. Nam*
 15 *quicquid Deus jubet, bonum est, & ideo bonum, quodd Deus jubet.* Doctum verò neminem hoc latet, Bonum in positivum & morale divisum esse. Positivum est, quod antè indifferens, bonum tunc incipit esse, cùm a Deo ju-
 20 betur. Morale verò bonum, æternum & immutabile manet, sive Deus jusserit, sive non jusserit; bonum hujusmodi est tyrannum perimi: ad quod
 25 facinus præclarum ducem illum Jehu, tum fortè nihil tale cogitantem, præ cæteris incitavit. Quod autem ais, *bonitatem à divina voluntate pendere,* erras, ut cætera; bonitas enim non mi-
 30 nùs de essentia Dei est, quàm ipsa Dei voluntas. Verùm de his nimis multa cùm stolido & idiota. Percurramus in hoc capite quicquid argumenti vim ulla in se habere videatur, ut bonis
 35 viris & intelligentibus quàm maxime

satisfiat: cæteris ejus ineptiis & nugamentis qui movetur, eum neque moramur, neque retinemus quo minùs in castra adversarii nostri tam deserti
 5 atque eruditi transire possit; his etiam floribus, sapientiæ & judicii ejus causâ, coronatus, quos Hortorum Solensium custos iste ficulneus suorum fautorum capiti nectendos largiter paravit. Ol-
 10 faciant modò priùs quàm suave olent. *Nil tam horrendum excogitari possit quin laudabile fiet. Populi conventus, comitia, plebiscites pariter à Deo. Non dicimus quin tyrannus impedire debet. Tu ad Antipodas ablegandus,*
 15 *Londini Constantinopolim. Coronam ad se jure pertinentem poposcivisse. Passamarem, miramur hyænam. Quos tamen rectius sentiisse judicas, cum multis aliis.* 20

CAP. V.

OMISSIS quæ initio hujus capituli trita jam & toties refutata stupidissimè regeris, venio nunc ad id, in quo levitatis arguis qui dixerit, jus
 5 successionis naturâ nullum esse, eò quòd *lex Dei primogenituræ legem tulit;* cùm divina autem lege consentire legem naturæ dictum est. Tuum verò erat, non nescivisse, quantum inter se differant successio in regnum, &
 30 successio in patrimonium: principio enim regnorū, regnandi successio non filio sed dignissimo cuique semper

delata est; mox regum usurpatio, non populi consensus filios regum dignioribus prætulit. Hoc etiam turpe & servile est, libera hominum capita inter
 5 possessiones numerare, qui profectò dum liberi sunt hæreditate nemini obvenire possunt. Túque jus hæreditarium, quicquid garris, ex lege Dei nunquam ostenderis. Nam quod soli
 10 testatur Deus Davidi ejusque posteris dedisse se, id universis accommodari regnis aut regibus nullo jure potest. *Jus, inquis, successionis pacem & concordiam inter homines nutrit; est*
 15 *maxime naturale, ne continuis litibus mundus flagraret.* Historias ergo omnium gentium percurrere; invenies in Monarchiâ discordias tetriores, bella sæviora, idque sæpiùs accidisse, quàm
 20 in Rebusp. Haud rarò ipsi regum filii de summa rerum inter se bello acerrimo, mutuâque cæde contendunt. Unde apud Turcas, ubi jus successionis absolutissimum est, nihil ad pacem publicam magis cōducere putatur, quàm filio natu maximo regnū
 25 incunte, cæteros fratres interfici. Nonnunquam de successionis jure manifestò non constat, hinc etiam bella sævissima & maxime diuturna, quarum sub Regno calamitatum nostra imprimis Anglia testis esse potest. Ità neque Monarchia per se neque Respub. concordiz parens est; sed moderatus ubi
 30 que civium animus & ambitione va-

cuus. Sed summa autoritas *uni contigit ordinis servandi gratiâ.* At si tyranno, pessimus ille ordo qui omnem ordinem, jura omnia divina & humana pervertit. *Christus, inquis, suos deputatos & vicegerentes in terris Reges posuit.* Fatemur, si bonos. Tyranni autem quo possunt modo Christi vicem gerere? Interea non nos *contumaciâ,* quod aïs, sed tu impietatis tuæ Christum vindicem expecta. Qui regnum Christi in terris violentum & tyrannicum blasphemus audes existimare. Vicarius enim, non Christi, qui ejus exemplum non imitatur, sed diaboli est.
 15 Quod regem deinde confers cum patre familias, satis clarè ostensum est à Miltono, jus patris diversissimum esse, & longè antiquius. Cùm autem non solum Reges mali, sed mala omnia *in*
 20 *scelerum pœnam, vel ad probandam patientiam nostram à Deo data sint;* eaque omnia justis remediis ab hominibus summa cùm prudentiæ laude amoveri & possint & debeant, solos
 25 Reges vel pœnæ causâ, vel patientiæ ferre, & turpe & ridiculum & extremæ esset insanix. *Sed variis morbis laborantibus Rex manus imposuit & sanavit; Angelum aureum cuilibet ægroto*
 30 *dedit.* Sive sanavit, sive excantavit nihil nunc refert; medendi enim dono nunc infideles, ut Vespasianus olim, sæpiùs hypocritæ præditi fuere. Illum angelum aureum, quem singulis ægro- 35

tis dedit, non illum fuisse, qui Bethes-
dæ aquas commovit; nec sanandi vim
ullam habuisse, sat scio; quo te aureo
scilicet angelo sic opinor stupere, ut
5 ante te Salmasius cœlum illud Caroli
aureum & sericum obstupuit, neque
hoc cœlo quicquam altius cernere uter-
que videmini, aut de eo quicquā sub-
limius cogitare, quàm aureum esse.
10 *Florentissima*, inquis, *Romanorum*
respub. exactis regibus, nunquam sub-
sistere potuit donec in Monarchiam
redintegrata fuerit. Quod contra om-
niū Historiarū fidem planè est; quæ
15 testantur omnes, Romanā Rempub.
sub Consulibus & Senatūs auctoritate
ad illam magnitudinem crevisse: sub
imperatorum verò luxuria, tyrannide,
atque inertia statim consenuisse, Im-
20 periorūque simul & gloriam belli at-
que justitiæ in illa libera civitate olim
partam sub imperatoribus citò ami-
sisse. *Sed quod Anglia*, inquis, *nimio*
luxu & libertate perditā fuit, non
25 *Caroli tyrannidi, sed vestræ nequitiae*
attribuendum est. Immo aulæ fœdis-
simæ, regisque voluptarii atque igna-
vissimi exemplo rectè attribuimus, ad
cujus vitæ rationem quamplurimi sese
30 composuere. Jam Regem defendis, qui
Ducem Buckinghamiæ beneficii sus-
pectum *legibus eripuit; quasi*, inquis,
hoc regibus crimini daretur, quod om-
nibus natura concedit, ut suos fami-
35 *liares amarent.* Itâne Carnifex? satis-

ne regem excusari putas, quod fami-
liarem illum & amicissimum habuerit,
qui patris ejus veneno sublato à supre-
mo Regni Concilio postulatus esset?
At quid poteris in Regem atrocius 5
dixisse. *Sed credibile non fuit Ducem*
Buckinghamiæ Jacobo insidias struere
velle, qui illum in tantam potestatem
evexit. Quin immò satis notum est,
mores Buckinghamii Jacobo tandem 10
graviter displicuisse, unde is magnum
malum sibi metuens, duas maximè res
deinceps agere instituit, ut & patri ne-
cem struerit, & filio os sublineret, ejus-
que gratiam omni studio captaret; 15
quod sanè, objectis juveni mollissimo
voluptatum omnium illecebris, statim
perfectit. Reprehendis, quòd Carolus
Neroni collatus sit. *Nam*, inquis, *Me-*
tropolim vestram non diripuit, scilicet 20
quia non potuit; At qui nunc Scotis,
nunc sicariis suis, morem sibi modò
gererent, haud semel diripiendam ob-
tulit. Restat ut rosarum hujus Solen-
sium fasciculum in fine exhiberem; 25
& possem quidem ubertim, sed cum
viam jam toties digito monstraverim,
ubi germinant, ubi crescunt, jucun-
dius fortasse cuique erit proprio un-
gue decerpere. 30

CAP. VI.

REGUM & bonorum omnium hoste
prostrato (suis telis in faciem suam
resilientibus) recurrere coactus est ad

- elumbes aliquot argutias, & trita argumenta.* Prostrato hoste, quis sodes est coactus, egregie solæcista? nomen enim licet attuleris nullum, cognomen
- 5 certe hoc apud omnes in posterū reportabis. Ain' verò *suis telis in faciem resilientibus?* Si sua sponte, Dedalæa profectò narras, aut Vulcania quædā nova automata? An verò, te retor-
- 10 quente, resiliunt tela illa? Téne ergo illum prostravisse hostē, asine, cujus argumentum vel levissimum omni mole concutere, aut movere loco non vales? Exultantem Asinū in Apologo
- 15 herus verberibus malè multavit, quid triumphante hoc Asino faciamus; præsertim qui neque purpuram indutus, neque pellem leoninam, sed propria palam scabritie notus, rictu isto Asinino, istoque miserrimo clangore, at-
- 20 que ridiculo triumphum canere audeat. *Omnes, inquis, in suis regnis Monarchæ absoluti παρβασιλείαν exercent, quod & Galli de suo Rege*
- 25 *multum gloriantur.* Ad scriptores Gallos si recurrisses, Girardum, Hottomannum, Sesellium, plurimósque alios, nunquam id affirmares. Galli liberos se, & verè Francos passim glo-
- 30 riantur: ab omni memoria penes se fuisse, Regum salutis omnium causā, vel eligere vel abjicere. Hac ratione Pipino, necnon post eum aliis imperium Galliæ delatum: quod vulgo
- 35 notum est. Hac etiam ætate cum mul-
- tæ civitates, tum etiam Burdegalenses idem sentire sese factis ostenderunt, dum vi & armis vel sui Regis vel ejus præsidum *παρβασιλείαν* & tyranidem strenuè propulsant. *Si cui Deus vult,* 5
- inquis, *populus Regnum tradit, jam dic aliquid de tribus capellis, unde tot quæstiones & lites?* Unde nisi à te, tuisque similibus, qui id perpetuò contenditis, ut Regnum iis tradatur, qui-
- 10 bus populus non vult, ac proinde nec Deus. Deus enim, si cui Regnum vellet, facile perficeret, ut Regnum illi traderet populus. Jam tu dic aliquid de tribus capellis. *Quantumvis,* 15
- inquis, *nummi nobis desint, nunquam tamen deerunt parati ad tuendam veritatem.* Nummi quidem vobis & meritò desunt, & tamen longè major apud vos virtutis, honestatis, 20
- sapientiæ, pudoris penuria est, quàm nummorum. Id quod mores vestri perditissimi exteris jam passim graves & odiosi testantur. Deesse autem non
- magis nummos quàm ad causā vestram tuendam paratos, argumento ipse maximo es, qui homo indoctissimus cum sis & inertissimus, primus om-
- nium & adhuc ferè solus, ad hoc te munus accinxeris. Dixerat Salmasius, 30
- quamvis id falsò, *Regiminis Anglorum formam non popularem sed militarem esse.* Tu hoc Miltonum concedere coactus esse dicis: *nec tamen ab Aristotele talem regiminis formam re-* 35

censitam usquam meministi. Vel hinc constat te neque Miltonum attentè satis, neque Aristotelem omnino forsàn legisse. Apud Miltonum enim concessionem illam nusquam invenies. Apud Aristotelem *στρατηγῶν ἀδίδου*, id est *ducis perpetui*, qui in quibusdam civitatibus summæ rerum præficeretur, mentionem sæpe factam esse meminisses. Jam de *diabolo porcos tondente* stolidè nugaris, *ubi ingens clamor, sed nulla lana*; parciùs itaque diabolus porcos suos tondebat, quàm Brammalus oves Hibernicas deglubere consuevit; à quibus & lanam & pellem multo cum clamore populi de- trahere solebat. *Scoti*, inquis, *inaudito ostracismo Montisrossanum interfecere.* Inauditus ille quidem ostracismus qui patibulo homines affigit. Nam vel sciolos non fugit ostracismus non mortis, sed relegationis genus fuisse. *Reges*, inquis, *sub potestate populi collocatos pejori conditione nobis representas, quàm ex populo universo perditissimos.* At vel ista conditione noli metuere ne qui Reges in posterū esse velint; utcunque enim non deerunt Reges. Cætera hujus capitis, quæ seria, quæ ludicra, insulsa adeo & inficeta sunt, ut quamvis nihil mihi tribuā, quod non admodum exiguū sit, pœniteat tamen nonnunquam & penè suppedeat, cum adversario tam nihili manus conseruisse. Postre-

mo casus sui Regis graves sanè & Tragicos ad Comœdiam redigit. *Jovem* adulterum, *Amphitryonem* maritū *Mercurium* & *Sosiam* servos, *super mundi Theatrum* agit. Nil possum rectiùs facere quàm ut istiusmodi fraces præteream: nam in hominem tam stultum & nullius pretii quicquid aut seriò dixeris aut joco, & operam perdidideris & salem. Præstat tamen hunc vel incassum defricare, quàm responsione licèt indignum, nostro tamen silentio tumentem & jactabundum dimittere.

CAP. VII.

HACTENUS opusculi tui futilissimi dimidium percurrimus, & quamquam te plùs satis indoctum, insipidum, solæcum, arrogantem, & languidum jamdudum invenimus, tamen quò longiùs procedimus, eò inanius, eoque jejuniùs semper occurris, & præter adagia quædam & disticha vulgata, quæ memoriter, credo, elementarius puer didiceras, quæque ne negent fortè Lectores vel semidoctulum te esse, per fas & nefas inserere laboras, cæteram omnem Argumentorum, sensûs, latinitatís perpusillam annonam exhausisse videris. Nihil est igitur in hoc capite quod agam, quàm ut captiunculas quasdā tuas, & gryphos dissolvam, quibus dum adversarium capere te existimas, teipsum capi

ostendam. Dixerat Miltonus jure naturali Regem quemque bonum Senatum vel Populum habere sibi semper & parem & superiorem. Ad hæc tu,
 5 *quis unquam*, inquis, *italia δούτατα* *audivit? Si par est, non est superior: si superior, non par.* Quis plumbeo potuit gladio quicquā acutiús? At nescin' quid Lælius ille sapiens apud
 10 Ciceronem? Maximum est in amicitia superiorem parem esse inferiori. Quin hîc quoque vociferare, *quis unquam* *italia δούτατα* *audivit?* Disputatum est à multis, sitne par Regi Populus
 15 vel Senatus. Infit Miltonus, utrumlibet Regi & parem esse & superiorem. Cur ista negas posse consistere? Certè si juxta regulam, omne majus in se continet minus, superior qui est, nihil
 20 obstiterit, quò minùs idem par sit. Jam eccum tibi *nodum hunc sine Oedipo solutum*, Dave. Nunc ad secundam hominis tendiculam venio. *Si Davidi privato non licuit Saulem tyrannum*
 25 *interficere, quomodo jam unicuique concedis, si viribus plus valet.* Sumis quæ nemo est largitus, tyrannum fuisse Saulem. Non enim qui facta quædam tyrannica in unum atque alterum
 30 per iram aut libidinem perpetrat, is statim est tyrannus; ut nec injustus, qui injusta quædam. Sed qui Consilio, instituto, viribus, dolis hoc solum studet atque molitur, ut potentiam legibus majorem sibi arripiat,

jus omne populi & libertatem subvertat, vindicare se conantibus vim atque bellum inferat, is verè atque propriè tyrannus est; quo in genere nullus
 5 unquam Carolo pejor fuit. Qui igitur Davidem privatas adversum se Regis injurias ulcisci noluisse dixit, potuit idem nihil sibi repugnans dicere, tyrannum interficere cuius licere qui
 10 viribus plus valeat. Dixerat Miltonus ad servitutem natas istas nationes quæ talem dominum agnoscant, cui se sine assensu suo hæreditate obvenisse credant. *Ergo*, inquis, *tu ad servitutem* *natus qui Carolum hæreditarium multos* *annos agnoscebas, aut cum multis* *aliis dissimulabas.* Hanc tu sententiã detruncas, ejus loco subdititia ponis, *quæ Regem hæreditarium agnoscunt.* Parlamenta autem Angliæ, præterito
 20 sæpè hæreditatis obtentu, Diadema, cui visum est, suis liberis suffragiis, imponere consueverunt; quod multis exemplis demonstrari potest. Non ergò Angli ad servitutem nati, quod tu
 25 nequiter probare niteris, Verna Canopi. Quartum hoc est, in quo adversarium cepisse te somnias. Ob eam causam affirmaverat ille, homines in unum primò convenisse, non ut unus
 30 omnes insultaret, sed ut quocunque alterum lædente, ne lex deesset neve judex inter homines, quo læsus defendatur, aut vindicetur. Ad hæc tu. *Nemo*, inquis, *à te plus petiit quàm*

tu per lucida intervalla tua sponte concedis. Lucidum certè intervallum vel ad punctum temporis contigisse unquam tibi vix reor, ità semper fal-
 5 leris. Quæ enim petis, non regibus solùm sed Magistratibus omnibus concessimus; quorum nihil est quod in tyrannum convenire possit. Legem enim primo constituimus, deinde ju-
 10 dicem ex lege rectum & incorruptum. Horum quodcunque petis & impetra-
 veris, tuam causam minimè juvabit.

CAP. VIII.

Q UON superiùs prædixi fore, ut post tritas argutias quasdam potiùs
 15 quàm argumenta & aulicorum velitationes toties profligatas, ad summam inopiã homuncio iste redigeretur, neque reliquam ei quicquam fore præter maledicta & rabiem, id hoc capite manifestiùs liquet. Et sanè ad priora
 20 illa quæ attulit, quanquam primo statim conspectu sensùs & ingenii inanissima ubique apparuere vestigia, tamen quia quandam rationis & argu-
 25 menti speciem præ se ferebant, utcunque paucis respondimus. In hoc autem capite cùm Miltonus antiquas Anglorù leges ac monumenta regiæ causæ passim tàm adversa diligentis-
 30 simè protulisset; iste econtrà, cum neque doctrinam, neque antiquitatem, neque acumen, neque authoritatem

ullam, quã suam tueatur causam, afferre possit, hoc tantùm habet quod respondeat, miserè balbutiens jura illa nostra notissima, vetustissima, & maximè rata, *absoleta jam & tinea comesta esse.* Verùm non tam dubito
 5 quin omnes docti & intelligentes viri huic fatuanti non responderi oportere judicent, quàm vereor ne reprehendant, si insanienti & rabioso operam
 10 dederò. Qui verò hujus mendaciis & maledicentiã à veritate abduci se patiuntur, eos profectò tam parvi pendimus, ut quamcunque ad partem accesserint, sùsque deque nobis sit; im-
 15 mò contra nos isto animo quàm nobiscum stare malumus.

CAP. IX.

H UIC etiam Capiti prioris haud absimili responsù prorsus idem
 20 conveniet. Nam qui contra legem Dei & naturæ dilucidè explicatam, contra rationes evidentissimas, jurâque gentium plurimarum, tum nostræ etiam firmissima, contra testimonia denique
 25 optimorum virorù uberrima nihil præter commenta tantùm sua, atque deliria opponere, aut in medium proferre potest, ejus profectò ita disputantis rationem ullam siquis habuerit, certè non doctus, non disertus, non
 30 diligens, non acutus, sed malè feriatus duntaxat meritò videatur. Quod au-

tem nos impudentissimè accusare non dubitat, quasi Papæ auctoritatem in Angliam reducere meditemur, à quo & dictis & factis abhorruisse semper
 5 nos tam palàm omnibus existit, id sanè & ridendum maximè est, tum etiam ostendit quantâ cæteroqui cum malitia, quàm nulla cum fide in accusandis nobis versetur, qui crimen
 10 omnium iudicio à nobis alienissimum, cunctis absolventibus, imputare atque affigere non vereatur.

AD CAP. X.XI.

DE duobus quæ sequuntur capitibus, idem quod de præcedentibus
 15 duobus dicendum est. Tenuissimus modò & inanissimus qui fuit, nunc est planè nullus, aut siquid nihilo minus est: hujus igitur inanitati respondere si vellem, responderem certè ne-
 20 mini: quidni igitur conticescam?

CAP. XII.

JAM ad metam enervis & languidus properans solæcista, tamen ut ultimo conatu erigere se paululum videatur, ad priorem verborum sine rebus
 25 prolixitatem & tedium redit. Quare nequis nos propter virium aut rationis defectum priora capita tanta brevitate percurrisse existimet, aut per ignaviam quicquam remisisse, quæ alicu-

jus modo momenti videantur, non sum arbitratus prætereunda esse, *Parlamentum*, inquis, *perpetuum est instar nullius Parlamenti; hoc enim est funditus parlamentum tollere*. Ec- 5 quem tu jam nisi Carolum ipsum criminaris? Qui ipse Parlamentum hoc perpetuū esse jussit, & facto gloriatus, inter ea quæ vocare acta gratiæ solebat, sæpissimè recensuit, non ut 10 populum beneficio aliquo afficeret, sed arte quadam tyrannica dum perpetuum esse juberet, ut quod ex temetipso jam accipimus, funditus tolleretur. Cùm autem *catharticum remedium* 15 *sit*, quemadmodum ais, tolli certè aut dissolvi non debet; donec morbi, quorum remedium est, tollantur, & libertati sua firmitas bonæque valetudo redeat. Siquid nos Carolum peccasse 20 dicimus; tu verbis totidem, velut amœbæ canens lyurgica, paria commisisse Parlamentū accusas, deque Carolo nihil non verū esse concedis, dummodo idem de Parlamento occi- 25 nere tibi liceat: verū hoc non est Carolum purgare, aut noxâ eximere, quò minùs meritas pœnas dederit. *Sed antequam Parlamentum hoc incæpit, nè verbum*, inquis, *vel minima* 30 *scintilla de Caroli scilicet malefactis eluxit*. At verò populi clamores, gemitus & suspiria, partim propter gravissimas tributorum exactiones, partim propter Episcoporū persecutiones, tam 35

acerbas, ut multi patriam deserere co-
gerentur, Regia item consilia, edicta,
facta, ab ipsis Regni ejus initiis, & Par-
lamentorum omniū quæ convocavit
5 intempestiva semper & infensa disso-
lutio rem longè aliter se habere decla-
rant; aded ut hac de causa populus,
sive prudentiæ Regis, sive voluntati
diffusus, unicam sibi in Parlamento
10 spem, præsidium, refugium, salutem
reliquam esse palàm testaretur; unde
Rex irâ & livore prorsus tyrannico ex-
ardescens, ut populi gemitus per vim
etiam cōprimeret, crudelissimo edicto
15 sanxit, nequis Parlamenti convocandi
mentionem faceret, donec tandem me-
tu populi ob hæc minime quiescentis
Parlamentum invitissimus convoca-
ret. Multa, inquis, à vobis fingi quis
20 non credet ut crimen vestrum in Re-
gem exonerare possitis, numquid tale
apparet in ejus libro divinitus scripto?
Malo te libri illius admiratorē esse,
quàm me; quid enim habet præter
25 fucos & jactationes inanissimas. Di-
ceres & tu idem, si Epistolas ejus præ-
lio Nasibiensi captas, manu propria
scriptas & obsignatas, incorrupto & in-
tegro judicio perlegisses, ubi se suās-
30 que artes tyrannicas non celat. *Inde-
pendentes* Jesuitis similes esse aīs, *Qui
Regem abrogârunt, statum Reipub.
mutârunt, & tamen professi sunt
nunquam sibi in animo fuisse hæc
35 facere.* Quid ad nos Jesuitæ? Quasi

verò prudentiæ non esset, non Jesui-
tismi, posteriora sæpe Consilia priori-
bus anteferre, siquidem meliora esse
postmodum didiceris. Primò nobis
5 prodire tenus aliquid visum est, im-
mo magnum tam ad Ecclesiæ quàm
Reipub. restitutionem; cum à Deo ul-
tra dari sentiremus, an ejus nos præ-
sentiam, & providentiam ad facta tam
egregia præeuntem aspernaremur, aut 10
sequi nollemus, ne progressus nostros
felices & planè inopinatos, hostis &
invidus levitatis & inconstantiae no-
mine perstringeret? Sæpe arguis quod
Parlamentum pro *corpore solo* sine 15
capite sumamus. Verùm si metapho-
ras amovere mallet, rectiùs continuò
saperes, scirèsque Parlamentum ejus-
modi corpus esse, cui caput adjungi
non sit necesse; neque enim vel caput 20
vel cauda, sed commune ac liberum
gentis Conciliū facit, ut Parlamentū
sit atque dicatur. *Ut*, inquis, *hanc in-
famiam & calumniam apud exterar
Nationes nobis exulantibus amoveam,* 25
scilicet eorum ex numero non esse qui
causam Regiam latinè sciret defen-
dere, *huic rabulæ respondeo.* Egre-
gium sanè responsorem! Tūne verò
lucifuga verberabilissime præ cæteris 30
electus, qui nos ex latebris aggrede-
rere, & pro tuis omnibus unus respon-
deres? Doctum proculdubio gregem,
præclara ingenia necesse est esse, quo-
rum tu ductor es, tam grandis non 35

Arcadicus aut Reatinus, sed solœcus
 Asinus. Latine tu ut responderes, cu-
 jus barbarismis & solœcismis omnes
 paginae, ut priorum capitum, sic hujus
 5 ultimi refertæ sunt? *Tam castus ut ex-*
emplum præbuit. Tu hæc refricas ut
Regi cōvitiare. A famulis rimari. Nisi
fulcientur. Tanta caligine, ut justitiæ
causæ metiuntur Ne millesima pars
 10 *petitionum ad eum defererentur. Toties*
purgatum ut nil præter nomen ma-
nere potest. Tanto acumine ut maxima
pars mundi mirantur ac stupent. Tan-
 15 *to strepitu ut cætera Theatra pro tem-*
pore silent. Non quin indies preca-
mur. Nec mitius eorum Consilium
interpretarem. Carolum Filium reum
causatis. Digni profectò Regii tam stu-
 pido propugnatore, qui, cum causam
 20 nequissimam suscepis tuendam &
 literas professus, tam illiteratus sis, ab
 ipsis clientibus tuis quos tuum pudeat,
 ad illa gurgustia & tenebras, unde tam
 stolidè emersisti cum sibilo & flagris
 25 reducendus es; aut certè Carnifici po-
 tiùs in disciplinam crucis tradendus,
 ut cum nihil aliud percipere possis,
 elementa discas patibularia. *Quicquid,*
 inquis, *erravero in hac Apologia mea*
 30 *tenuitati imputandum est.* Ità prorsus
 existimo: at pessimè interim meo qui-
 dem judicio consuluit tibi tenuitas
 tua, quæ te impulit, ut, cui par non
 eras, oneri succedere auderes, sub quo
 35 prætumidum & inflatum eò faciliùs

comminui te & frangi necesse erat.
 Ergo certè tenuem te magis an crassū
 dixerim vixdum scio, ità omni planè
 dimensione & formâ rudis indigesta-
 que moles, vacare mihi videris. Jam 5
 te aulici, qui *Regis auro vescuntur*, si
 priùs neglexerint, quod misere quere-
 ris, & fame perire sinant, post causam
 eorum tam malè & ridiculè abs te de-
 fensam multò justius oderint, atque 10
 contempserint; nisi fortè periscelide
 illa regia, quam tanti facis, fauces tuas
 de rege tam nequiter meritis eliden-
 das potiùs quàm offis aulicis, quas
 15 esuris, farciendas putant. Jam præser-
 tim cum à regis laude ad regis & re-
 giorum gravem vituperationem trans-
 eas, & nobis ex adversario percōmo-
 dus repente homo factus sis; testis
 enim ipse novus accedis, regē suo 20
 officio vel imparem fuisse, vel minimè
 intentum, quod *petitiones* nimirum
 subditorum rarè legeret. *Quoddam nemo*
ausus esset de proditoribus queri, pro-
 25 *ditorum metu*, quibus maximè aus-
 cultabat: quòd *Camerariis* & *famulis*
 omnia crederet, otio ipse deditus. Un-
 de libet profectò exclamare cum illo
 sene in fabula,

Ità me dii amabunt ut hunc ego 30
ausculto lubens;

Nimis lepidè facit verba de regiis
suis.

Neque compellare volo illum ne
desinat

Memorare mores regis & regionum.

Eorum enim plurimos qui quidem regis gratia maximè pollebant, eos
5 fatetur fuisse qui commodorum potissimum suorum & libidinum causâ regem sequerentur, vel mente captum potiùs, quo vellent, ducerent: Sinam itaque & præteribo, ut & regis perjuriam
10 haud minori impietate atque insitiâ excusantem, & statim tamen acriter damnantem. Neque occurrit præterea quod refutatione ulla indigeat. Ad ultimum enim, consumptis in nos

maledictis, diris, execrationibus, charitatem nescio quam suam ostentare cupit. Verum nos cujus convitia & imprecationes non veremur, etiam vota pro nobis & preces haud pluris æstimamus. Finiam itaque certamen hoc, haud libenter quidem à me cum isto nugigerulo susceptum; solum hoc est in quo si non aliis, at mihi met saltem aliqua ex parte placeo, eam mihi scribendi occasionem primam oblatam esse, ex qua & patria in se rectū atque
10 pium, & amici gratum senserint.

FINIS.

Supposed Collaborations of Milton

Critical Contributions to the *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1675
Sometimes Attributed to Milton

Christopher Marlow, a kind of second *Shakespear* (whose contemporary he was) not only because like him he rose from an Actor to be a maker of Plays, though inferiour both in Fame and Merit; but also because in his begun Poem of *Hero* and *Leander*, he seems to have a resemblance of that clean and unsophisticated Wit, which is natural to that incomparable Poet; this Poem being left unfinished by *Marlow*, who in some riotous Fray came to an untimely and violent End, was thought worthy of the finishing Hand of *Chapman*; in the performance whereof nevertheless he fell short of the Spirit and Invention with which it was begun; of all that he hath written to the Stage his *Dr. Faustus* hath made the greatest noise with its Devils and such like Tragical sport, nor are his other 2 Tragedies to be forgotten, namely his *Edw. the II.* and *Massacre at Paris*, besides his *Jew of Malta* a Tragedycomedy, and his Tragedy of *Dido*, in which he was joyned with *Nash*.

William Shakespear, the Glory of the English Stage; whose nativity at *Stratford upon Avon*, is the highest honour that Town can boast of: from an Actor of Tragedies and Comedies, he became a *Maker*; and such a Maker, that though some others may perhaps pretend to a more exact *Decorum* and *æconomie*, especially in Tragedy, never any express't a more lofty and Tragic height; never any represented nature more purely to the life, and where the polishments of Art are most wanting, as probably his Learning was not extraordinary, he pleaseth with a certain wild and native Elegance; and in all his Writings hath an unvulgar style, as well in his *Venus and Adonis*, his *Rape of Lucrece* and other various Poems, as in his Dramatics.

Benjamin Johnson, the most learned, judicious and correct, generally so accounted, of our *English* Comedians, and the more to be admired for being so, for that neither the height of natural parts, for he was no *Shakespear*, nor the cost of Extraordinary Education; for he is reported
5 but a Bricklayers Son, but his own proper Industry and Addiction to Books advanc't him to this perfection: In three of his Comedies, namely the *Fox*, *Alchymist* and *Silent Woman*; he may be compared, in the Judgment of Learned Men, for Decorum, Language, and well Humouring of the Parts, as well with the chief of the Ancient Grec and Latin
10 Comedians as the prime of Modern *Italians*, who have been judg'd the best of *Europe* for a happy Vein in Comedies, nor is his *Bartholmew-Fair* much short of them; as for his other Comedies *Cinthia's Revells*, *Poetaster*, and the rest, let the name of *Ben Johnson* protect them against whoever shall think fit to be severe in censure against them: The Truth
15 is, his Tragedies *Sejanus* and *Catiline* seem to have in them more of an artificial and inflate than of a pathetic and naturally Tragic height: In the rest of his Poetry, for he is not wholly Dramatic, as his Underwoods, Epigrams, &c. he is sometimes bold and strenuous, sometimes Magisterial, sometimes Lepid and full enough of conceit, and sometimes a
20 Man as other Men are.

John Driden, Poet Laureat, and Historiographer to His Present Majesty: with whom such hath been the approbation and acceptance his Poetry hath obtained, especially what he hath written of Dramatic, with wonderful success to the Theater Royal, viz. Comedies, several abound-
25 ing with no vulgar wit and ingenuity, as the *Maiden Queen*, the *Wild Gallant*, the *Mock Astrologer*, *Marriage a la mode*, the *Amourous Old Woman*, the *Assignation*: *Tyrannic Love*, and *Amboyne* Tragedies; besides Historical Drama's; viz. the *Indian Emperor*, and two parts of the Conquests of *Granada*, in which if he have indulg'd a little too much
30 to the French way of continual Rime and interlarding of History with ascititious Love and Honour, I am apt to impute it rather to his complying with the modyfyed an[d] gallantish humour of the time, then to his own well examined judgment.

A Passage from *Mercurius Politicus*, 1651/2

First for *Kings*, give me leave to shew (what I once published upon another occasion) that tis no new thing for Kings to be deprived, or punish'd with death for their crimes in government.

Milton's Supposed Contributions to the Smectymnuus Pamphlets

[Nothing is certainly identified. See the notes for this and other supposed collaborations and contributions of Milton.]

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- Alfred the fourth Son of Ethelwolf and successor of his Brother Ethelred, encounters the Danes at Wilton. p. 211. he gives Battel to the whole Danish power at Edinton, and totally routing them brings them to terms. p. 214. he is said to have bestow'd the East-Angles upon Gyro a Danish King who had been lately baptis'd. p. 215. a long tedious War afterwards maintain'd between him and the Danes. p. 217, 218. etc. he dies in the 30th year of his Reign, and is buried at Winchester. p. 220. his noble Character. p. 221. 222.
- Alfwold driving out Eardulf usurps the Kingdom of Northumberland. p. 193.
- Algar Earl of Howland, now Holland, Morcard Lord of Brunne, and Osgot Governour of Lincoln, slaughter a great multitude of the Danes in Battail, with three of their Kings. p. 208. overpower'd with numbers and drawn into a snare, Algar dies valiantly, fighting. *ibid.*
- Algar the Son of Leofric banish't by King Edward, joins with Griffin Prince of South-Wales. p. 300. unable to withstand Harold Earl of Kent, he submits to the King and is restor'd. p. 300. banish't again he recovers his Earldom by force. p. 301.
- Alipius made Deputy of the British Province in the room of Martinus. p. 94.
- Alla begins the Kingdom of Deira in the South-part of Northumberland. p. 132. 139.
- Alric King of Kent after Ethelbert the II. p. 184. with him dying, ends the race of Hengist. p. 188.
- Ambrosius Aurelianus dreaded by Vortimer. p. 122. defeats the Saxons in a memorable Battel. p. 122. uncertain whether the Son of Constantine the Usurper, or the same with Merlin, and Son of a Roman Consul. p. 122. 123. he succeeds Vortigern as Chief Monarch of the Ile. *ibid.*

- Anacletus the friend of King Pandrasus, is taken in fight by Brutus. p. 9. he is forc'd by Brutus to betray his own Countrymen. *ibid.*
- Andragius one in the Catalogue of ancient British Kings. p. 29.
- Androgeus one of Lud's Sons hath London assign'd him and Kent, p. 30. forsakes his claim to the Kingdom, and follows Cæsars fortune. p. 52.
- Anlaf the Dane with his Army of Irish, and Constantine King of Scotland, utterly discomfited by King Athelstan. p. 233. 234. &c.
- Anna succeeds Sigeberth in the Kingdom of the East-Angles. p. 163. he is slain in War by Penda the Mercian. p. 165.
- Antigonus the Brother of King Pandrasus, taken in fight by Brutus. p. 9.
- Antoninus sent against the Caledonians by his Father Severus. p. 87. after whose Death he takes hostages and departs to Rome. *ibid.*
- Archigallo depos'd for his Tyranny. p. 27. being restor'd by his Brother, he becomes a new man and reigns worthily. p. 28.
- Archimailus, one in the number of ancient British Kings. p. 30.
- Armorica in France peopled by Britans that fled from the Saxons. p. 118.
- Arthur, the Victory at Badon-hill, by some ascrib'd to him, which by others is attributed to Ambrose. p. 127. who he was, and whether the Authour of such famous Acts as are related of him. p. 127. 128. &c.
- Arviragus ingaging against Claudius, keeps up the Battail to a Victory, by personating his slain Brother Guiderius. p. 56.
- Athelstan the Son of King Edward the Elder by a Concubine, solemnly Crown'd at Kingston upon Thames. p. 231. the Conspiracy of one Alfred and his accomplices against him discover'd. *ibid.* he gives his Sister Edgith to Sitric the Dane, but drives out Anlaf and Guthferd out of their Kingdom. p. 231. the story of his dealing with his Brother Edwin question'd as improbable. p. 232. he overthrows a vast Army of Scotch and Irish, under Anlaf and Constantine King of Scotland. p. 233. 234. &c. he dies at Gloucester and is buried at Malmesbury. p. 236. his Character. p. 236.
- Assaracus a Trojan Prince, joins with Brutus against Pandrasus. p. 8.
- Aulus Plautius sent against this Island by the Emperour Claudius p. 53. he overthrows Caractacus and Togodumnus, p. 54. is very much put to it by the Britans. p. 55. sends to Claudius to come over, and joins with him. *ibid.* leaves the Country quiet, and returns triumphant to Rome. p. 55. 56.
- Aurelius Conanus a British King, one of the five that is said to have reign'd toward the beginning of the Saxon Heptarchie. p. 136.
- Austin with others sent over from Rome to preach the Gospel to the Saxons. p. 142. he is receiv'd by King Ethelbert who hears him in a great Assembly. p. 143. he is ordain'd Archbishop of the English. p. 145. he hath his seat at Canterbury. p. 146. he summons together the British Bishops, requiring them to conform with him in points wherein they differ'd. p. 147. upon their refusal he stirs up Ethelfrid against them, to the slaughter of 1200 Monks. p. 149.
- Bardus, one of the first race of Kings fabled to have reign'd in this Island. p. 4. descended from Samoths. *ibid.*
- Beorn precedes Ethelred in the Kingdom of the East-Angles. p. 194.
- Bericus flying to Rome perswades the Emperour Claudius to invade this Island. p. 53.
- Bernulf usurping the Kingdom of Mercia from Keolwulf, is overthrown by Ecbert at Ellandune. p. 194. flying to the East-Angles is by them slain. *ib.*
- Berinus a Bishop sent by Pope Honorius converts the West-Saxons and their Kings to Christianity. p. 161.
- Birhric King of the West-Saxons after Kinwulf. p. 186. he secretly seeks the Life of Ecbert. p. 191. is poison'd by a Cup which his Wife had prepar'd for another. p. 192.
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- Bleduno, one in the number of the ancient British Kings. p. 29.
- Blegabedus his Excellency in Music. p. 29.
- Boadicia the Wife of Prasutagus, together with her Daughters, abus'd by the Roman soldiers. p. 65. commands in Chief in the British Army against the Romans. p. 68. vanquish't by Suetonius, is thought to have poison'd her self. p. 69.
- Bonusus a Britan by descent, endeavouring to make himself Emperour, but vanquish't by Probus, hangs himself. p. 88.
- Brennus and Belinus the Sons of Dunwallo Mulmutius contend about the Kingdom. p. 23. after various conflicts they are reconcil'd by their Mother Conuenna. p. 24. they turn their united Forces into Foreign parts, but Belinus returns and reigns long in Peace. p. 24. 25.
- Britain the History of the affairs thereof altogether obscure and uncertain till the coming of Julius Cæsar. p. 2. by whom first peopled. p. 4. nam'd first Samothea from Samoths, *ibid.* next Albion, and from whence. p. 4. 5. Britans stoutly oppose Cæsar at his landing in

- this Island. p. 36. 37. they offer him terms of Peace. p. 38. their manner of fighting. p. 39. 40. they are defeated by Cæsar and brought anew to terms of Peace. p. 41. a sharp dispute between the Britans and the Romans, near the Stowr in Kent. p. 43. their Nature and Customs. p. 49. 50. their cruel Massacre upon the Romans. p. 66. they are acquitted of the Roman jurisdiction by the Emperour Honorius, not able to defend them against their Enemies. p. 101. they again supplicate Honorius for aid, who spares them a Roman Legion. p. 104. and again at their renew'd request a new supply. *ibid.* their submissive Letters to Ætius the Roman Consul. p. 109. their Luxury and wickedness, and the corruption of their Clergy. p. 111. 134. 135. their Embassy to the Saxons for their aid against the Scots and Picts, with the Saxons answer. p. 114. 115. Miserably harass'd by the Saxons whom they call'd in. p. 117. 118. routed by Kerdic. p. 124. by Kenric and Keaulin. p. 132. 138. by Cuthulf. p. 138. they totally vanquish Keaulin. p. 139. they are put to flight by Kenwalk. p. 168.
- Britto, nam'd among the four Sons of Histon, sprung of Japhet, and from him the Britans said to be deriv'd. p. 5.
- Brutus, said to be descended from Æneas a Trojan Prince. p. 7. retiring into Greece after having unfortunately kill'd his Father, he delivers his Countrymen from the Bondage of Pandrasus. p. 7. 8. &c. marries Innogen the eldest Daughter of Pandrasus. p. 10. he lands upon a desert Island call'd Leogicia. p. 11. where he consults the Oracle of Diana. p. 11. meets with Corineus. p. 12. overcomes Gofarius Pictus. p. 13. arrives in this Island. p. 13. builds Troja Nova. p. 14.
- Brutus surnamed Greenshield, succeeds Ebranc and gives Battel to Brunchildis. p. 17.
- Burhead holding of Ethelwolf the Mercian Kingdom after Bertulf, redueth the North Welch to obedience. p. 202. he marries Ethelwida the Daughter of King Ethelwolf. p. 202. driven out of his Kingdom by the Danes, he flies to Rome, where dying he is buried in the English School. p. 212. his Kingdom let out by the Danes to Kelwulf. *ibid.*
- Cadwallon, see Kedwalla.
- Cæsar, see Julius Cæsar.
- Cajus Sidius Geta behaves himself valiantly against the Britans. p. 54.
- Cajus Volusenus sent into Britain by Cæsar to make discovery of the Country and people. p. 35.
- Caligula a Roman Emperour. p. 52.
- Camalodunum or Maldon the chief seat of Kymbeline. p. 52. made a Roman Colony. p. 58. 65. 66.
- Camber one of the Sons of Brutus hath allotted to him Cambria or Wales. p. 14.
- Canute the Son of Swane, chosen King after his Father's Death by the Danish Army and Fleet. p. 266. is driven back to his Ships by Ethelred. p. 266. returns with a great Navy from Denmark accompanied with Lachman King of Sweden, and Olav of Norway. p. 267. after several conflicts with Edmund, he at length divides the Kingdom with him by agreement. p. 273. after Edmunds Death Reigns sole King. p. 275. he endeavours the extirpation of the Saxon line. p. 275. he settles his Kingdom, and makes peace with the Princes round about him. p. 276. he causes Edric, whose treason he had made use of, to be slain, and his body to be thrown over the City Wall, &c. *ibid.* he subdues Norway. p. 278. takes a Voyage to Rome, and offering there rich gifts, vows amendment of life. *ibid.* he dies at Shaftsbury, and is buried at Winchester. p. 279. his censure. p. 280. 281.
- Capis one in the Catalogue of the Ancient Kings. p. 29.
- Capoirus another of the same number. p. 30.
- Caractacus the youngest Son of Cunobeline, succeeds in the Kingdom. p. 53. is overthrown by Aulus Plautius. p. 54. heads the Silures against the Romans. p. 58. 59. is betray'd by Cartismandua, to whom he fled for refuge. p. 59. is sent to Rome. *ibid.* his Speech to the Emperour. p. 60. by the braveness of his carriage he obtains pardon for himself and all his Company. *ibid.*
- Carausius grown rich with Piracy possesses himself of this Island. p. 89. he fortifies the Wall of Severus. p. 90. in the midst of the great preparations of Constantius Chlorus against him, he is slain by his friend Allectus. p. 91.
- Carinus sent by his Father Carus the Emperour to govern this Isle of Britain is overcome and slain by Dioclesian. p. 89.
- Carismandua Queen of the Brigantes, delivers Caractacus bound to the Romans. p. 59. deserts her Husband Venutius, and gives both her self and Kingdom to Vellocatius one of his Squires. p. 62.
- Carvilius a petty King in Britain assaults the Roman Camp with three others. p. 48.
- Cassibelaun one of the Sons of Heli, gains the Kingdom by common consent. p. 30. his generosity to his Brothers Sons. *ibid.* he heads the Britans against Julius Cæsar and the Romans. p. 46. he is deserted by the Trinobantes, and why. p. 47. he yields to Cæsar. p. 48. is reported to have had War with

- Androgeus, dies, and is buried at York. p. 49.
- Cataracta an ancient City in Yorkshire, burnt by Amred a Tyrant. [p. 184.]
- Catellus an ancient British King. p. 29.
- Cerdic a Saxon Prince lands at Cerdic shore, and overthrows the Britans. p. 124. defeats their King Natanleod in a memorable Battel, p. 125. founds the Kingdom of West-Saxons. p. 126. see Kerdic.
- Cherin an ancient British King. p. 29.
- Christian Faith receiv'd in Britain by King Lucius. p. 82. said to have been preach't by Faganus and Deruvianus. p. 83. others say long before by Simon Zelotes, or Joseph of Arimathæa. p. 83. upon what occasion preach't to the Saxons. p. 143. 144.
- Chrysanthus the Son of Marcianus a Bishop, made Deputy of Britain by Theodosius. p. 97.
- Cingetorix a petty King in Britain, assaults the Roman Camp. p. 48. is taken Prisoner by Cæsar. p. 48.
- Claudius the Emperour is perswaded by Bericus, though a Britan, to invade this Island. p. 53. he sends Aulus Plautius hither with an Army. p. 53. he comes over himself and joins with Plautius. p. 55. defeats the Britans in a set Battel, and takes Camalodunum, p. 55. he returns to Rome, leaving Plautius behind. p. 56. he hath excessive honours decreed him by the Senate. *ibid*.
- Cliguellius an ancient British King. p. 30.
- Clodius Albinus succeeds Pertinax in the Government of Britain for the Romans. p. 84. he is vanquish't and slain in a Battel against Septimius Severus. p. 84.
- Coilus the Son of Marius leaves the Kingdom to Lucius. p. 82.
- Coillus an ancient British King. p. 29.
- Comail and two other British Kings slain by Keaulin and his Son Cuthwin. p. 138.
- Comius of Arras sent by Cæsar to make a party among the Britans. p. 35.
- Constans of a Monk made a Cæsars reduce, all Spain to his Father Constantius's Obedience. p. 99. displacing Gerontius is oppos'd by him, and at last slain. *ibid*.
- Constantine the Son of Constantius Chlorus, saluted Emperour after his Fathers Death. p. 92. his Mother said to be Helena the Daughter of Coilus a British Prince. p. 92. his eldest Son of the same name, enjoys among other Provinces of the Empire this Island also. p. 93. a common Souldier of the same name saluted Emperour. p. 99. by the valour of Oedebeus and Gerontius, he gains in France as far as Arles. *ibid*. by the conduct of his Son Constans, and of Gerontius, he reduces all Spain, *ibid*. Gerontius displac't by him calls in the Vandals against him. p. 100. beseg'd by Constantius Comes, he turns Priest, is afterwards carried into Italy, and put to Death. p. 100.
- Constantine the Son of Cador sharply inveigh'd against by Gildas. p. 136. he is said to have murder'd two young Princes of the blood Royal. p. 136.
- Constantine King of Scotland joining with the Danes and Irish under Anlaf, is overthrown by Athelstan. p. 232. 233.
- Constantius Chlorus sent against Carausius. p. 90. defeats Aleetus, who is slain in the Battel. p. 91. is acknowledg'd by the Britans as their deliverer. p. 91. divides the Empire with Galerius. p. 92. dies at York. *ibid*.
- Constantius the Son of Constantine overcomes Magnentius, who contested with him for the sole Empire. p. 93.
- Cordeilla's sincere answer to her Father begets his displeasure. p. 19. she is married to Aganippus a King in Gaul. *ibid*. she receives her Father, rejected by his other Daughters, with most dutiful affection. p. 20. restores him to his Crown, and Reigns after him. p. 21. is vanquish't, depos'd, and imprison'd by her two Sister's Sons. *ibid*.
- Corineus a Trojan Commander, joins Forces with Brutus. p. 12. slaies Imbertus. p. 13. arrives with Brutus in this Island. p. 13. Cornwall from him denominated falls to his Lot. p. 14. he overcomes the Giant Goemagog. p. 14.
- Crida, the first of the Mercian Kingdom. p. 139.
- Cuichelm the West-Saxon sends Eumerus a Swordsman to assassinate King Edwin. p. 134. is baptis'd in Dorchester, but dies the same year. p. 161.
- Cunedagius the Son of Regan deposeth his Aunt Cordelia. p. 21. shares the Kingdom with his Cosin Marganus, is invaded by him, meets him and overcomes him. p. 21.
- Cuneglas a British King Reigns one of five a little before the Saxons were settled. p. 137.
- Cunobeline, see Kymbeline.
- Cutha helps his Father Keaulin against Ethelbert. p. 133.
- Cuthred King of West-Saxons joyns with Ethelbald the Mercian, and gains a great victory over the Welsh. p. 181. he hath a fierce battel with Ethelbald the Mercian, which he not long survives, p. 182. a King of Kent of the same name. p. 192.
- Cuthulf the Brother of Keaulin vanquisheth the Britans at Bedanford, and takes several Towns, p. 138.
- Cuthwin, see Keaulin.

- Danes first appear in the West, p. 187, they slay the Kings Gatherers of Custom, *ibid.* landing at Lindisfarne in York-shire, they pillage that Monastery, slay and captivate several both Fryars and others, p. 188. attempting to spoil another Monastery, they are cut off by the English, p. 189. they make very great waste and havock in Northumberland, p. 195. they waste Shepey in Kent, and engage with Ecbert, near the River Carr, p. 199. they are overthrown and put to flight by Ecbert, p. 199. their various success in the reign of Ethelwolf, p. 200, 201, &c. many great battels between them and the English in the reign of Ethelred with various fortune, p. 207, 208, &c. their whole Army being defeated, they are brought to terms by King Alfred, p. 214. in the same Kings reign several vast Fleets of Danes arrive with fresh supplies, p. 215. a vast Army of them overthrown by King Athelstan, p. 233. a massacre committed upon them by the English in all parts of the Land in the reign of King Ethelred, p. 237.
- Danius reckon'd among the Ancient British Kings, p. 26.
- Deruvianus, see Faganus.
- Dinoth Abbot of Bangor his Speech to Bishop Austin, p. 148.
- Dioclesian supposed a King of Syria, and his 50 Daughters having (all but one) murder'd their Husbands, to have been driven upon this Iland, p. 5.
- Dis the first peopler of this Iland, as some fabulously affirm, p. 4. the same with Samoths. *ibid.*
- Donaldus said to have headed the Caledonians against Septimius Severus, p. 87. 88.
- Donaldus King of Scotland brought to hard conditions by Osbert and Ella Kings of Northumberland, p. 204.
- Druids falsly alleg'd out of Cæsar to have forbidden the Britans to write their memorable deeds, p. 2.
- Druis the third from Samoths fabulously written the antientest King of this Iland, p. 4.
- Dunstan sent the Nobles to reprove King Edw. for his luxury, p. 241. banisht by the King, and his Monastery rifled, p. 241. recalled by King Edgar, p. 242. his miraculous escape when the rest of the company were kill'd by the fall of a house, p. 253.
- Dunwallo Mulmutius Son of Cloten King of Cornwall, reduces the whole Iland into a Monarchy, p. 22. establisheth the Molmutin Laws, p. 23.
- Dursulus King of the Picts said to be slain by the joynt Forces of the Britans and Romans, p. 106.
- Eadbald after the death of his Father Ethelbert, falls back to Heathenism, p. 150. he runs distracted, but afterwards returns to his right mind and faith, p. 151. by what means it happen'd. *ibid.* he gives his Sister Edelburga in marriage to Edwin, p. 153. he dies and leaves his Son Ercombert to succeed, p. 162.
- Eadbert shares with his two Brothers in the Kingdom of Kent, after Victred, p. 177. his death, p. 182. Eadbert King of Northumberland after Kelwulf wars against the Picts, p. 182. joyns with Unust King of the Picts against the Britans in Cumberland, p. 183. forsakes his Crown for a Monks hood, p. 184.
- Eatbright, otherwise call'd Ethelbert, usurping the Kingdom of Kent, and contending with Kenulph the Mercian, is taken prisoner, p. 190.
- Eadburga by chance poysons her Husband Birthric with a cup which she had prepar'd for another, p. 192. the choice propos'd to her by Charles the Great to whom she fled, *ibid.* he assigns her a rich Monastery to dwell in as Abbess, *ibid.* detected of unchastity, she is expelled, and dies in beggary at Pavia, *ibid.*
- Eardulf Son of Eardulf reigns 30 years King of Northumberland after Alfwold the Usurper, p. 193. becomes tributary to Ecbert, p. 196.
- Eanfrid the Son of Ethelfrid succeeds in the Kingdom of Bernicia, p. 160.
- Eardulf supposed to have been slain by Ethelred is made King of the Northumbrians in York after Osbald, p. 190. in a War rais'd against him by his people he gets the victory, p. 190. is driven out of his Kingdom by Alfwold, p. 193.
- East-Angle Kingdom by whom erected, p. 126.
- East-Saxon Kingdom by whom begun, p. 126. the people converted by Mellitus, p. 147. they expel their Bishop and renounce their faith, p. 151. are reconverted by means of Edwi, p. 154.
- Ebranc succeeds his Father Mempricius in the Kingdom of Britain, p. 16. builds Caer-Ebranc now York, and other places. *ibid.*
- Ecbert succeeds his Father Ercombert in the Kingdom of Kent, p. 169. dying, leaves a suspicion of having slain his Uncle's Sons Elbert and Egelbright, p. 170.
- Ecbert of the West-Saxon linage, flies from Birthric's suspicion to Offa, and thence into France, p. 191. after Birthric's decease is recall'd, and with general applause made King, *ibid.* he subdues the Britans of Cornwall and beyond Severn, p. 193. overthrows Bernulf the Usurper of Mercia at Ellandune or Wilton, p. 194. the East-Angles having slain Bernulf, yield to his sovereignty, p. 194. drives

- Baldred King of Kent out of his Kingdom, and causeth both Kent and other Provinces to submit to his Scepter, p. 195. Withlaf of Mercia becomes tributary to him, *ibid.* he gives the Danes battel by the River Carr, p. 199. in another battel he puts to flight a great Army of them, together with the Cornish men joyning with them, p. 199. he dies, and is buried at Winchester. *ibid.*
- Egferth the Son of Offa the Mercian within four months ends his Reign, p. 189.
- Egfrid Oswi's eldest Son succeeds him in the Kingdom of Northumberland, p. 169. wins Lindsey from Wulfer the Mercian, p. 170. he wars against Ethelred the Brother of Wulfer, p. 173. he sends Bertus with an Army to subdue Ireland, p. 174. marching against the Picts is cut off with most of his Army, *ib.* his death reveng'd by Bertfrid a Northumbrian Captain, p. 177.
- Edan a King of the Scots in Britain put to flight by Ethelfrid, p. 146.
- Edelard King of the West-Saxons after Ina molested with the Rebellion of his Kinsman Oswald, p. 181. overcoming those troubles, dies in peace, *ibid.*
- Edgar the Brother and Successor of Edwi in the English Monarchy, calls home Dunstan from Banishment, p. 242. his peaceable and prosperous Reign, and his favour towards the Monks, *ibid.* his strict observance of justice, and his care to secure the Nation with a strong Fleet, p. 242. he is homag'd and row'd down the River Dee by eight Kings, p. 244. his expostulation with Kened King of Scotland, p. 245. he is cheated by the treacherous Duke Athelwold of Elfida, whom, avenging himself upon the said Duke, he marries, p. 245, 246. attempting on the chastity of a young Lady at Andover, he is pleasantly deceiv'd by the mother, p. 247. dying in the height of his glory, he is buried at Glaston-Abby, p. 244.
- Edgar surnamed Atheling, his right and title to the Crown of England from his Grandfather Edmund Ironside, p. 301. excluded by Harold Son of Earl Godwin, p. 307.
- Edilhere the Brother and Successor of Anna in the Kingdom of the East-Angles, slain in a battel against Oswi, p. 167.
- Edilwalk the South-Saxon perswaded to Christianity by Wulfer, p. 171.
- Edmund crown'd King of the East-Angles at Burie, p. 203. his whole Army put to flight by the Danes, he is taken, bound to a stake, and shot with arrows, p. 209.
- Edmund the Brother and Successor of Athelstane in the English Monarchy, frees Mercia, and takes several Towns from the Danes, p. 238. he drives Anlaf and Suthfrid out of Northumberland, and Dummail out of Cumberland, p. 239. the strange manner of his death, p. 239, 240.
- Edmund surnamed Ironside, the Son of Ethelred, set up by divers of the Nobles against Canute, p. 270. in several Battels against the Danes, he comes off for the most part victorious, p. 271, 272. at length consents to divide the Kingdom with him, p. 273. his death thought to have been violent, and not without Canute's consent, p. 274.
- Edred the third Brother and Successor of Athelstane, with much ado reduceth the Northumbrians, and puts an end to that Kingdom, p. 240. dies in the flower of his age, and is buried at Winchester, p. 241.
- Edric the Son of Edlwalk King of South-Saxons slain by Kedwalla the West-Saxon, p. 172.
- Edric surnamed Streon advanc't by King Ethelred, marries his Daughter Elgiva, p. 260. he secretly murders two Noblemen whom he had invited to his Lodging, p. 267. he practises against the life of Prince Edmund, and revolts to the Danes, p. 268. his cunning devices to hinder Edmund in the prosecution of his Victories against Canute, p. 271, 272. is thought by some to have been the Contriver of King Edmunds murder, p. 274. the Government of the Mercians conferr'd upon him, p. 276. he is put to death by Canutus, and his head stuck upon a pole, and set upon the highest Tower in London, p. 276.
- Edward the Elder Son and Successor of King Alfred, hath War with Ethelwald his Kinsman, who aspiring to the Crown, stirs up the Danes against him, p. 223, 224. he proves successful and potent, divers Princes and great Commanders of the Danes submitting to him, p. 224, 225, &c. the King and whole Nation of Scotland, with divers other Princes and people, do him homage as their Sovereign, p. 229. he dies at Farendon, and is buried at Winchester, p. 230.
- Edward surnamed the Younger, Edgar's Son by his first Wife Egelfleda, is advanc't to the Throne, p. 249. the contest in his Reign between the Monks and secular Priests, each abetted by their several parties, p. 249. great mischief done by the falling of a house where a general Council for deciding the controversy was held, *ibid.* Edward inhumanely murder'd by the treachery of his step-mother Elfrieda, p. 250.
- Edward Son of Edmund Ironside, Heir apparent to the Crown, dies at London, p. 301.
- Edward surnamed the Confessor, the Son of King Ethelred by Emma, after Hardecnute's

- death is crown'd at Winchester, p. 289. he seizeth on the Treasures of his mother Queen Emma, p. 289. he marries Edith Earl Godwin's Daughter, *ibid.* he makes preparation against Magnus King of Norway, but next year makes peace with Harold Harvager, *ibid.* he advances the Normans in England, which proves of ill consequence, p. 291. he is oppos'd by Earl Godwin in the Cause of Eustace of Boloign, banishes the Earl, and divorces his Daughter whom he had married, p. 294, 295. entertains Duke William of Normandy, p. 295. he sends Odo and Radulf with a Fleet against Godwin, and his Sons exercising Piracy, p. 296. reconciliation at length made, he restores the Earl, his Sons and Daughter, all to their former dignities, p. 297. he is said to have design'd Duke William of Normandy his Successor to the Crown, p. 305. dies and is buried at Westminster, p. 305. his Character, p. 305, 306.
- Edwi the Son and Successor of Edmund is crown'd at Kingston, p. 241. he banisheth Bishop Dunstan for reproving his wantonness with Algiva, and proves an enemy to all Monks, p. 241, 242. the Mercians and Northumbrians revolt from him, and set up his Brother Edgar, p. 242. with grief thereof he ends his days, and is buried at Winchester. *ibid.*
- Edwin thrown out of the Kingdom of Deira by Ethelfrid, p. 139, 152. flying to Redwall the East-Angle for refuge, he is defended against Ethelfrid, p. 152. he exceeds in power and extent of Dominion all before him, p. 153. marries Edelburga the Sister of Eadwald, *ibid.* he is wounded by an Assassin from Cuchelm, p. 154. the strange relation of his Conversion to Christianity, p. 154, 155. he persuades Eorpald the Son of Redwald to embrace the Christian Faith, p. 158. he is slain in a Battle against Kedwalla, p. 159.
- Edwin Duke of the Mercians, see Morcar.
- Elanius reckon'd in the number of ancient British Kings, p. 26.
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- Eldol, p. 30.
- Eledancus, p. 29.
- Elfred the Sister of King Edward the Elder, takes Derby from the Danes, p. 225. her Army of Mercians victorious against the Welsh, p. 226. after several Martial-Acts, she dies at Tamworth, p. 228.
- Elfred the Son of King Ethelred by Emma, betray'd by Earl Godwin, and cruelly made away by Harold, p. 282, 284.
- Elfwald the Son of Oswulf succeeding Ethelred in Northumberland is rebell'd against by two of his Noblemen Osbold and Ethelheard, p. 185. he is slain by the conspiracy of Siggan one of his Nobles, p. 186.
- Elfwil slain in a Battle between his Brother Ecfrid and Ethelred, p. 173.
- Elidure's noble demeanor towards his deposed Brother, p. 27. after Archigallo's death he resumes the Government, but is driven out again and imprison'd by his two other Brethren, p. 28.
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- Ella the Saxon lands with his three Sons, and beats the Britons in two Battels, p. 123. he and his Son Cissa take Andredschester in Kent by force, p. 124. begins his Kingdom of the South-Saxons. *ibid.*
- Elwold Nephew of Ethelwald reigns King of the East-Angles after Aldulf, p. 194.
- Emeric succeeds Otha in the Kingdom of Kent. p. 133
- Emma the Daughter of Richard Duke of Normandy married first to K. p. 257. afterwards to Canute, p. 276. banish'd by her Son-in-Law Harold, she retires to Flanders, and is entertained by Earl Baldwin, p. 282. her Treasures seized on by her Son King Edward, p. 289. she dies, and is buried at Winchester, p. 295. a Tradition concerning her question'd. *ib.*
- Eorpwald the Son of Redwald King of the East-Angles perswaded to Christianity by Edwin, p. 158. he is slain in fight by Ricbert a Pagan. *ibid.*
- Erchenwin said by Huntingdon to be the Erector of the Kingdom of the East-Saxons, p. 126.
- Ercombert succeeds Eadwald in the Kingdom of Kent, p. 162.
- Eric, see Iric.
- Ermenred thought to have had more right to the Kingdom than Ercombert. p. 162.
- Escwin and Kenswin the Nephew and Son of Kinegil, said to have succeeded Kenwalk in the Government of the West-Saxons, p. 170.
- Escwin joins Battle with Wulfer at Bedanhafer, and not long after deceaseth. *ibid.*
- Estrildis below'd by Locrine, p. 15. is with her Daughter Sabra thrown into a River, p. 15.
- Ethelbald King of Mercia, after Ina commands all the Provinces on this side Humber, p. 178. he takes the Town of Somerton, p. 180. fraudulently assaults part of Northumberland in Eadberts absence, p. 181. his encounter at Beorford with Cuthred the West-Saxon, p. 182. in another bloody fight at Secandune he is slain, p. 183.
- Ethelbald and Ethelbert share the English-Saxon Kingdom between them after their Father Ethelwolf, Ethelbald marries Judith his Fa-

- ther's Widow, p. 205. is buried at Shirburn, p. 206.
- Ethelbert** succeeds Emeric in the Kingdom of Kent, p. 133. he is defeated at Wibbandun by Keaulin and his Son Cutha, p. 133. enlarges his Dominions from Kent to Humber, p. 141. civilly receives Austin and his Fellow-preachers of the Gospel, p. 143. is himself baptiz'd, p. 145. mov'd by Austin, he builds S. Peters Church in Canterbury, and endows it, p. 146. he builds and endows S. Paul's Church in London, and the Cathedral at Rochester, p. 147. his death, p. 150.
- Ethelbert**, Eadbert, and Alric succeed their Father Victred in the Kingdom of Kent, p. 177. See Eadbright.
- Ethelbert** the Son of Ethelwolf after the death of his Brother Ethelbald enjoys the whole Kingdom to himself, p. 206. during his Reign the Danes waste Kent, p. 206. he is buried with his Brother at Shirburn, *ibid*.
- Ethelfrid** succeeds Ethelric in the Kingdom of Northumberland, p. 140. he wasts the Britans, p. 146. overthrows Edan King of Scots, *ibid*. in a Battel at Westchester against the British Forces he slays above 1200 Monks, p. 149.
- Ethelmund** and Weolstan the opposite Leaders of each party in a fight between the Worstershire men and Wilt-shire men slain, p. 191.
- Ethelred** succeeding his Brother Wulfer in the Kingdom of Mercia, recovers Lindsey and other parts, p. 170. invades the Kingdom of Kent, *ibid*. a sore Battel between him and Ecfrid the Northumbrian, p. 173. after the violent death of his Queen he exchanges his Crown for a Monks Cowl, p. 176.
- Ethelred** the Son of Mollo, the Usurper Alcid being forsaken by the Northumbrians, and depos'd, is crown'd in his stead, p. 184. having caused three of his Noblemen to be treacherously slain, he is driven into banishment, p. 185. after 10 year's banishment restor'd again, p. 186. he cruelly and treacherously puts to death Oelf and Oelfwin, the Sons of Elfwald formerly King, p. 187. and afterwards Osred, who though shaven a Monk, attempted again upon the Kingdom, p. 188. he marries Elfled the Daughter of Offa, p. 188. is miserably slain by his people, p. 189.
- Ethelred** the Son of Eandred driven out in his 4. year, p. 200. is re-exalted to his Seat, but slain the 4. year after, p. 201.
- Ethelred** the third Son of Ethelwolf the third Monarch of the English-Saxons infested with fresh Invasions of the Danes, p. 206. he fights several great Battels with the Danes with various success, p. 208, 209, he dies in the 5. year of his Reign, and is buried at Winburn, p. 210.
- Ethelred** the Son of Edgar by Elfrida crown'd at Kingston, p. 251. Dunstan at his Baptism presages ill of his future slothful Reign, *ibid*. new Invasions of the Danes, and great spoils committed by them in his Reign, p. 252, 253, &c. being reduc'd to streights by the Danes, he retires into Normandy, p. 265. is recall'd by his people, and joyfully received, p. 266. drives Canute the Dane back to his Ships, p. 268. he dies at London, p. 270.
- Ethelric** Ida's Son expels Edwin the Son of Alla out of the Kingdom of Deira, p. 139.
- Ethelwald** the Son of Oswald King of Deira, taking part with the Mercians, withdraws his Forces, p. 167.
- Ethelwald** the Brother of Edelhere succeeds him in the Kingdom of the East-Angles, p. 167.
- Ethelwald** surnamed Mollo set up King of the Northumbrians in the room of Oswulf, p. 184. he slays in Battel Oswin a Lord that rebell'd against him, *ib*. is set upon by Alcid who assumes his place, *ibid*.
- Ethelwolf** the second Monarch of the English-Saxons, of a mild nature, not warlike, or ambitious, p. 199. he with his Son Ethelbald gives the Danes a total defeat at Ak-Lea or Oak-Lea, p. 202. he dedicates the tenth of his whole Kingdom toward the maintenance of Masses and Psalms for the prospering of him and his Captains against the Danes, p. 202. takes a journey to Rome with his Son Alfrid, and marries Judith the Daughter of Charles the Bald of France, *ibid*. he is driven by a Conspiracy to consign half his Kingdom to his Son Ethelbald, p. 203. dies and is buried at Winchester, p. 204.
- Ethelwolf** Earl of Bark-shire obtains a Victory against the Danes at Englefield, p. 209. in another Battel is slain himself, p. 209.
- Ethildrith** refusing for 12 years her Husband Ecfrids Bed, at length veils her self a Nun, and is made Abbess of Ely, p. 173, 174.
- Eustace** Count of Boloign revenging the death of one of his servants, is set upon by the Citizens of Canterbury, p. 292. he complains to King Edward who takes his part against the Canteburians, and commands Earl Godwin against them, but in vain, p. 292, 293.
- Faganus** and Deruvianus said to have preach't the Gospel here, and to have converted almost the whole Island, p. 83.
- Faustus** incestuously born of Vortimer and his Daughter, lives a devout life in Glamorgan-shire, p. 119.
- Fergus** King of Scots said to be slain by the

- joyn't Forces of the Britans and Romans. p. 106.
- Ferrex the Son of Gorbogudo, slays in fight his Brother Porrex, though assisted with Forces out of France, p. 22. is in revenge slain himself in bed by his Mother Videna. *ibid.*
- Flattery odious and contemptible to a generous Spirit. p. 281.
- Francus, nam'd among the four Sons of Istion, sprung of Japhet, and from him the Franks said to be deriv'd. p. 5.
- Fulgenius reckon'd among the ancient British Kings, p. 29. the Commander in chief of the Caledonians against Septimius Severus, so call'd by Geoffry of Monmouth. p. 88.
- Galgacus heads the Britans against Julius Agricola. p. 77.
- Germanus in a publick disputation at Verulam, puts to silence the chief of the Pelagians, p. 108. he is intreated by the Britans to head them against the Picts and Saxons, p. 108. he gains the Victory by a religious Stratagem, p. 109. his death. p. 112.
- Gerontius a Britan by his valour advances the success of Constantine the Usurper in France and Spain, p. 99. displac't by him, he calls in the Vandals against him, p. 100. deserted by his Souldiers, he defends himself valiantly with the slaughter of 300 of his enemies, p. 100. he kills his Wife Nonnichia refusing to outlive him. *ibid.*
- Geruntius the Son of Elidure not his immediate Successor. p. 29.
- Godwin Earl of Kent, and the West-Saxons stand for Hardecnute, p. 282. he betrays Prince Elfred to Harold, p. 282, 284. being called to account by Hardecnute, he appeaseth him with a very rich Present, p. 285. he earnestly exhorts Edward to take upon him the Crown of England, p. 288. marries his Daughter to King Edward, p. 289. he raises Forces in opposition of the French whom the King favour'd, p. 293. is banisht, p. 294. he and his Sons uniting in a great Fleet, grow formidable, p. 296. coming up to London with his Ships, and preparing for Battel, a Reconciliation is suddenly made between him and the King, p. 297. sitting with the King at Table, he suddenly sinks down dead in his seat. p. 298.
- Gomer the eldest Son of Japhet believ'd the first that peopled these West and Northern Climes. p. 3.
- Gonorill gains upon the affection of her Father King Leir by her dissimulation, p. 18. she is married with Maglaunus Duke of Albania, p. 19. her ingratitude to her Father after she had gain'd from him what she could. p. 19.
- Gorbogudo, or Gorbodego succeeds Kinmarcus in the Kingdom. p. 22.
- Gorbonian succeeds Morindus in the Kingdom, p. 27. his justice and piety. p. 27.
- Gratianus Funarius the Father of Valentinian, Commander in chief of the Roman Armies in Britain. p. 93.
- Gregory Archdeacon of Rome, and afterward Pope, procures the sending over of Abbot Austin and others to preach the Gospel to the Saxons in this Island. p. 142.
- Griffin Prince of South-Wales joyning with Algar, and committing great spoil in Hereford, is pursued by Harold Earl of Kent, p. 300. after a peace concluded, he breaks his faith, and returns to Hostility, *ibid.* is again reduc't, p. 301. Harold sent against him, brings the Welsh to submission, p. 302. lurking about the Country, he is taken and slain by Griffin Prince of North-Wales. *ibid.*
- Guendolen the Daughter of Corineus is married to Locrine the Son of Brutus, p. 15. being divorc't by him, gives him Battel, wherein he is slain, p. 15. causeth Estrildis whom Locrine had married, to be thrown into a River with her Daughter Sabra, p. 15. governs 15 years in behalf of her Son Madan. p. 16.
- Gueniver the Wife of Melval a British King kept from King Arthur in the Town of Glaston. p. 129.
- Gunderius said to have been the Son of Cuno-belune, and slain in a Battel against Claudius. p. 56.
- Guitheline succeeds his Father Gurguntius Barbirus in the Kingdom. p. 26.
- Gunhildis the Sister of Swane with her Husband Earl Palingus, and her young Son cruelly murder'd. p. 257.
- Guarangonus a King of Kent before it was given to the Saxons. p. 117.
- Guortigner the Son of Vortiger bends his endeavours to drive out the Saxons, p. 119. his success against them in several Battels, p. 119. dying, he commands his bones to be buried in the Port of Stonar. p. 120.
- Gurguntius Barbirus succeeds Belinus in the Kingdom, overcomes the Dane, and gives encouragement to Bartholinus a Spaniard to settle a plantation in Ireland, p. 25. another ancient British King nam'd Gurguntius. p. 29.
- Gurgustus succeeds Rivallo in the Kingdom. p. 22.
- Gyrtha Son of Earl Godwin accompanies his Father into Flanders, together with his Brothers Tosti and Swane, p. 294. his noble advice to his Brother Harold as he was ready to give Battel to Duke William of Normandy, p. 312. he is slain in the said Battel with his Brothers Harold and Leofwin. p. 314.

Gythro or Gothrun a Danish King baptiz'd and receiv'd out of the Font by King Alfred. p. 214. the Kingdom of the East-Angles said to be bestow'd on him to hold of the said Alfred. p. 215.

Hardecnute the Son of Canute by Emma, call'd over from Bruges, and receiv'd King with general acclamation. p. 284. he calls Godwin and others to account about the death of Elfred, p. 285. enrag'd at the Citizens of Worcester for killing his Tax-gatherers, he sends an Army against them, and burns the City. p. 285, 286. he kindly receives and entertains his half Brother Edward, p. 286. eating and drinking hard at a great Feast, he falls down speechless, and soon after expiring, is buried at Winchester. *ibid.*

Harold surnamed Harefoot, the Son of Canute elected King by Duke Leofric and the Mercians, p. 281. he banishes his Mother-in-Law Emma, p. 282. his perfidiousness and cruelty towards Elfred the Son of Ethelred, p. 282, 284. he dies and is buried at Winchester. p. 284.

Harold Son of Godwin, made Earl of Kent, and sent against Prince Griffin of Wales, p. 300. he reduces him at last to utmost extremity, p. 300. being cast upon the Coast of Normandy, and brought to Duke William, he promises his endeavours to make him King of England, p. 304, 305. he takes the Crown himself, p. 307. puts off Duke William demanding it with a slighting answer, p. 309, 310. is invaded by his Brother Tosti, p. 310. by Harold Harvager King of Norway, whom he utterly overthrows and slays, together with Tosti, p. 310, 311. is invaded by Duke William of Normandy, p. 311. is overthrown at the Battel of Hastings, and slain together with his two Brothers Leofwin and Gyrtha. p. 314.

Helvius Pertinax succeeds Ulpus Marcellus in the Government of Britain. p. 84.

Hengist and Horsa with an Army of Saxons, Jutes and Angles, lands in the Isle of Thanet, p. 115, 116. Hengist invites over more of his Country-men, p. 116. he gains advantages of Vortimer by marrying his Daughter to him, p. 117. he takes on him Kingly Title, p. 120. his several Battels against the Britans, *ibid.* his treacherous slaughter of 300 British Grandees under pretence of Treaty, p. 121, 122. his death, p. 124.

Heninus Duke of Cornwall hath Regan the Daughter of King Leir given him in Marriage. p. 19.

Herebert a Saxon Earl slain with most part of

his Army by the Danes at a place call'd Mereswar. p. 200.

Hinguar and Hubba two Danish Brethren, how they got footing by degrees in England. p. 208, 209.

Histion said to be descended of Japhet, and to have had four Sons who peopled the greatest part of Europe. p. 5.

Honorius the Emperour sends aid twice to the Britans against their Northern Invaders. p. 104.

Horsa the Brother of Hengist slain in the Saxons War against the Britans, p. 120. his Burial-place gave name to Horsted a Town in Kent. p. 120.

Humbeanna and Albert said by some to have shar'd the Kingdom of East-Angles after one Elfwald. p. 195.

Jago or Lago succeeds his Uncle Gurgustius in the Kingdom. p. 22.

Icenians, and by their example the Trinobantes rise up in Arms against the Romans. p. 65.

Ida the Saxon begins the Kingdom of Bernicia in Northumberland. p. 131, 132.

Idwallo learns by his Brother's ill success to rule well. p. 29.

Immanuentius slain by Cassibelan. p. 47.

Immin, Eaba, and Eadbert Noblemen of Mercia throw off Oswi, and set up Wulfer. p. 168.

Ina succeeds Kedwalla in the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, p. 175. he marches into Kent to demand satisfaction for the burning of Mollo, *ibid.* is pacified by Victred with a sum of money, and the delivering up of the Accessories, *ibid.* vanquishes Gerent King of Wales, p. 177. slays Kenwulf and Albright, and vanquishes the East-Angles, p. 178. ends his days at Rome. *ibid.*

Inniaunus depos'd for his ill courses. p. 29.

Joseph of Arimathæa said to have first preacht the Christian Faith in this Island. p. 83.

Jovinus sent Deputy into this Island by the Emperour Valentinian. p. 95.

Iric a Dane made Earl of Northumberland by Canute in place of Uthred slain, p. 269, 277. he is said by some to have made War against Malcolm King of Scots, p. 277. his greatness suspected by Canute, he is banish'd the Realm. *ibid.*

Julius Agricola the Emperours Lieutenant in Britain, almost extirpates the Ordovices, p. 72. finishes the Conquest of the Isle of Mona, p. 72. his justice and prudence in Government, p. 73. he brings the Britans to Civility, Arts, and an Imitation of the Roman fashions, p. 73. he receives triumphal Honours from Titus, p. 74. he extends his Conquests to Scotland, subdues the Orcades and other Scotch Islands, p. 75. he is hard put to it in

- several Conflicts, but comes off victorious, p. 78, 79, &c. he is commanded home by Domitian. p. 80.
- Julius Cæsar hath Intelligence that the Britans are aiding to his Enemies the Gauls, p. 34. he sends Caius Volusenus to make discovery of the nature of the people, and strength of the Country, p. 35. after him Comius of Arras to make a party among the Britans, p. 35. the stout resistance he meets with from them at his landing, p. 36, 37. he receives terms of peace from them, p. 38. he loses a great part of his Fleet, p. 39. defeats the Britans, and brings them anew to terms of peace, and sets sail for Belgia, p. 41, 42. the year following he lands his Army again, p. 43. he hath a very sharp dispute with the Britans near the Stowr in Kent, p. 43, 44. he receives terms of peace from the Trinobantes, p. 47. he brings Cassibelan to Terms, p. 48. he leaves the Island, *ibid.* offers to Venus the Patroness of his Family a Corselet of British Pearl. *ibid.*
- Julius Frontinus the Emperours Lieutenant in Britain, tames the Silures a warlike people. p. 71.
- Julius Severus governs Britain under Adrian the Emperour. p. 81.
- Kearl surrenders the Kingdom of Mercia to his Kinsman Penda. p. 158.
- Keaulin succeeds his Father Kenric in the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, p. 132. he and his Son Cuthin slay three British Kings at Deorham, p. 138. gives the Britans a very great rout at Fethanleage, *ibid.* is totally routed by the Britans at Wodensbeorth, and chac't out of his Kingdom, dies in poverty, p. 139.
- Kendwalla or Kadwallon a British King joyning with Penda the Mercian, slays Edwin in Battel. p. 159.
- Kedwalla a West-Saxon Prince returned from Banishment, slays in fight Edelwalk the South-Saxon, and after that Edric his Successor, p. 172. going to the Isle of Wight, he devotes the fourth part thereof to holy uses, *ibid.* the Sons of Arwald King of that Isle slain by his order, p. 172. he harrasses the Country of the South-Saxons, p. 173. is repell'd by the Kentish men, *ibid.* yet revenges the death of his Brother Mollo, *ibid.* going to Rome to be baptiz'd, he dies there about five weeks after his Baptism. p. 175.
- Kelred the Son of Ethelred succeeds Kenred in the Mercian Kingdom, p. 176. posset with an evil Spirit, he dies in despair. p. 177.
- Kelwulf reigns King of the West-Saxons after Keola, p. 145. he makes War upon the South-Saxons, p. 150. dying, leaves the Kingdom to his Brothers Sons. *ibid.*
- Kenwulf adopted by Osric the Northumbrian to be his Successor in the Kingdom, p. 177, 178. he becomes a Monk in Lindisfarn. p. 180.
- Kened King of the Scots does high honour to King Edgar, p. 243. receives great favours from him, p. 244. is challeng'd by him upon some words let fall, but soon pacifies him. p. 244, 245.
- Kenelm succeeding a Child in the Kingdom of Mercia after Kenulf, is murder'd by order of his Sister Quendrid. p. 193, 194.
- Kenred the Son of Wulfer succeeds Ethelred in the Mercian Kingdom, p. 176. having reign'd a while, he goes to Rome, and is there shorn a Monk, *ibid.* another Kenred succeeds in the Kingdom of Northumberland. p. 177.
- Kenric the Son of Kerdic overthrows the Britans that oppose him, p. 124. kills and puts to flight many of the Britans at Searesbirg now Salisbury, p. 132. afterwards at Beranvirg now Banbury. *ibid.*
- Kentwin a West-Saxon King chases the Welsh Britans to the Sea-shore. p. 171.
- Kenulf hath the Kingdom of Mercia bequeath'd him by Ecerfth, p. 189. he leaves behind him the praise of a virtuous Reign. p. 193.
- Kenwalk succeeds his Father Kingegils in the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, p. 162. his successes variously deliver'd, p. 164. he is said to have discomfited the Britans at Pen in Somersetshire, p. 168. and giving Battel to Wulfer to have taken him prisoner, p. 168. dying, leaves the Government to Sexburga his Wife. p. 170.
- Kenwulf entituled Clito slain by Ina the West-Saxon, p. 178.
- Kenwulf King of the West-Saxons, see Kinwulf.
- Keolá the Son of Cuthulf succeeds his Uncle Keaulin in the West-Saxon Kingdom. p. 140.
- Keolwulf the Brother of Kenulf the Mercian, after two years reign driven out by Bernulf a Usurper. p. 194.
- Keorle with the Forces of Devonshire overthrows the Danes at Wigganbeorch. p. 201.
- Kerdic a Saxon Prince lands at Kerdicshore, and overthrows the Britans, p. 124. defeats their King Natanled in a memorable Battel, p. 125. founds the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, p. 126. he overthrows the Britans again twice at Kerdic's Ford, and at Kerdic's League. p. 126, 127.
- Kimarus reckon'd among the ancient British Kings. p. 26.
- Kingegils and Cuichelm succeed Kelwulf in the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, p. 150. they make Truce with Penda the Mercian, p. 158. they are converted to the Christian Faith,

- p. 161. Kinegils dying leaves his Son Kenwalk to succeed. p. 162.
- Kinmarcus** succeeds **Sisilius** in the Kingdom. p. 22.
- Kinwulf**, or **Kenwulf** (**Sigebert** being thrown out, and slain by a Swineherd) is saluted King of the West-Saxons, p. 183. behaves himself valorously in several Battels against the Welsh, p. 184. put to the worst at **Besington** by **Offa** the Mercian, p. 185. is routed and slain in Battels by **Kineard** whom he had commanded into Banishment. p. 186.
- Kymbeline** or **Cunobeline** the Successor of **Tenuantius** said to be brought up in the Court of **Augustus**, p. 52. his chief Seat **Camalodunum** or **Maldon**. *ibid*.
- Learning and Arts** when began to flourish among the Saxons. p. 269.
- Leil** succeeds **Brute Greensheild**, and builds **Caerleil**. p. 17.
- Leofric Duke of Mercia** and **Siward of Northumberland** sent by **Hardecnute** against the people of **Worcester**, p. 286. by their Counsel King **Edward** seizeth on the Treasures of his Mother Queen **Emma**, p. 289. they raise Forces for the King against **Earl Godwin**, p. 293. **Leofric's** death. p. 301.
- Leofwin Son of Earl Godwin**, after his Fathers Banishment goes over with his Brother **Harold** into Ireland, p. 294. he and **Harold** assist their Father with a Fleet against King **Edward**, p. 296. he is slain with his Brothers **Harold** and **Gyrtha** in the Battel against **William Duke of Normandy**. p. 314.
- Linceus** deliver'd in fabulous story to be the Husband of one of the feign'd 50 Daughters of **Dioclesian King of Syria**, p. 5. the only man sav'd by his Wife, when all the rest of the 50 slew their Husbands. *ib*.
- Locrin** the eldest Son of **Brutus** hath the middle part of this Island call'd **Leogria** for his share in the Kingdom. p. 14.
- Lollius Urbicus** draws a Wall of Turfs between the frith of **Dunbritton** and **Edinburgh**. p. 81.
- London** with a great multitude of her Inhabitants by a sudden fire consumed. p. 190.
- Lothair** succeeds his Brother **Ecbert** in the Kingdom of **Kent**. p. 170.
- Lucius** a King in some part of Britain thought the first of any King in Europe who receiv'd the Christian Faith, p. 82. is made the second by descent from **Marius**, *ibid*. after a long Reign buried at **Glocester**. p. 83.
- Lud** walls about **Trinovant**, and calls it **Caer Lud** or **Luds Town**. p. 30.
- Ludken** the Mercian going to avenge **Bernulf**, is surpris'd by the East-Angles, and put to the sword. p. 195.
- Lupicinus** sent over Deputy into this Island by **Julian** the Emperour, but soon recall'd p. 94.
- Lupus Bishop of Troyes** assistant to **Germanus of Auxerre** in the Reformation of the British Church. p. 108.
- Madan** succeeds his Father **Locrin** in the Kingdom. p. 16.
- Maglaunus Duke of Albania** marries **Gonorill** eldest Daughter of King **Leir**. p. 19.
- Magoclune** surnamed the Island Dragon, one of the five that reign'd toward the beginning of the Saxon Heptarchy. p. 137.
- Magus** the Son and Successor of **Samoths**, whom some fable to have been the first peopler of this Island. p. 4.
- Malcolm Son of Kened King of Scots**, falling into **Northumberland** with his whole power utterly overthrow'n by **Uthred**, p. 270. some say by **Eric**. p. 269.
- Malcolm Son of the Cumbrian King** made King of Scotland by **Siward** in the room of **Macbeth**. p. 299.
- Malcolm King of Scotland** coming to visit King **Edward**, swears brotherhood with **Tosti** the Northumbrian, p. 301. afterwards in his absence harrasses Northumberland. *ibid*.
- Mandubratius Son of Immanuentius** favour'd by the **Trinovantes** against **Cassibelan**. p. 47.
- Marganus** the Son of **Gonorill** deposeth his Aunt **Cordelia**, p. 21. shares the Kingdom with his Cousin **Cunedagius**, invades him, but is met and overcome by him. p. 21.
- Marganus** the Son of **Archigallo** a good King. p. 29.
- Marius** the Son of **Arviragus** is said to have overcome the Picts, and slain their King **Roderic**. p. 82.
- Martia** the Wife of King **Guitheline** said to have instituted the Law call'd **Marchen Leage**. p. 26.
- Martinus** made Deputy of the British Province failing to kill **Paulus**, falls upon his own Sword. p. 94.
- Maximianus Hercules** forc't to conclude a peace with **Carasius** [**Carausius**], and yield him Britain. p. 89, 90.
- Maximus** a Spaniard usurping part of the Empire, is overcome at length and slain by **Theodosius**, p. 97. **Maximus** a friend of **Gerontius** is by him set up in Spain against **Constantine** the Usurper. p. 99.
- Mempricius** one of **Brutus** his Council persuades him to hasten out of Greece. p. 10.
- Mempricius** and **Malim** succeed their Father **Madan** in the Kingdom, p. 16. **Mempricius** treacherously slaying his Brother, gets sole

- possession of the Kingdom, reigns tyrannically, and is at last devour'd by Wolves. p. 16.
- Mellitus, Justus, and others sent with Austin to the Conversion of the Saxons, p. 145. he converts the East-Saxons, p. 147. S. Paul's Church in London built for his Cathedral by Ethelred, as that of Rochester for Justus. *ibid.*
- Mollo, the Brother of Kedwalla, pursu'd, beset, and burnt in a house whither he had fled for shelter, p. 173. his death reveng'd by his Brother. *ibid.*
- Morcar the Son of Algar made Earl of Northumberland in the room of Tosti, p. 303. he and Edwin Duke of the Mercians put Tosti to flight, p. 308. they give Battel to Harold Harfager, King of Norway: but are put to the worst, p. 310. they refuse to set up Edgar, and at length are brought to swear fidelity to Duke William of Normandy. p. 314, 315.
- Mordred Arthur's Nephew said to have given him in a Battel his death's wound. p. 136.
- Morindus, the Son of Elnanus by Tanguetela, a valiant man, but infinitely cruel. p. 26.
- Mulmutius, see Dunwallo.
- Octa and Ebissa call'd over by Hengist their Uncle, p. 117. they possess themselves of that part of the Isle which is now Northumberland. *ibid.*
- Oenus, one in the Catalogue of ancient British Kings. p. 29.
- Oeric or Oisc succeeds his Father Hengist in the Kingdom of Kent, and from him the Kentish Kings call'd Oiscings, p. 124. he is otherwise call'd Esca. p. 133.
- Offa the Son of Siger quits his Kingdom of the East-Saxons to go to Rome and turn Monk with Kenred. p. 176, 177, 181.
- Offa defeating and slaying Beornred the Usurper, becomes King of Mercia after Ethelbald, p. 183. he subdues a neighboring people call'd Hestings, p. 184. gets the Victory of Alric King of Kent at Occanford, *ibid.* inviting Ethelbriht King of the East-Angles to his Palace, he there treacherously causeth him to be beheaded, and seizeth his Kingdom, p. 188. his at first enmity afterwards league with Charles the Great, p. 189. he grants a perpetual Tribute to the Pope out of every house in his Kingdom, *ibid.* he draws a Trench of wondrous length between Mercia and the British Confines, his death. *ibid.*
- Osald a Nobleman exalted to the Throne of the Northumbrians after Ethelred. p. 190.
- Osbert reigns in Northumberland after the last of the Ethelreds in the time of the Danish Invasion. p. 201.
- Osbert and Ella helping the Picts against Donaldus King of Scotland, put the Scots to flight at Sterlinbridge with great slaughter, and take the King prisoner. p. 203, 204.
- Osfrid and Eanfrid the Sons of Edwin converted and baptized, p. 158. Osfrid slain together with his Father in a Battel against Kedwalla. p. 159.
- Oslic and Cnebban two Saxon Earls slain by Keaulin at Wibbandun. p. 133.
- Osmund King of the South-Saxons. p. 183.
- Osred a Child succeeds Aldfrid in the Northumbrian Kingdom, p. 176. he is slain by his kindred for his vicious life. p. 177.
- Osred Son of Alclad advanc'd to the Kingdom of Northumberland after Elfwald, is soon driven out again, p. 186. is taken and forcibly shaven a Monk at York. p. 187.
- Osric the son of Elfric baptiz'd by Paulinus, succeeds in the Kingdom of Bernicia, p. 160. turns Apostate, and is slain by an Eruption of Kedwalla out of a besieg'd Town, *ibid.* another Osric succeeds Kenred the second. p. 177.
- Osric Earl of Southampton and Ethelwolf of Bark-shire beat the Danes back to their Ships. p. 206.
- Ostorius sent Vice-prætor into Britain in the room of Plautius the Prætor, p. 57. routs the Britains, and improves his Victory to the best advantage, p. 57, 58. gives the Government of several Cities to Cogidunus a British King his Allie, p. 58. defeats the Silures under the leading of Caractacus. p. 58, 59.
- Ostred the Wife of Ethelred kill'd by her own Nobles. p. 176.
- Oswald Brother of Eanfrid living exil'd in Scotland, is there baptiz'd, p. 160. with a small Army utterly overthrows Kedwalla, *ibid.* settles Religion, and very much enlarges his Dominions, p. 161. overcome, and slain in Battel by Penda at Maserfeild, now Oswestre, p. 162. Oswi succeeds his Brother Oswald in the Kingdom, p. 162. he persuades Sigebert to receive the Christian Faith, p. 165. he discomfits Penda's vast Army, p. 166. he subdues all Mercia, and the greatest part of the Pictish Nation, p. 167. shaken off by the Persian [Mercian] Nobles, and Wulfer set up in his stead, p. 168. his death. p. 169.
- Oswin the Nephew of Edwin shares with Oswi in the Kingdom of Northumberland, p. 163. coming to Arms with him, he is over-match'd, and slain by his Command. *ibid.*
- Oswulf hath the Crown of Northumberland relinquish't to him by Badbert, p. 184. slain by his own Servants. p. 184.
- Otha succeeds Esca in the Kingdom of Kent. p. 133.

- Otter and Roald two Danish Leaders landing in Devonshire, their whole Forces are scatter'd, and Roald slain. p. 226.
- Pandrasus a Grecian King keeps the Trojans in servitude, p. 7. is set upon and beaten by Brutus. p. 8, 9.
- Paulinus sent spiritual Guardian with Edelburga, endeavours to convert Northumberland to Christianity, p. 153. the manner of his winning King Edwin to embrace the Christian Religion, p. 154, 155. he converts the Province of Lindsey and Blecca the Governour of Lincoln, and builds a Church in that City. p. 158.
- Penda the Son of Penda and Prince of the Middle-Angles, is baptized with all his Followers, p. 164. he hath South-Mercia conferr'd on him by Oswi, p. 167. is slain by the treachery of his Wife on Easter-day. p. 168.
- Pelagius a Britan brings new opinions into the Church, p. 98. the Pelagian Doctrine refuted by Germanus, p. 108. the Pelagians are judg'd to banishment by Germanus. p. 112.
- Penda the Son of Wibba King of Mercia hath the Kingdom surrender'd him by Kearle, p. 158. he joyns with Kedwalla against Edwin, p. 159. he slays Oswald in Battel, p. 162. in another Battel Siegbert, p. 163. in another Anna King of the East-Angles, p. 165. he is slain in a Battel against Oswi, p. 167.
- Penissel reckon'd in the number of ancientest British Kings. p. 30.
- Peredure and Vigenius expel their Brother Eldure, and share the Kingdom between them. p. 28.
- Perjury an example of Divine vengeance in Alfred who conspir'd against King Athelstane. p. 231.
- Petilius Cerealis utterly defeated by the Britans, p. 66. he commands the Roman army in Britain. p. 71.
- Petronius Turpilianus commands in chief in Britain after Suetonius Paulinus. p. 70.
- Pir one of the ancientest Race of British Kings. p. 30.
- Picts and Scots harrass the South Coasts of Britain. p. 95. &c. See Scots.
- Picts and Saxons beaten by the Britans, through the pious Conduct of Germanus. p. 108, 109.
- Porrex the Son of Gorbogudo, though assisted from France, is slain by his Brother Ferrex, p. 22. his death reveng'd by his Mother Videna, *ibid.* another of that name reckon'd in the Catalogue of British Kings. p. 29.
- Portsmouth denominated from the landing of Portia a Saxon Prince with his two Sons Bida and Megla, p. 125.
- Prasutagus King of the Icenians, leaving Cæsar coheir with his Daughters, causeth the Britans to revolt. p. 64, 65.
- Priscus Licinius Lieutenant in this Isle under Adrian. p. 81.
- Probus subdues the Usurper Bonosus, who falls in the Battel, p. 88. prevents by his wisdom new risings in Britain. *ibid.*
- Readwulf succeeding Ethelred in Northumbria, soon after his Coronation, cut off with his whole Army by the Danes at Alvethele. p. 200.
- Rederchius reckon'd among the ancient British Kings. p. 30.
- Redion, another British King. *ibid.*
- Redwald King of the East-Angles wars against Ethelfrid, in defence of Edwin, and slays him in Battel. p. 152.
- Regin Son of Gorborian, a good King p. 29.
- Rivallo succeeds his Father Cunedagus. p. 22.
- Rollo the Dane or Norman having fought unsuccessfully here, turns his Forces into France, and conquers the Country since call'd Normandy. p. 220.
- Romans land in Britain under the Conduct of Julius Cæsar, p. 37, 38. their sharp Conflict with the Britans near the Stoure in Kent, p. 43, 44. the cruel Massacre of the Britans upon them, p. 66. they leave the Island to succour their declining affairs in other parts, p. 110. they come and aid the Britans against the Scots and Picts, *ibid.* they help them to build a new Wall, p. 105, 106. instruct them in War, and take their last farewell. p. 106.
- Romanus nam'd among the four Sons of Histon, sprung of Japhet, and from him the Romans fabled to be derived. p. 5.
- Rowen the Daughter of Hengist sent for over by her Father, p. 117. she presents King Vortigern with a bowl of wine by her Fathers Command, p. 117. she is upon the King's demand given him in Marriage. p. 117.
- Rudancus King of Cambria subdued in fight, and slain by Dunwallo Mulmutius. p. 22.
- Rudhuddibras succeeds his Father Leil, and founds Caerkeint or Canterbury with several other places. p. 17.
- Runno the Son of Peredure not immediate Successor. p. 29.
- Sabra thrown into the River (thence call'd Sabrina) with her Mother Estrildis by Guendolen. p. 15.
- Samoths the first King that History or Fable mentions to have peopled this Island. p. 4.
- Samulius recorded among the ancient British Kings. p. 30.
- Saron the second King nam'd among the Successors of Samoths. p. 4.

- Saxons harrass the South Coast of Britain, slay Nectaridius and Bulcobandes, p. 95. Saxons and Picts, see Picts.
- Saxons invited into Britain by Vortigern, and the Britans against the Scots and Picts, p. 114, 115. their Original, p. 115. they arrive under the leading of Hengist and Horsa. p. 115. they beat the Scots and Picts near Stamford. p. 116. fresh Forces sent them over, and their bounds enlarged. p. 117. 118. they making league with the Scots and Picts, wast the land without resistance, *ibid.* beaten by Guortimer in four Battels, and driven into Thanet. p. 121. they return most of them into their own Country. p. 123. the rest notably defeated by Ambrosius Aurelianus and the Britans. p. 123.
- Scots, Picts, and Attacots harrass the South Coast of Britain, p. 95. overcome by Maximus, p. 97. Scots possest Ireland first, and named it Scotia, p. 98. Scots and Picts beaten by the Romans, sent to the supply of the Britans, p. 104. they make spoil and havock with little or no opposition. p. 105.
- Sebbi having reign'd over the East-Saxons 30 years, takes on him the habit of a Monk. p. 170.
- Sebert the Son of Sleda, reigns over the East-Saxons by permission of Ethelbert. p. 147.
- Segonax, one of the four petty Kings in Britain, that assaulted Cæsar's Camp. p. 48.
- Sejus Saturninus commands the Roman Navy in Britain. p. 82.
- Selred the Son of Sigebert the Good, succeeds Offa in the East-Saxon Kingdom, and comes to a violent end. p. 181.
- Septimius Severus the Roman Emperour, arrives in person with an Army in this Island, p. 84. his ill success against the Caledonians, p. 84. nevertheless goes on and brings them to terms of peace, p. 85. builds a Wall across the Island, from Sea to Sea, p. 86. they taking Arms again, he sends his Son Antoninus against them. p. 87. he dies at York, 'tis thought of grief. *ibid.*
- Severus sent over Deputy into this Island by the Emperour Valentinian. p. 95.
- Sexburga the Wife of Kenwalk driven out by the Nobles, disdaining female Government. p. 170.
- Sexted and Seward re-establish Heathenism in East-Saxony, after the Death of their Father Sebert, p. 151. in a fight against the Britans they perish with their whole Army. p. 151.
- Sigeard and Senfred succeed their Father Sebbi in the East-Saxon Kingdom. p. 181.
- Sigebert succeeds his Brother Eorpwald in the Kingdom of the East-Angles, p. 161. he founds a School or Colledge, and betakes himself to a Monastical life, p. 162. being forc't into the field against Penda, he is slain with his Kinsman Egric. p. 163.
- Sigebert surnamed the Small, succeeds his Father Seward King of the East-Saxons, p. 165. his successor Sigebert the 2d. is perswaded by Oswi to embrace Christianity, *ibid.* is murdered by the Conspiracy of two Brethren, *ibid.* his Death denounc't by the Bishop for eating with an excommunicate person, p. 166.
- Sigebert the Kinsman of Cuthred succeeds him in the West-Saxon Kingdom, p. 182.
- Siger the Son of Sigebert the Small, and Sebbi the Son of Seward succeed in the government of the East-Saxons after Swithelms decease. p. 169.
- Silures a people of Britain chuse Caractacus for their Leader against the Romans, p. 58. they continue the War after Caractacus was taken, against Ostorius and others. p. 61. 62. 63.
- Simon Zelotes, by some said to have preach't the Christian Faith in this Island. p. 83.
- Sisilius succeeds Jago. p. 22.
- Sisilius the Son of Gutheline succeeds his Mother Martia, p. 26. another of that name reckon'd in the number of the ancient Brittish Kings. p. 29.
- Siward Earl of Northumberland sent by Hardeknute together with Leofric against the people of Worcester, p. 285. 286. he and Leofric raise Forces for King Edward against Earl Godwin, p. 293. he makes an expedition into Scotland, vanquishes Macbeth, and placeth in his stead Malcolm Son of the Cumbrian King, p. 299. he dies at York in an armed posture. p. 299.
- Sleda erects the Kingdom of the East-Saxons, p. 126.
- South-Saxon Kingdom by whom erected, p. 124.
- South-Saxons upon what occasion converted to the Christian Faith. p. 171.
- Staterius King of Albany, is defeated and slain in fight by Dunwallo Mulmutius. p. 22.
- Stilicho represses the invading Scots and Picts. p. 97.
- Stuff and Withgar the Nephews of Kerdic bring him new levies, p. 125. they inherit what he won in the Isle of Wight. p. 130.
- Suetonius Paulinus Lieutenant in Britain, attacks the Isle of Mona or Anglesey. p. 63.
- Suidhelm succeeds Sigebert in the Kingdom of the East-Saxons, p. 167. he is baptiz'd by Kedda. *ibid.*
- Swane in revenge of his Sisters Death makes great devastations in the West of England, p. 258. he carries all before him as far as London, but is there repell'd, p. 264, 265. is stil'd King of England, p. 265. he sickens and dies. p. 266.
- Swane the Son of Earl Godwin treacherously

- murthers his Kinsman Beorn, p. 290. his peace wrought with the King by Aldred Bishop of Worcester, *ibid.* toucht in Conscience for the slaughter of Beorn, he goes barefoot to Rome, and returning home dies in Lycia. p. 297.
- Swithred the last King of East-Saxon Kingdom, driven out by Ecbert the West-Saxon. p. 181. 195.
- Taximagulus a petty King anciently in Britain, one of the four Kings that assaulted Cæsar's Camp. p. 48.
- Tenuantius one of the Sons of Lud hath Cornwall allotted him, p. 30. made King after the Death of Cassibelan. p. 52.
- Tendric a Warlike King of Britain, said to have exchang'd his Crown for a Hermitage, p. 139. 140. to have taken up Arms again in aid of his Son Mouric. *ibid.*
- Theobald the Brother of King Ethelfrid, slain at Degiastan. p. 146.
- Theodore a Monk of Tarsus ordain'd Bishop of Canterbury by P. Vitalian, p. 169. by his means the Liberal Arts, and the Greek and Latin Tongues flourish among the Saxons. *ibid.*
- Theodosius sent over by the Emperour Valentinian, enters London victoriously, p. 95. sends for Civilis and Dulcinius, p. 96. punishes Valentinus a Pannonian, conspiring against him, *ibid.* he returns with applause to Valentinian. p. 96. 97.
- Theodosius the Son of the former prefer'd to the Empire, p. 97. overcomes and slays Maximus, usurping the Empire. p. 97.
- Thurfert and divers other Danish Lords submit to King Edward the Elder. p. 228.
- Titulus succeeds his Father Uffa in the Kingdom of the East-Angles. p. 126.
- Togodumnus the second Son of Cunobeline succeeds in the Kingdom, p. 53. is overthrown by Aulus Plautius, p. 54. slain in Battel. p. 55.
- Tosti the Son of Godwin made Earl of Northumberland in the room of Siward, p. 300. he swears Brotherhood with Malcolm King of Scotland, p. 302. goes to Rome with Aldred Bishop of York, *ibid.* the Northumbrians rise against him and expel him, p. 302. 303. a story of great outrage and cruelty committed by him at Hereford, p. 303. making War against his Brother King Harold, he is driven out of the Country by Edwin and Morcar, p. 308. joining with Harold Harfager King of Norway against his Brother, he is slain together with Harfager in the Battel. p. 310.
- Trebellius Maximus sent into Britain in the room of Petronius Turpilianus. p. 70.
- Trinobantes fall off from Cassibelan, and submit to Cæsar, and recommend Mandubratius to his protection. p. 47. 48.
- Turkil a Danish Earl assaults Canterbury, but is bought off, p. 261. he swears Allegiance to King Ethelred, that under that pretence he might stay and give intelligence to Swane, p. 264. he leaves the English again and joins with Canute, p. 268. his greatness suspected by Canute, he is banish't the Realm. p. 277.
- Turketill a Danish Leader, submitting to King Edward, obtains leave of him to go and try his Fortune in France. p. 226, 227.
- Valentinian the Emperour sends over several Deputies successively into this Island. p. 95.
- Vectus Bolanus sent into Britain in the room of Trebellius Maximus. p. 71.
- Velloccatus, see Venutius and Cartismandua.
- Venutius a King of the Brigantes deserted by his Wife Cartismandua, who marries his Squire Velloccatus, p. 62. he rights himself against her by Arms, *ibid.* makes War successfully against those taking part with his Wife. p. 62. 63.
- Verannius succeeds A. Didius in the British Wars. p. 63.
- Virtue ever highly rewarded by the ancient Romans. p. 57.
- Vespasian valiantly fighting under Plautius against the Britans is rescued from danger by his Son Titus. p. 56. for his eminent services here he receives triumphal Ornaments at Rome. p. 57.
- Uffa erects the Kingdom of the East-Angles, p. 126. from him his successors call'd Uffings. p. 126.
- Victorinus a Moor, appeaseth a Commotion in Britain, by slaying a Governour of his own recommending. p. 88.
- Victorinus of Tolosa made Prefect of this Island. p. 98.
- Victred the Son of Ecbert obtaining the Kingdom of Kent, settles all things in peace, p. 173. after 34 years Reign he deceaseth. p. 177.
- Videna slays her Son Ferrex in revenge of her other Son Porrex. p. 22.
- Vigenius and Peredure, expelling their Brother Elidure, share the Kingdom between them. p. 28.
- Virius Lupus hath the North part of the Government assign'd him by Severus the Emperour. p. 84.
- Ulfketel Duke of the East-Angles sets upon the Danes with great valour, p. 258. his Army defeated through the subtlety of a Danish Servant, p. 262. he is slain with several other Dukes at the fatal Battel of Assandune. p. 272, 273.
- Ulpis Marcellus sent Lieutenant into Britain

- by Commodus, ends the War by his Valour and Prudence. p. 83.
- Vortipor reigns in Demetia, or South-Wales. p. 137.
- Vortigern's Character, p. 113. he is advis'd by his Council to invite in the Saxons against the Scots and Picts, *ibid.* he bestows upon Hengist and the Saxons, the Isle of Thanet, p. 116. then all Kent, upon a marriage with Rowen Hengist's Daughter, p. 117. condemn'd in a Synod for incest with his Daughter, he retires to a Castle in Radnorshire, built for the purpose, p. 119. his Son Guortimer dead he resumes the Government, p. 121. is drawn into a snare by Hengist, p. 121. retiring again is burnt in his Tower. p. 122.
- Urianus, reckon'd in the number of ancient British Kings. p. 29.
- Utherpendragon thought to be the same with Natanleod. p. 125.
- Uthred submits himself with the Northumbrians to Swane, p. 264. to Canute, p. 269. his Victory over Malcolm King of Scots, p. 270. 277. he is slain by Turebrand a Danish Lord at Canutes either Command or connivence. p. 269.
- West-Saxon Kingdom by whom erected, p. 126.
- West-Saxons, and their Kings converted to the Christian Faith by Berinus. p. 161.
- Wibba succeeds Crida in the Mercian Kingdom. p. 140.
- Wilbrod a Priest goes over with 12 others to preach the Gospel in Germany, p. 175. he is countenanc'd by Pepin Chief Regent of the Franks, and made first Bishop of that Nation. p. 175. 176.
- Wilfrid Bishop of the Northumbrians depriv'd by Ecfrid of his Bishoprick, wanders as far as Rome, p. 171. returning plants the Gospel in the Isle of Wight, and other places assign'd him, p. 171. 172. hath the fourth part of that Island given him by Kedwalla, he bestows it on Bertwin a Priest, his Sisters Son. *ibid.*
- William Duke of Normandy honourably entertain'd by King Edward, and richly dismiss'd, p. 295. he betroths his daughter to Harold, and receives his Oath to assist him to the Crown of England, p. 304. 305. sending after King Edwards Death to demand performance of his promise, is put off with a slight answer, p. 309. 310. he lands with an Army at Hastings, p. 311. overthrows Harold, who with his two Brothers is slain in Battel, p. 314. he is Crown'd at Westminster by Aldred Archbishop of York. *ibid.*
- Wipped a Saxon Earl slain at a place call'd Wippeds fleet, which thence took denomination. p. 120.
- Withgar, see Stuff.
- Withgarburgh in the Isle of Wight so call'd from being the burial-place of Withgar. p. 130. 131.
- Withlaf the successeur of Ludiken, being vanquish't by Ecbert, all Mercia becomes tributary to him. p. 195.
- Wulfer the Son of Penda set up by the Mercian Nobles in the room of his Brother Oswi, p. 168. said to have been taken Prisoner by Kenwalk the West-Saxon, p. 168. he takes and wasts the Isle of Wight, but causeth the Inhabitants to be baptized, *ibid.* gives the Island to Ethelwald King of South-Saxons, *ibid.* sends Jeruvianus to recover the East-Saxons, fallen off the second time from Christianity, p. 169. Lindsey taken from him by Ecfrid of Northumberland, p. 170. his Death accompany'd with the stain of Simonie. p. 170.
- Wulfheard King Ethelwolf's Chief Captain, drives back the Danes at Southampton with great slaughter, p. 200. he dies the same year, as it is thought of Age. *ibid.*
- Wulktul Earl of Ely put to fight with his whole Army by the Danes. p. 209.
- Ymner King of Loegria, with others slain in Battel by Dunwallo Mulmutius. p. 22.

Additional Conversations

THE CHIEF PASSAGES RELATING TO MILTON IN THE MS RELATIO OR TAGEBUCH OF MYLIUS

[16. Oct. 1651: (MS. fol. 75.)] Wie ich verstanden, das gestern der herr Milton, der des Salmasii Defensionem Regis Angliae refutiret, . . . wieder anherokommen, habe ich noch folgende zeilen geschrieben: [Vide p. 264.]

- 5 Hat mir sagen lassen, das er itzo ad consilium status gehen müste, gegen abend aber zu mir komen wolte, oder ich muste morgen frue wieder vernehmen lassen: cum alternativam suspicionem mihi peperit non minimam, quod inquirere . . . apud alios voluerit in conditionem meae personae et commissionis.
- 10 [17. Oct. 1651: (MS. fol. 75 vo/76.)] Schicke ich wieder zu dem herrn Miltonio mit ihm zu sprechen, lesset sich ebenmessig excusiren per famulum parlamenti, und wirt also voriges verificiret. Unterdessen avisiret er im vertrauen, das ich kunftigen montag oder dingstag gewis werde audience haben, alsdan er mit dem magister ceremoniarum zu
- 15 mir komen und bessere kundschaft machen wolte.

- [20. Oct. 1651: (MS. fol. 77, 80.)] Komt her Olivarius Fleming, magister ceremoniarum, mit noch einem, seint des Consilii status adjungirte, zu mir gefahren inter octavam et nonam, und hat berichtet, das die herren commissarii des Parlaments gewisser uhrsache halber die
- 20 zeit anticipiren und mich in einer halben stunde horen wolten, hat daneben gedacht, wie er von worten verstanden, das ich zu einigen vom Parlament ingleichen zu herrn Miltonio geschicket, umb dieselbigen zu besuchen. So werde niemand einige visite geben noch annehmen, nachdem sie alle iuramento dies zu observiren verbunden. . . Ille . . . darauf
- 25 mich in seine kutsche genomen, in die oberstelle gesetzt und vor

Witthal gebracht, da wir ausgestiegen . . . in die audience gefuhret, da die herren commissarii an einem langen tisch auf einer seite gesessen, herr Miltonius ad dextram primi gestanden. . . . da ich. . . . das creditif. . . . uberreicht. . . .

- 5 Da dan eine sonderbahre aufmerkung . . meiner gar langsam ausgesprochenen phrasium, wobei auch der her Miltonius sehr attent sich bezeiget. .

Nach geendigter und in meditullio mensae niedergelegter proposition haben die herren commissarii untereinander geredet, und bald der mit-
10 telst unter ihnen, herr Withlock, Custos magni sigilli, auf englisch, welches der herr Miltonius lateinisch wiederholen müssen, also geantwortet:

- Sie weren vom Parlament als Commissarii verordnet, hetten meine proposition gerne angehoret und gar wol verstanden, wolten davon dem
15 Parlamento und Consilio status gepuhrent relation abstatten und darauf eine resolution und antwort befoderen. . . .

- [25. Okt. 1651: (MS. fol. 88.)] Herr Miltonius schicket einen von des Parlaments bedienten circa tertiam und lesset sich entschuldigen mit vorwenden, er sei vom Consilio status eben in hoc momento berufen, das
20 er vor diesmahl seine intention wider seinen willen enden müste. Dieser höffichen entschuldigung hinwieder zu begegnen, schreibe ich in sequentibus: [Vide XII, p. 344.]

- [31. Okt. 1651: (MS. fol. 92 vo)] Herr Milton secretarius status hat drei tage nach einander zu mir geschicket in meinung mich zu besuchen,
25 ist aber nicht komen, unterdessen habe ich ihm die proiecta, wie ich gerne abgefertiget were, communiciret. Ob er sie wird behalten oder remittiren, stehet dahin.

- [Nov. 6, 1651: (MS. fol. 96 vo)] [Milton] hat mir sagen lassen, das wegen der vielen arbeit er dato noch nicht an meine abfertigung konte
30 komen, wolte heute oder morgen mit mir reden.

[18. Nov. 1651: (MS. fol. 104.)] Kompt herr Duraeus in einem gar bosen wetter, ut tanto magis securus et incognitus esset, zu mir, were bei dem herrn secretario Miltonio gewesen und hette meiner expedition

halber mit ihm geredet, der ihm vertrauwet, gestalt alles in des herrn
 Withlocks custodis magni sigilli henden. . . .

[24. Nov. 1651: (MS. fol. 229.)] Schicket herr Milton zu mir den Par-
 5 laments-botten mit anzeige, das am verwichenen freitag er meine ihm
 eingereicht, und vermeinete, meine sachen würden nunmehr ad
 motum komen. Wolte mich gern besuchen, aber haupt- und augenweh
 verhinderten ihn daran. Ueberdies wuste ich die hauptuhrsache, solte
 aber ihm aller fleisigen unterbauwunge und befoderunge insgeheim
 10 zutrauwen, unangesehen er mit mir nicht mundlich reden dürfte.

[1. Dez. 1651: (MS. fol. 242.)] Herr Fleming . . sagt . .: Unter den
 secretariis were Frost der fürnehmste, hette 3 sohne, die zwar in der
 schreiberei mit gebrauchet würden und denen die verehrung muste
 gegeben werden . . Miltonius were fast blind, darumb der andere alle
 15 die affaires zusich ziehen thete.

[3. Jan. 1652: MS. fol. 114 vo.)] Bei herrn Miltonio gewesen und ne-
 benst gethaner congratulation zum neuen jahr und anwünschung
 volliger restitution, cum cephalalgia et suffusione oculorum laboret, die
 beschaffenheit in meinen affairen ein wenig erkundiget: Sagte, das
 20 gestern der herren Commissarien genomenes conclusum in consilio
 pleno hat vorgetragen werden sollen, da were ein zettel angelanget, de
 quo wuste er nicht, welches gelesen, und darauf abrumpiret, weilen der
 Florentinus Legatus dazwischen kommen und gehoret worden.

Ego: ob er nicht etwa muthmassung auf jemand hette, und ob es
 25 etwa von der Staatlichen herren Ambassadeurs eingestochen.

Ille: Muchte auf ihr antrieb per tertium geschehen sein, doch konte
 er nicht wol davon judiciren. Verhoffete doch, das negotium solte die
 lunae reassumiret werden.

Ego: gepeten, wann einmahl ein bestendig conclusum gemacht und
 30 es ad expeditionem gerathen wurde, mir alsdan die courtoisie zu bezei-
 gen und vorher die proiecta, wie sie eingerichtet, zu communiciren,
 ne contra intentionem Parlamenti quaedam Domino meo damnosa
 inserantur et inseranda omittantur.

Ille: wolte zu dem ende mit herrn Thoma Challenor reden, und was zu Ew. Hochg. Gn. contentement gereichen konte, gerne befodern. Haben viele andere discursus, insonderheit de constitutione huius et Imperii Romani gepflogen, endlich auf seine Defensionem populi ad
 5 Salmasii sugillationem komen, da er mir ein büchlein, welches Joannis Philippi Angli Responsio ad apologiam anonymi cujusdam tenebrionis pro rege et populo Anglicano infantissimam rubriciret, verehret, und begehret mein judicium davon zu geben, hat sich gar höflich erboten.

[5. Jan. 1652: (MS. fol. 123 vo.)] Spiring hat noch zur zeit keine au-
 10 dience erhalten, und obwol mir heute von einem remedio expediendi gesagt, hat doch herr Milton, der ante horas tres mich besucht, davon nictes wissen wollen.

[7. Jan. 1652: (MS. fol. 119.)] Bin darauf alsobald zu herrn Miltonio gefahren und habe von ihm erfreulich verstanden, gestalt gestern abend
 15 in Consilio inter nonam et decimam nach langen disputiren und debattiren endlich concludiret, die begehrte salva-guardia aufzusetzen und in Consilio status zu exhibiren, solte alsdan dem Parlamento davon rapport geschehen und darauf die expedition erfolgen. Er hette einige
 20 expedition pro serenissimo duce Etrurie unterhanden, die cito muste fertig sein, wolte sich doch noch heute daruber setzen, aus meinem proiect die essentialia nehmen und ihrem jetzigen Estat conform dieselbige abfassen, auch diese woche verhoffendlich in Consilio reproduci-
 ren und approbationem Parlamenti nach seinem vermogen kunftige woche befodern.

25 Ego: muchte mir die favor, wie vorlengst gepeten, bezeigen, und seinen aufsatz vorher zu verlesen gonnen, wolte ihm dankbarlich dafür begegnen.

Welches ob er es wol absque praevia permissione Praesidis nicht thun solte, jedoch versprochen, und begehret, ich amanuensem meum
 30 morgen frue zu ihm schicken solte.

[9. Jan. 1652: (MS. fol. 125, 126.)] Schicket mir herr Milton das proiectum Salvae-Guardiae hisce literis ad revidendum. [Vide Vol. XII, p.

360.] Darauf ich es durchgelesen und wenige defectus darinnen zu suppliren, auch einige marginalia zu observiren gebeten, damit ille sich soviel mehr bedienen muge. Antworte ihm sequentibus. [Vide Vol. XII, p. 362.]

- 5 Bald darauf bin ich noch ante secundam zu ihm [scil. Milton] gefahren, damit nichts von ihm möchte übersehen werden, und hat in mea praesentia die notata ad marginem selbst gesetzt, auch des andern proiecti halber zu erinnern verheiszen, ich aber urgiret, er muchte seinen schreiber mein proiect nur mundiren lasen und zugleich mit in consilio
10 exhibiren, damit es pari passu möchte iustificiret werden, welches er endlich wiewol ungern accordiret. Vermeinete diesen abend werde in Consilio status das proiectum Salvae-guardiae verlesen und danach ad ratificandum dem Parlamento exhibiret und ausgefertigt. Wie ich auch erinnerte, das nötig sein wolte, ins Englisch wegen dieser Re-
15 publicq bedieneten, die nicht in latinis allemahl versiret, mir auch authentice zu geben, hat er geantwortet, das solches allezeit geschehen konte. . . .

- Herr Miltonius selbst zu mir komen und das andere proiectum rescripti mitgebracht und mir durchzulesen auch vergonnet und gelassen, ist
20 in die statt gefahren, wolte es bei seiner ruckkunt wieder abfoderen. Gestern hette es im Rat wichtiger affairen halber nicht vorgebracht werden können, wolte es heute nachmittag versuchen. Wie ich gesehen, das es in omnibus meinem concept gemees, habe ich nur de copiis vidimatis, das denen eadem fides ut autographis tribuiret würde, erin-
25 nert, auch mir einige copiae authoratae alhie muchten gegeben und die originalia in charta pergamena geschrieben werden. Darauf ich ihm das concept wieder zugeschicket.

- [13. Jan. 1652: MS. fol. 128.]) Herr Miltonius mir die Apologiam pro rege et populo Anglicano communiciret, die zu Antwerpen 1651 apud
30 Hieronimum Verdussen getrucket contra Johannis Polypragmatici, alias Miltoni Angli defensionem destructivam regis et populi Anglicani, hat begehret, dieselbige durchzulesen und mein iudicium, darauf ich folgendes ihm zu geschrieben. [Vide Vol. xii, p. 356; date 13. Jan. 1652!]

[20. Jan. 1652: (MS. fol. 134 vo.)] Darauf bin ich alsobald zu herrn Miltonio gefahren, der mir im höchsten vertrauen eröffnet, gestalt gestern alles placitiret gewesen, ausgenommen weren einige, die er mir nicht nennen wolte, welche die Bremer und ihre adfection zu diesem
5 ort, hochlich geruhmet, auch ihre merita in hanc nationem sehr ausgestrichen und weitleuftige motus in consilio gemacht, das man wider dieselben dem herrn grafen zu assistiren befehlig ertheilete: weren einer religion, von undenklichen jahren alliirte socii, und viele commercia zwischen beiden, die per teloneum, wo nicht gar aufgehoben,
10 doch geschwechet und gemindert würden. Caeteri et maxime Thomas Challenor hetten repliciret, das es causa forensis, die ihre decision durch den friedensschluss vom ganzen Reich erhalten, musten sich nicht damit bemengen. Das haus Oldenburg hette grossen anhang, und das Parlament keine uhrsach selbiges zu offendiren etc. Endlich weren a Consilio
15 abermals etzliche denominiret, die nochmals dies dubium pro et contra erwegen und ein conclusum darinnen machen und ad Consilium wieder davon referiren solten.

Ego: musten grose patroni, die non rogati für Bremen sich also einliessen, und vielleicht nicht absque stipendio sein, und wie ich de statu
20 causae gründlich informiret, habe ich abschied genomen, und ist in discessu meo einer von den Hollendischen zu ihm komen.

[28. Jan. 1652: (MS. fol. 144.)] Bei herrn Miltonio und Fleming gewesen, erfahre nichts weiteres, als das die occupationes mit den holländischen sachen, darauf eine antwort praeliminariter an die herren Staaten
25 generalen soll abgehen, meine expedition verhinderte, dabei dann einige Bremische adfectionirte widrige impressiones und operas erweisen. Vermuten doch, es solte nun bald die verdriesliche monition [?] endschafft gewinnen.

[6. Febr. 1652: (MS. fol. 155 vo.)] Bin ich zu herrn Miltonio gefahren,
30 der berichtet mir, das gestern spät circa undecimam das rescriptum ad legatos aliosque ministros in englisch ihm zugeschicket, die andere papiren der salvaguardi, und lateinische versiones zuruckplieben seien,

hette seinen schreiber hingeschicket, umb selbige abzuholen, und wolte so viele muglich damit maturiren.

[9. Febr. 1652: (MS. fol. 156.)] Bei herrn Miltonio gewesen und gefra-
get, wie es doch mit meiner expedition beschaffen. Ille zeigte mir das
5 rescriptum ad legatos et publicos ministros und referirte sich darinnen
ad salvamguardiam, die sie nicht geben wollen, solte diesen nachmittag
in Consilio verlesen und weiter nichts ertheilet werden. Ego: das
relatum were ja nicht dabei, als konte ichs nicht acceptiren, muchte
doch in consilio solches remonstriren: caput negotiationis meae esse
10 salvam-guardiam, die von allen keisern, konigen, potentaten republi-
quen und stenden des Reichs, die bisher bei dem kriege interessiret,
niemals versaget worden. Hette ich largis et tantis promissis ein halb
jahr ausgehalten; dabei ich unterthenig avisiret, jetzige abfertigung
were mir tanta elusio, indigna et plane inhumana repulsa, die hoffent-
15 lich nicht meritiret. Gepeten, solches diesen nachmittag cordate et favo-
rabiliter vorzupringen und enderung zu begehren. Wo nicht, müste ich
es der zeit befehlen und mich auf ruckreise machen, zu dem ende sie
mir einen paas gonnen würden.—Ille: Er sehe gar wol die faute, welche
ex imperitia et malitia eorum, qui pluralitate votorum gauderent, her-
20 rührete. Weren homines mechanici, milites, domestici, fortes satis et
acres, sed rerum politicarum maxime forensium imperiti, darinnen
potior pars reipublicae bestunde. Prudentiores durften auch ihre mei-
nung nicht recht eröffnen. Muchte es reipublicae nicht imputiren, noch
den sanioribus unter den 40 personen, die in consilio status. Weren uber
25 drei oder vier nicht, qui extra Angliam gewesen, aber darunter de
Mercurii et Martis prole genug. Versprochen, dextre dem consilio es
nochmals vorzutragen und selben abend finito Consilio von endlicher
erclerunge part zu geben.

[12. Febr. 1652: (MS. fol. 161.)] Alsobald zu herrn Milton gefahren,
30 der meine proiecta, die ich vorgestern und gestern ad Consilium cum
translata copia gegeben, empfangen und die verba "successores et
heredes" durchgestrichen gefunden. Ego remonstriret intentionem Il-

lustrissimi [Graf Anton Günther von Oldenburg], der alt und für seine unterthanen und nachfolger diese sorge getragen, ihm auch dabei umbstendlich conditionem et diversitatem sucessorum vermeldet. Weilen ich aber leichtlich gemerket, das sie suspicaces wegen des konigs
5 in Dennemarck, so konte ich leiden, das hinzugesetzt wurde: "dummodo nihil iniqui contra rempublicam hanc moliantur".

Ille: durfte es nicht absque expresso Consilii jussu dabei setzen, hette bereits oft zimliche harte reden gedulden und über sich gehen lassen müssen, des er mir die concepta zeigte und heimliche correspondence
10 mit mir hette, wolte aber herrn Challenor von diesem vorschlag advertiren und pitten, weilen es heut dem Parlament solte vorgetragen werden, das ers in pleno erinnern und dahin einrichten muchte.

[13. Febr. 1652: (MS. fol. 163.)] Schicket herr Miltonius spät zu mir mit vermeldung, es sei nichts wegen des heut geendigten termini
15 iudicialis . . . geschehen, sobald etwas geschlossen oder vollenzogen, wolte er mirs avisiren.

[16. Febr. 1652: (MS. fol. 165 vo.)] Bei herrn Milton gewesen und mich erkundiget umb den zustand meiner affairen, hat noch von nichts wissen wollen, aber berichtet, das die Ambassadeurs von Hol-
20 land wegen eines extra vacanten [?] portorii, welches auch diese Republicq touchirte, weitleuftige erinnerungen dem Consilio, auch von einer schickung der herren Staaten an den herren grafen, die nicht angenommen . . . viele vehemente discursus angepracht. . . . Nachdem vernomen, das er nicht ad consilium den nachmittag gehen würde,
25 gepeten, nur in cancellaria fur sich per tertium nachzufragen und mir part davon zu geben, welches er auch versprochen.

[18. Febr. 1652: MS. fol. 167 vo.)] Schicket herr Miltonius seinen cognatum (Philipps?) spät zu mir und lesset mir sagen, das die acta salvae-guardiae vollenzogen und von dem clerico Parlamenti Scobel ihm das
30 recreditif ins lateinische uberzusetzen zugeschicket, solte diese woche alles fertig und mir zugestellet sein.

[20. Febr. 1652: MS. fol. 177 vo.)] Ante sextam matutinam zu herrn Fleming komen, der mir berichtet . . . das recreditif were auch bereits

aufgesetzt und dem Miltonio ad transferendum in idioma latinum zugestellt, gestern auch in Consilio verlesen.

[23. Febr. 1652: (MS. fol. 179 vo.)] [Milton] lesset mir wissen, es solte heute zesamen fertig sein.

- 5 [24. Febr. 1652: (MS. fol. 181 vo.)] Beegnet mir herr Milton in foresto und saget, das Parlament und Consilium status hetten die successores et heredes nicht inseriren wollen, müsten sich darumb anmelden, und solte ihnen alsdan mit aller adfection und freundschaft begegnet werden. Ego . . . gepeten, mit der subscription zu maturiren. Ille: heute
 10 hette es nicht geschehen können propter arduas consultationes in puncto amnestiae, darumb das Parlament von 10 uhr bis auf diese stunde—audita erat sexta—noch beisammen, morgen aber verhoffete er konte die vollige ausfertigung erfolgen, fals auch ein ander ihm nicht zuvorkäme, wolte er versionem latinam selbst vidimiren und subscribiren, weilen nicht
 15 moris noch styli, das im Parlament in anderer als englischer sprache etwas versiegelt oder ausgefertigt werde.

- [2. Mar. 1652: (MS. fol. 189.)] Nachmittag zwischen drei und vier uhren bin ich an den park gefahren, da herr Fleming mich abgeholt, . . hat anfangs in einen schönen gemach mich gebracht, danach in aliud
 20 conclave, da die herren Commissarii nebenst Miltonio gewesen, gefuhret . . . Da ich meine valediction abgelegt . . . Ritter Peter Wentwohrtt hat geantwortet, herr Miltonius hernach wiederholet: Sie wolten dem Parlament und Consilio status von dieser valediction gepuhrend referiren . . . auch das man uber die ertheilte acta fest halten und dawider
 25 nictes geschehen lassen wolte . . mir in particulari eine gluckliche ruckreise mit mehren complimenten gewünschet nomine publico und sie fur ihre person.

- [6. Mar. 1652: (MS. fol. 198.)] Dem herrn Miltonio omni gratia factis et verbis valediciret, der in largissimis terminis seine adfection zuversichert (?) und noch two copeien sub manus propriae subscriptione des englischen original-diplomatis und der lateinischen translation ertheilet, unangesehen er gantz seins gesichts anno quadragesimo secundo et
 30 ita in ipso flore et vigore aetatis beraubet.

Additional Marginalia

NOTES ON MALVEZZI

[See page 346.]

[P. 9] Hæc nimirum speciosâ et insidiosâ modestia, Augustus tot annos imperium Romanum obtinuit. Suet. in August. Clapm lib. 1. p. 50.

[P. 81] Flattery is that kind of Fowlinge, which deceives birds by resemblance of voices.

5 [P. 89] Bacon sayth twas ever a forme of civility due to great personages by praisinge them to instruct them.

[P. 113] unde Liv: lib. 2. annonæ curam, appellat blandimentum per id tempus plebi datum missi alij in Volscos, alij in Cumas ad frumentum comparandum. et Satyricus, Duas tantum res anxius optat, 10 panem et circenses. vid. Clapm. pag. 316. igitur lata erat lex ab Augusto; ne senatoribus aut Equitibus illustribus liceret intrare Ægyptum: et erat arcanum Regiæ dominationis. in summa, ne fame urgerent Italiam. Quare Tiberius Germanicum, cum Ægyptum profectus esset, vel cognoscendæ antiquitatis vel curæ provinciæ, acerrime increpuit, quod 15 contra instituta Augusti non sponte Principis, Alexandriam introivisset, ideoque de eo gravissimè, in senatu quæstus est: Quæ res Germanico causa mortis fuisse creditur Suetonius in Tiberio Quo consilio Vespasianus invasurus Imperium Romanum alias alijs provincias demandavit, ipsa claustra Ægypti obtinuit. Tacit. 3. Histor.

20 [P. 138 a] Vid Clapm: lib 3. pag. . . . qua ratione Seneca heredes appellat adminicula Augusti: Suetonius subsidia Aulæ; et consortes imperij. Plinius subsidia dominationis.

[b] sic cohiberi pravas aliorum spes relatur et sibi, plena Cæsarum domus, iuvenis filius, nepotes adulti, ambitioni Seiani moram et obicem 25 præstabant.

[c] si ius violandum, regnandi causa violandum est.

[P. 139] Quam ob causam, et hodie Turricorum Imperatorum filii non prius e custodia demittuntur, quam mortuo patre.

[P. 144] Ne mentio sit hæredis duobus ad imperium contendentibus

et vivo principe. Clapm. pag. 138. sub Tiberio fuerunt Germanicus et Drusus: hic erat filius principis et pollebat amore patris. Germanicus progener Augusti, adoptatus a Tiberio, cui accedebat amor populi ex patris alienatione: itaque Tacitus de Tiberio dixit eum sustinuisse
 5 iudicium. quod enim alterum peroptabat ille, alterum verò populus neminem populo ostendit, ac scilicet aut alterum firmando suum abijceret, aut hunc preferendo, studia popularium in se concitaret: hoc arcanum imperij non nescivit Elizabetha regina Angliæ, adeoque lege cavit, ne quis sub poenâ capitis, mentionem faceret hæredis regni, dicens
 10 sibi ante mortem non esse fodiendum sepulchrum: rationem reddit Tiberius Macroni: orientem ab eo solem adorari, occidentem deseri: adeoque teste Tacito. I. Histor. suspectus semper invisusque dominanti est, quisque proximus destinatur.

[P. 162] Refert Tacitus: Agricolam in prima iuventa studium philosophiæ acrius, ultra quam concessam Rom: ac senatori hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coercuisset: scilicet sublime ac erectum ingenium, pulchritudinem ac speciem excelsæ magnæque gloriæ vehementiùs quam cautè appetabat: mox (infert) mitigavit ætas et ratio retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia,
 20 modum.

[P. 199] Therefore the poet not improperly calleth these passions of drunkennesse and anger; "tortures;" because they urge men to confesse and betray their secretts. vino tortus et irâ. Hor: ep. 1.

[P. 200] Hence as (Bacon observes) the ancient politiques in popular states were wont to say, that the people were like the sea, and the orators like the windes: for as the sea beinge calme and quiet of it selfe, is moved and stirred only by the windes. see .i. t. advanc. pag. 354.

[P. 201] This is the most subtle device, when simulation is put to it by a better dissimulation, according to the Spanish proverb: Tell a
 30 lye and finde a truth

[b] although Tiberio semper obscura et suspensa verba, and as physitions say of waters full of Flattery and uncertainty yet his counterfeit colours were discovered, when he uttered any thinge upon the sudden or in passion neque (ut Tacitus) vultus semper erate iussus, ut quæ
 35 speciem verbis adornasset, penitus sentire crederetur

[c] that sayinge: *fronti nulla fides*, is meant of the outward and general composure of the countenance and gesture: yet there are certain subtle motions, and labours of the face, eyes and lookes, as Q Cicero expoundeth, whereby is unlocked and opened *ianua quædam animi*.

- 5 [P. 203] Sic Eumenes, ut Perdiccam occisum, se ut hostem a Macedonibus iudicatum, bellumque Antigono decretum cognovit, ultrò militibus suis indicavit: ne fama aut rem in majus extolleret, aut militum animos rerum novitate terreret. Justin.lib.12* idem ait Alexand: apud Curt: lib.7 nisi quæ delata essent excussissem, valdè dissimulatio
10 mea suspecta esse potuisset.

[P. 204] Hence Bacon sayth that Mysteries are due to secrecies: and againe, that Secrecy is the vertue of a Confessor.

[P. 218] If you are wise, and silent, you are a foole: if you are a foole and silent; you are wise.

- 15 [P. 219] cum tamen specie recusantis flagrantissimè cupivisset tandem (inquit Tacitus) quasi coactus, et quærens miseram et onerosam sibi iniungi servitutem, rapit imperium, nec temperate, quam ut depositurum se quandoque spem faceret. Tacit . . . I

[b] dein tergiversatio in capiendo imperio erat necessaria: quia in
20 gerendo se suspectus sit. . . 21.ff.de tutor. & curat.

- [P. 330] For it is a dangerous matter to provoke mens friends; who yf they thinke themselves undiscovered, are easily changed to the better: but yf they perceive themselves unmaskt, they drive at one mischeefe with another. wherefore twas deservedly judged a point of great wisdom
25 dome in Pompeius Magnus, that he instantly burnt all Sertorius Papers unperused by himselfe or permitted to be so by any other. Plutar: in Pomp. and Tacitus annal 12. That there is no safety in* that prince into whose head all things are conveyed as twere by confusion and direction from others.

- 30 [P. 337.] For there is a freind that sticketh closer than a brother. Pro.

[P. 339] *fælicitas reipub: non consistit in magnitudine sed in summa parenti imperandique prudentia Architectus certè intelligens non graves pluresque contignationes superædificat, neque altius domum tollit quam ferendo est fundamentum. quare Augustus consilium iniit*

coercere inter terminos Imperium non nempe invidia id fecit Aug. qualis in Adriano fuit, nec timore quodam, aut metu aut etiam ex ignavia, sed ex summa prudentia, ne (ut testatur Dion) imperium dilatare voluisset, id difficilius tenetur, facilius etiam partum amitteret.—Nisi
 5 forte apud Tacitum cum Scipione Admirato, Metum interpreter prudentiam; sive ut alibi: Tacitus appellat consilium, veluti in Agricolaë vita: at Longa, inquit oblivio Britanniaë etiam in pace: consilium id Divus Augustus volebat, Tiberius præcipuè sive ut Lipsius legit, præceptum: et alias metus pro prudentia ponitur Hinc Arbiter: quantum quis timet,
 10 tantum fugit. Clapm: l. 3, 155. et eleganter Curtius: prægrave imperium difficile est continere, quod capere non potes: videsne ut navigia quæ modum excedunt, regi nequeant; nescio an Darius ideo tam multa amiserit, quia nimia opes magnæ iacturæ locum faciunt, facilius est quædam vincere quàm tueri; quàm herculè expeditius manus nostræ
 15 capiunt, quam continent.

[P. 341] unde Curtius: Crater inquit, omnibus preparatus regis expectabat adventum captæ urbis titulo, sicut par est, cedens. Quo etiam respexit Constantinus, qui (teste Arriano lib 16) edictis testatus est, se rerum gestis non abfuisse et dimicasse et vicisse. Vid. Clapm. l. 3 pag
 20 142:143.

[P. 344] C. Silij iactantia maximè adnotatur, qui ingentes exercitus septem annos moderatus fuerat, cùm immodicè iactasset suum militem in obsequio duravisse, cum alij ad seditiones prolaberentur neque mansurum Tiberio imperium, si ijs quoque legionibus cupido novandi fuisset: ita Tacitus: destrui per hæc fortunam suam, imparemque tanto
 25 merito rebatur Cæsar: quo prudentius Mæcenæ, maius erat potuisse tamen, nec velle triumphos: maior res magnis abstinuisse fuit. et Agricola subtilius, teste Tacito, nunquam in suam famam gestis exultavit, ad autorem et ducem, ut minister, fortunam referebat. ita Agricola virtute
 30 in obsequendo, verecundia in prædicando extra invidiam, nec extra gloriam erat. unde Curtius lib.6. Alexander, inquit, hostes vinci voluerat, Antipatrum vicisse, re tacitus quidem [*cætera desunt.*]

[P. 410] Quam ob causam David rex sanctissimus atque sapientissimus, decem concubinas a filio suo constupratas vinculis detinuisse mihi

videtur: Sam.2: cap.20. quippe quod erant concubinæ Regiæ, quas non satis tutum erat dimitti ut cuiquam alocari. unde Africanus, uxorem quære firmamentum familiæ. Clapm: lib 4.p.298.

[P. 411] Hæc causa est (inquit Clapm: l.3. pag. 147.) quare cum alias
5 matrimonia libera esse debeant id mutet in fæminis Augustis.

[P. 413] est enim fæmina ut Plinius in epistolis; interdum pestis generis humani.

[P. 414] At Claudius Cæsar aliam viam posteris pro securitate tradi-
dit: Qui mortuâ Messalinâ uxore, Iuliam Agrippinam neptem, Ger-
10 manici filiam, in uxorem duxit: quia periculum erat si alii nuberet, ne is imperio Claudii insidias strueret, fretus hoc conjugio cum nepte Imperatoris. Quamvis Pallas (apud Tacitum) dignum prorsus Imperatoria virtute censuit, stirpem nobilem at familiæ Claudix, secum trahere, quæ posteros coniungeret, ne fæmina experta fæcunditatis integram claritudinem Cæsarum aliam in domum ferret.

[P. 433] many rigid professors have turned Romane Catholick and have bin more Jesuited then any other:& econtra: and this is a naturall motion, in opinion for a man is apt to thinke he can never runne far enough from that which he once beginns to hate.

20 [b] neque enim illis (sayth Tacitus) aut iudicium aut veritas est.

[P. 442] veluti adulatio, quæ corruptis temporibus perinde deinceps ubi nimia, aut ubi nulla est.

[P. 445] as Seneca sayes, (in giving the reason why) quot servi, tot humiles amicos fecimus eos hostes non habemus.

25 [b] puniri a legibus delicta: quanto ferre mitius in ipsos, melius in sanos provideri ne peccaretur. Tacit. l.3. c. 14.

[P. 446] œconomicall respects, many times supplant politicall duties. Bacon.

[b] But many are of a contrary opinion. viz. to be deprived of these
30 is a ready way for flight: but they that have wife and children in warre have given hostages for their valour. even as when Julius Brutus landing in England burnt or sent backe all the ships that their valour was soe pawned, that they could not thinke of flight.

[c] they may perhappes be called the Baggage of an army: for they
35 may be necessary sometimes (uxorium levamentum) and yet cumber-

some, hinderinge the March. Tis Bacons expression of riches in respect to vertue.

[P. 450] largitiones temeritatis apud plebem sunt invitamenta. teste Livio

5 [P. 459] uno absurdo dato mille sequentur

[P. 460] Sic Divus Julius, seditionem exercitus verbo uno compescuit, quirites vocando. Tacit.l.i.cap.10. The reason was this. the Romans when their generalls, did speak in the army, did use the word, milites: when the magistrates spake to the people they did use the word, Quirites.
10 Cæsars souldiers were in a tumult, and desired to be cashiered, not that they soe meant, but to draw him by expostulations to some conditions: he nothinge daunted and resolute: after some silence, beganne thus; Ego Quirites: which word did admitt them allready cashered, wherwith the souldiers were soe suddenly surprized, relinquisht their demands
15 and desired the name milites to be restored to them.

[P. 461] si ivisset Tiberius, aut utrique exercitui, tam in Illyrico, quam in Germaniâ, satisfactum oportuisset, aut neutri, aut alterutri; si utrique, futurum hoc erat contra salutem reipub: quæ tantis oneribus erat impar; si neutri, metuebat ab utroque: ne sibi vim intentarent, et
20 quod ultrò nequissent, necessitate exprimerent. si alterutri, atque ita hunc exercitum alteri prætulisset, periculum erat, ne postremo sibi hâc contumelia incenderentur. Clapm.l.3.p.15.

[P. 462] Imperatoriæ maiestatis est præcisè agere omnia; et ad punctum, hoc est ut Alciatus interpretatur, sine tectorio aliquo et sermonis
25 involucro, et ut Cicero sine exceptione. Clapm.l.3.pag.152.

[P. 463] optima ratio ea redditur esse: ne Imperatore absente, sedes Imperij a coniuratis occuparetur.—neque decorum (inquit Tacit.) Principibus si una alterave civitas turbetur omissâ urbe unde in omnia regimen. ideo Carolus Gallus bellum cum Eduardo Rege Angliæ per
30 fratres gessit, ne rebus improspere gestis, ut est fortuna belli, absente Rege Parisienses more suo secessionem facerent. vid. Clapm lib 3.p.252

[P. 465] parum tuta est sine viribus majestas. Liv.lib.1.

[b] quare in quo Syllam increpat Cæsar, quod Dictaturam deposuerat, eum literas nescivisse: in eo multò magis obiurgandus est
35 Cæsar ipse, quod non deposita Dictaturâ prætorianos tamen milites

dimisit, principatus enim armis quæsitus ut monuerunt eum Pansa et Hirtius apud Paterculum, armis tenendus erat. Clapm.lib 3.pag:150.

[P. 495] unde illud Pauli: Domini dii estis. Quo nomine Imperatores Romani etiam Christiani, se æternos sanctos divinos appellabant. vid. in leg.2.cod.de Fab. Qui adorent fabricent nostram æternitatem unde qui per Principem Romanum peierabat fustibus cædebatur. l.si.* duo 9 ult.ff.de iure.

[P. 496] si quis nummum vel anulum effigie Principis signatum passus fuisset sibi e manibus in cloacam desiderare: vel si quis eosdem in Lupanar tulisset. unde Tacit: crimen majestatis vocat vinculum et necessitatem silentii, item omnium accusationum complementum. Curtius* appellat desperationem salutis.

[P. 498] hinc Galba cum rerum fuisset potitus, priorem virtutem amittebat. Maior (inquit Tacitus) privato visus, cum privatus fuit, et omnium consensu capax imperij, nisi imperasset. alieno imperio felicior, quàm suo. spem frustrate senex, privatus sceptrā mereri visus es, imperio proditus inferior: Fama tibi melior iuveni, nec iustior ordo est complacuisse dehinc, displicuisse prius—Auson epigram.

[P. 499] So Caligula carried himselfe well before he was emperour, soe that it was say'd of him, nec servum meliorem ullum nec deteriorem Dominum.

[P. 500] and therefore Aristotle pol.1. notes well, that the nature of every thinge is best seen in his smallest portions.

[P. 502] Dion testatur; Tiberium respondisse rogatum, Hirudines multo sanguine hausto quiescere, recentium morsus esse acerrimos.

[b] Cæterum Sabino prorogata fuit provincia, additis Moesia et Macedonia illam ob eximiam artem, sed, quod par negotiis, neque supra erat. Tacit.

[P. 503] et Augustus, ut plures partem administrandum reipub: caperent, nona officia excogitavit. Clap.lib 2 pag.99.

[PP. 503-4] Clapmorus dicit: rex fuit hominum genus, quemadmodum Athenis fuisse testatus Athenæus; alii favebant dominationi principum, quos Gunterus fideles appellat; alii memores adhuc pristinæ libertatis, antiquam rempublicam restitutam cupiebant. His imperium et iurisdictionem non dedit Tiberius, neque prorogavit: quin potius

- eorum, vitam consilia sermones publicè privatimque notabat præsertim quorum erant spectata (*Cætera desunt.*) itantes. Livius.lib.4 elatos supra modum hominis privati: Arrianus necasti* trauces* Majestati. Calphurnios sceleratos: sceleratis, inquit
 5 ingeniis, et plus quam civilia agitantibus non dominari, instar servitutis est. at princeps eiusmodi circa se habeant* qui non tantum ipsius sunt amici, sed imperii quive nolunt præsentem statum eversum: His quibus et dedit, et continuavit, præsertim mediocribus virtutibus præditis, quales erant, Sabinus cognitus, et sub Claudio L. Vitellius, in cuius
 10 statuâ erat hæc inscriptio, pietatis immobilis, erga principem. magnificet princeps eos, qui dominationi suæ et præsentì imperio favent, ut cum Horatio loquar, obsequio grassantur, hoc Tacitus; quibus claritudo sua obsequiis prorogenda erat. et alios modestos obsequiosos, et vitio promptos. Hodie Courtizani, aulici appellantur. Clapm.lib: 2. pag.
 15 97.103. Tiberius habuit, sui, et imperij amicos: ut Alexander olim Craterum, et Hephestionem invenit.

NOTES

PROPOSALS

This brief tract or essay is preserved in the Columbia Manuscript but has apparently never before been published. It was alluded to in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (N. S. VI, ii, 462), in 1836, as having been communicated to the Royal Society of Literature by its owner, Sir Thomas Phillips. In 1848 Geffroy mentioned the manuscript, but it was apparently unknown to later scholars until it was sold in 1921; see *Book Auction Records*, xviii, 534. It was then described merely as a draft for the *Readie and Easie Way*. Actually, of course, it is an entirely separate handling of the same ideas as were presented in that pamphlet and is rather to be compared to the Letter to Monk given in Volume VI of the present edition, from which, however, it is also quite distinct. It has been discussed by us briefly in *N&Q*, clxxiii, 66 (July 24, 1937) where its true nature was pointed out.

It is just possible that the little work, which would make a pamphlet

of four pages, may actually have been printed in 1659, for L'Estrange, in *No Blinde Guides*, 1660, refers to what has always been supposed to be the *Readie and Easie Way* as "Proposals of the benefits of a Free-State." Such a pamphlet might easily have perished. The second edition of the much bulkier *Readie and Easie Way* survives apparently in but one copy. And the title might have been omitted from Edward Phillips's list of his uncle's writings. Phillips considered it a mere synopsis, or he might have overlooked so small an item. It is quite possible, however, that Milton found no publisher for it. In any case the Columbia Manuscript was obviously prepared for the poet himself, and the text is a fair copy. The only variants are the following:

- P. 5. —3 chang] INSERTED WITH CARET
—8 taxes] FIRST BEGUN tal or tas —13
whither] CHANGED FROM when (?)
P. 6. —24 erect] CHANGED FROM erects

SCRIPTUM PARLAMENTI: A DECLARATION
AGAINST THE DUTCH

This has already been referred to in the notes to Volume XIII, page 641. It was first noticed as probably Miltonic by Hamilton, in 1859, but more fully and correctly discussed by Masson, IV, 447, 482. On July 13, 1652, the Council of State ordered "that Mr. Thurloe do appoint fit persons to translate the Parliament's Declaration into Latin, French and Dutch"; and on July 20 Thurloe made a memorandum to "send Mr. Dugard to speak with Mr. Milton concerning the printing of the Declaration." At this time the Orders of Council rarely named the person who was to translate a particular document, although Milton was named to make versions of some of the documents concerning the earlier Dutch Embassy of 1651/2. We also know that after March 11 of that year Milton had some assistance from Wekherlin and that some work was occasionally turned over to John Phillips by his uncle. See Masson, IV, 425, 446. But we also find the very prosaic bill of claims connected with this series of negotiations collected in 1676 among Milton's papers; it is No. 43A in our Volume XIII. It is almost certain that Milton would not have been

asked to supervise the printing of this volume had he not had a considerable share in it. Following Masson, we assume that the material was omitted from the collection of 1676 because it was already accessible in print. We also believe that Milton was probably responsible for the Latin form of the Declaration itself and perhaps had a share in its English form, that he wrote the Latin version of the story of the sea fight and perhaps had a hand in the English version of that, and that he also had a share (probably the lion's share) in the Latin versions of the minor documents and of the English versions of the documents originally submitted in Latin. These we have reprinted. But we have good reason to think that Milton did not usually translate from the French, and we have omitted both texts and translations of documents originally submitted in that tongue.

We have reprinted from Dugard's pamphlet all the Latin texts, and place opposite them the appropriate originals and translations as given in the English pamphlet. Milton is responsible certainly for the supervision of the publication of the Latin pamphlet,

probably for most of the translations in Latin and English, and not improbably for the English originals in the case of the Declaration and the account of the sea fight. Both pamphlets appeared in July, 1652.

Our text of the Latin pamphlet is from a photostat of the copy in the British Museum [Pressmark 1127. h. 28 (4)] which contains the following note:

ERRATA sic corrigenda.

Pag. 1. l. 5. *impræsentia lege* in
præsentia p. 9. l. 1. *quâ lege* quæ
 p. 12. l. 23. *fidem lege* finem p. 28.
 l. 2. *de lege* deque

Since the second and third changes are already made in that book, it is probable that more than one issue exists. Editorial corrections are limited to the rectification of two or three obvious misprints like "Parlamenteum."

Our text of the English version follows a photostat of the British Museum copy [Pressmark E. 1951. (11)], and we believe there may be different issues of that, printed at London. A distinct reprint, issued at Leith, 1652, is known from the British Museum copy [Pressmark 8122. aa. 41.], but it has not seemed necessary to collate this.

ADDITIONAL STATE PAPERS

It has long been known that Milton translated from Latin into English for the use of the Parliament and from English into Latin for the use of the ambassadors a number of documents connected with the first Dutch Embassy to London of the year 1651/2. Those which were specifically assigned to him by the orders of Council were described in Volume XIII as lost documents, with the numbers 167A to 167F, the pertinent orders being there quoted. As we were there able to point out when the volume

was in page proof, researches at the Hague enabled us to recover the copies of the four Latin documents translated from English by Milton, there, as here, numbered 167C-167F. Our texts are from photostats of the original documents at the Hague, hitherto unpublished, as far as we know, and certainly not hitherto collected by Miltonists. Search for 167A and 167B in England has not been successful, and it will be recalled those documents would not have been sent to Holland, as they were English versions for use

of the English negotiators. In addition to the references given by Masson, IV, 422 ff., and by us at XIII, 641 ff., there are references to Milton's work for this Embassy in the "Conversations with Mylius," given in the present volume, but nothing that enables us to identify any additional documents in the series with certainty.

The translations are by Professor McCrea, for we have not met with the original English form of these documents, though they may still exist somewhere. A Dutch version of 167E is printed by Leo van Aizema in *Saken van Staet en Oorlogh*, the Hague, 1669, III, 694 ff.

A few spellings in the text of 167E may be due to the speed with which Milton and the copyist had to work, for we know the whole thing had to be done in a few days; see Masson, IV, 424-425. The variants follow:

Document 167C

P. 80. —1] AT THE BEGINNING THE MS. BEARS THE ANNOTATION Num. 16 —6 *Fœderatas*] THE FIRST LETTER IS BLOTTED —8 *conservet*] CORRECTED, ORIGINALLY BEGUN *const* (?) P. 82. —12 *fieret*] CORRECTED FROM *fierit* —16 *datum*] CORRECTED FROM *factum* —18 *damnorum*] CORRECTED FROM *damnum* —23 *sit*] PRECEDED

BY CANCELLED *est* P. 84. —3 *hujusmodi*] THE S IS BLOTTED, PERHAPS CORRECTED.

Document 167D

P. 86. —1] AT THE BEGINNING THIS MS. BEARS THE ANNOTATION Num. 17. —6 *jussu*] CORRECTED FROM *jussa* P. 88. —19 *in*] ADDED IN A CRAMPED SPACE IN A FINE HAND —20 *Magistorum*] BETWEEN THE I AND THE O ARE ONE OR TWO CANCELLED LETTERS —23 *ista*] FOLLOWED BY SEVERAL CANCELLED WORDS, WHICH SEEM TO BE *res sub eorum . . . cognitione se habeat* (LATER USED IN LINE 24) —23 *certius*] CORRECTED FROM *artius* P. 90. —4 *in*] INSERTED OVER A CARET —18 *in*] INSERTED OVER A CARET —21 *jussu*] CORRECTED FROM *jussa* P. 92. —4 *literarum*] INSERTED OVER A CARET —6 *utque*] FIRST SO WRITTEN, THEN THE *ue* CANCELLED AND THE USUAL ABBREVIATION SUBSTITUTED —15 *missum*] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED *navium Bel-gicarum* (PROBABLY A SCRIBAL ERROR OF REPETITION FROM LINE 13) P. 94. —8 *errorem*] FIRST WRITTEN *errem*, WHICH WAS THEN CANCELLED —10 *cujusque*] FIRST WRITTEN *ejusque*, THEN CORRECTED. IT IS FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED *quoque*

Document 167E

P. 94. —18 *cujuscunque*] FOLLOWED

BY CANCELLED demum P. 100. —6 et fideliter] THE et IS INSERTED OVER A CARET; fideliter WAS FIRST BEGUN AS prout, WHICH NOW FOLLOWS IT —8 navibus] BEGUN AS nobi (?) P. 116. —4 Magistratum] INSERTED OVER A CARET P. 118. —3 rei publ:] IN THE MARGIN, AS IF ADDED LATER P. 120. —3 mercatoriz] THE LAST DIPHTHONG IS BLOTTED

Document 167F

P. 124. —6] AT THE BEGINNING IS THE ANNOTATION Num. 22.

Some of the other documents connected with the first Dutch Embassy of 1651/2, preserved in the Hague, are probably Milton's work; but no definite evidence exists for any save those here printed.

THE COMMONPLACE BOOK

Alfred J. Horwood found the manuscript which he called the *Commonplace Book* among the papers of Sir Frederick Graham about 1874. It contains a large number of entries in the hand of Milton himself and in the hands of Jeremy Picard, Edward Phillips, and other known, but nameless, amanuenses of Milton. It also contains a good many entries in a hand identified as that of Lord Preston, a contemporary of Milton's. Since one of these entries is from a book of 1675, it seems improbable that he acted as Milton's amanuensis, although he probably was acquainted with the poet. The manuscript originally contained 126 leaves, paged from 1 to 250, and with an unpagged leaf on which is the Table at the end. Many leaves have been cut away, and many that survive are blank. Since the en-

tries noticed in the Table are all present, it is assumed that nothing Milton wished to preserve is lost. When found, the manuscript had laid in it the early Prolusion and Verses on early rising and the original letter from Henry Lawes to Milton (discussed in this edition at I, 326 f.; XII, 288, 325).

Horwood first published the complete text in a small volume for the Camden Society, in 1876, which was reprinted with corrections in 1877. He also published a complete autotype facsimile, *A Common-Place Book of John Milton*, 1876, in an edition of 100 copies. The original manuscript is now in the British Museum (MS. Add. 36354).

The text of the present edition was prepared on the basis of these; it contains all the material except that in

the easily distinguished hand of Lord Preston. The only doubtful entries, those under "De Morte" are included with reservation.

Milton did not write the *Common-place Book* with an eye to publication, and the arrangement of the material is necessarily partly the responsibility of an editor. A few entries made at the side of the page in the original were not to be assigned with absolute certainty to a particular place in the text. But we present what we think Milton's intention, keeping what he apparently meant as side notes at the side and inserting the other additions in the text. Since the facsimile is accessible, it is easily possible for scholars to see just what has been done. We have also preserved at the sides the foliation, which is due to Milton himself and is the basis of the references in his Table.

Our text is, as usual, practically without emendation, but Greek accents and breathings have been corrected throughout. Immediately after each paragraph containing matter in any tongue save English is given a translation in brackets, but this has not been thought desirable in the case of the Table, since each heading is accompanied by a bracketed translation in the text itself.

Since Milton himself seems to have

thought of the book as definitely divided into three parts, we have given numbers to the three sections. And since this is not the only common-place book he prepared, we have presented in the section of the present volume following this such related material as has been found.

Since the facsimile is accessible, no attempt is made to list the various hands of Miltonic amanuenses nor to record earlier or later entries as such. The variants follow:

P. 128. —3 conditis] THE FIRST FOUR LETTERS ARE BADLY BLOTTED. —14 quamvis] PARTLY BLOTTED P. 131. —3 Mango] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED ne petende P. 132. —12 prostraverint] CORRECTED FROM prostaverint P. 133. —5 truncavit] CHANGED FROM truncate P. 134. —3 approbatum] CHANGED FROM probatum —18 consistit] FOLLOWS CANCELLED pos P. 135. —20 valentiniano] CHANGED FROM valentinianis P. 136. —4 THE HEADING IS IN MILTON'S HAND, THE REST IN THAT OF LORD PRESTON OR AN AMANUENSIS OF MILTON. THE TEXT IS INCLUDED WITH RESERVATION. P. 137. —5 years] FOLLOWS CANCELLED days P. 138. —4 aut] CHANGED FROM auc P. 139. —1 subitò] FOLLOWS CANCELLED mirâ —perplacida] FOLLOWS CANCELLED perpla P. 141. —6 apud inferos]

INSERTED WITH A CARET P. 145. —6 incipit] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED CONTRA maledic —7 prudenter] PRECEDES CANCELLED et maledicentiam vete —temere] PRECEDES CANCELLED mal —9 spesso] WRITTEN ABOVE CANCELLED molto —10 parla] FOLLOWS CANCELLED pente —14 dell'] CORRECTED FROM dec —15 men] CORRECTED FROM mel —17 sopra] INSERTED WITH CARET OVER CANCELLED a . . P. 147. —5 l. 2] THE NUMERAL IS PRACTICALLY ILLEGIBLE —11 c. 30] CORRECTED FROM l. 30 P. 148. —13 pag] CORRECTED FROM ca —15 cum] CHANGED FROM et —15 conjuge] FIRST BEGUN DIFFERENTLY P. 149. —10 371] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED 426 OR 1126 OR y26 —21 Cyprius] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED quamvis P. 151. —15 professes] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED that his —21 ut] PRECEDED BY CANCELLED ut P. 152. —8 de jure] FIRST BEGUN de re P. 153. —11 estoient] CORRECTED FROM estoint —egalement] FOLLOWS CANCELLED avec P. 154. —18 bis VIDE 116] HEAVILY BLOTTED AND PERHAPS CANCELLED P. 155. —8 earum] FOLLOWS CANCELLED eas —22 1216] FOLLOWS CANCELLED 16 P. 156. —20 vivente] FOLLOWS CANCELLED et —27 Belgiz . . . defensor] ADDED AT SIDE WITH ASTERISK P. 157. —8-9 non . . . Mosch:] ADDED AT SIDE WITH ASTERISK P. 158. —4 institut.] FOLLOWED BY

CANCELLED tit —19 l. 2] FOLLOWS CANCELLED chap. —20-21 secutus] FOLLOWS CANCELLED cujus P. 160. —8 cujus] THE READING OF THE MS IS CLEAR, BUT THE MEANING SEEMS TO BE cubus P. 162. —12 in] WRITTEN OVER CANCELLED per —13 quas] CHANGED FROM quæ P. 163. —13 who] FIRST WRONGLY INSERTED WITH CARET BEFORE Romans THEN CANCELLED AND ADDED HERE P. 165. —6 Mere] FIRST WRITTEN Meere —6 Holinsh] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED Sto. —411] INSERTED WITH CARET —7 D] CHANGED FROM E (FOR Earl) P. 166. —18 them] INSERTED WITH CARET —27 ff. granted . . . subditus] ADDED AT SIDE WITH ASTERISK P. 167. —3 deniing] ADDED WITH CARET —8 succeded] CHANGED FROM succeed —10 protector] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED Lew —19 Burgh] CHANGED FROM Bugh P. 168. —5 thing] ADDED WITH CARET —12 ad] ADDED WITH CARET P. 170. —10 shames] WRITTEN OVER BLOTTED ATTEMPT AT THE SAME WORD P. 171. —5 credat] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED non alia —17 disquiet] CHANGED (BLOTTED) P. 172. —11 & Holinsh.] ADDED WITH ASTERISK P. 175. —5 An.reg.] BLOTTED P. 176. —1-3 nullo casu . . . ibid] INSERTED AT SIDE WITH ASTERISK P. 178. —14 to accuse] FOLLOWS CANCELLED against —18 ther] CHANGED FROM the —21 subscrib'd] FOLLOWED

BY CANCELLED TO P. 179. —9 him] INSERTED WITH CARET —18 Chancel-
lour] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED elected
by authority of parliament P. 180.
—20 ostendit] INSERTED WITH CARET
OVER CANCELLED narrat P. 181. —15
Basil] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED de-
fines P. 183. —19 e a quelle] e IS
ADDED ABOVE THE LINE FOLLOWED BY
CANCELLED in quia —26 ne] WRITTEN
OVER CANCELLED ut P. 184. —7 vi-
dentur] FOLLOWS CANCELLED habentur
—24—25 reconciliatione] FOLLOWS
CANCELLED reconcili P. 185. —8 per-
petui] FOLLOWS CANCELLED d (FOR de-
cretis) P. 186. —4 nisi] FOLLOWED
BY CANCELLED leg P. 187. —9 why]
BLOTTED —10 rejected] PRECEDED BY
CANCELLED the —25 countnance] FOL-
LOWED BY CANCELLED of soverantie
—25 royal] INSERTED WITH CARET
P. 190. —20 dei] INSERTED WITH CARET
OVER CANCELLED divinis, P. 191. —10
Spagna] FIRST BEGUN d —12 leggi]
FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED non essendo
P. 192. —19 entrar] FOLLOWED BY
CANCELLED nef P. 193. —20 Romanæ]
CHANGED FROM Romæ P. 195. —12
consist] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED not
P. 196. —11] THIS IS FOLLOWED BY A
WHOLE NOTE CANCELLED ON FOL. 193
AND REPEATED BELOW, SEE NOTES BE-
LOW, ON FOL. 195. FOR VARIANTS, READ-
INGS OF THE FIRST VERSION ON FOL. 193
BEING MARKED CV —23 si] FOLLOWS

CANCELLED in or si —25 e lasciando]
et lasciando cv —25 pensarono] pen-
savano cv P. 197. —1 prencipi] prin-
cipi cv —1 gli] li cv —2 e di] et
di cv —2 e dogni] et d'ogni cv —13
Marco] PRECEDES CANCELLED id —20
Laudatissimos] FIRST BEGUN WITH
SMALL LETTER P. 198. —4 ministrum]
FIRST WRITTEN ministrum, CHANGED
TO minister, AND THE FIRST READING
RESTORED BY REWRITING ABOVE IT. —4
minister Ecclesiæ] INSERTED WITH
CARET —9 vedere] FOLLOWED BY CAN-
CELLED et d P. 199. —9 vel] FOLLOWS
CANCELLED Liberas esse —19 adduc-
tis] CHANGED FROM adductus —21 in]
FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED suo —21
suis] INSERTED WITH CARET —21 mi-
nistris] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED suis
P. 200. —2 bonas leges ferendo]
CHANGED FROM bonis legibus ferendis
—13 longa] FIRST BEGUN th —15
Scot.] TWICE INCORRECTLY WRITTEN
Soct., ONLY THE FIRST BEING CAN-
CELLED, IN THIS CASE WE PRINT WHAT
MILTON INTENDED —19 imposita]
CHANGED FROM impositam P. 201.
—9—11 the exaction . . . people] ADDED
AT SIDE —22 promooters] THE SECOND
O INSERTED WITH CARET P. 202. —16—
17 that the . . . &c] INSERTED WITH A
LINE P. 203. —19 he] INSERTED WITH
CARET P. 204. —12 His] CHANGED
FROM He —16 762] CHANGED FROM
763 P. 205. —2 his own] PRECEDES

SAME PHRASE CANCELLED P. 206. —14 facit] PRECEDES CANCELLED ut —14 in epilogo libri ut] ADDED IN MARGIN P. 209. —23 quosdam] FIRST FOUR LETTERS BLOTTED —25 ad] PRECEDES CANCELLED artem mili P. 210. —9 c. 14] PRECEDES CANCELLED And of —15 iis] WRITTEN ABOVE CANCELLED ips or eos P. 211. —21 ut] PRECEDES CANCELLED ne —22 qui] FOLLOWS CANCELLED contra —26 deo] PRECEDES CANCELLED ipsi P. 213. —27–28 Carolus] FOLLOWS CANCELLED sic P. 216. —8 recidant] CHANGED FROM resciri-

bant —10 crudeliter] ADDED LATER —25 Populi] FOLLOWS CANCELLED Liberi P. 217. —16 p. 349] FIRST WRITTEN 402 —21 397] THIS NUMBER IS TWICE ATTEMPTED —25 habendo] PRECEDES CANCELLED il re P. 219. —2 his life] FIRST WRITTEN in his life, and P. 220. [Index.] —Ebrietas] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED 16 —De scientiâ literarum. 53, 54] THERE IS NO ENTRY ON FOLIO 54 —De Maledicentia. 77] NUMBER ALTERED FROM 76 —Matrimonium] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED 8 [SEE ALSO PAGE 654.]

ADDITIONS TO THE COMMONPLACE BOOK

As was pointed out in our notes to the *Commonplace Book* itself, Milton apparently had other volumes by him of like nature. Some material of the kind has lately been recovered from the Columbia Manuscript and is given here. We also have added what little is known of the lost theological notes. It is possible, though not highly probable, that other things of the kind existed. Since the text of the *Commonplace Book* is divided into three sections, these additional related fragments are numbered IV–VI.

IV. *Index Legalis*

This unfinished collection of notes on legal matters, which exactly paral-

els the entries on other subjects in the *Commonplace Book*, is preserved on pages 144–150 of the Columbia Manuscript. The work is in the hand of a different amanuensis from the one who wrote the copies of the Letters of State, and the entries begin from what is now the back of the book, although we believe the material was entered earlier. Milton prepared an elaborate page with twenty capital letters for the Index, but apparently abandoned the project after a short time. A later owner of the manuscript, Bernard Gardiner, wrote his accounts on the pages and even crossed out some entries, but not in a way that makes the text hard to decipher. The

work contains little original composition of Milton but is an interesting sidelight on his interest in law. So far as we know, the work has never before been printed or even mentioned in print. The variants follow:

P. 221. —1-2 Relegatus . . . dubijs] CANCELLED BY FINCH, WHO PROBABLY DID NOT REALIZE THE WORK WAS MILTON'S —5 Judicium] FIRST BEGUN [d —6 Principis] THE LAST LETTER IS ALTERED —7 Civilibus] FIRST WRITTEN civilia P. 222. —11 est] CHANGED FROM sit —11 per ipsum] ADDED WITH CARET —22 ubi] FIRST BEGUN pro P. 223. —8 intra] FIRST WRITTEN quæ —8 triennium] FIRST BEGUN bi —19 privatum] PRECEDES CANCELLED Criminalis —26 actio] FIRST WRITTEN action —26 in] FIRST WRITTEN ad P. 224. —2 utraque] CORRECTED FROM FIRST READING utrius (?) —2 cumulantur] INSERTED WITH CARET —13 si] PRECEDES CANCELLED non P. 225. —6 In querelâ] PRECEDED BY CANCELLED Non poss —14 juramento] INSERTED WITH CARET P. 226. —2 ordo Judi] THIS IS AN UNFINISHED ENTRY, THE ITEM TO WHICH IT REFERS BEING ENTERED IN THE SECTION Judicium.

V. English Phrases

This material is written separately in the Columbia Manuscript, at page

154. The hand is that of the Legal Index, and the notes have a general kinship to the *Commonplace Book* which makes us print them here. They seem not to have been mentioned or published previously. The variants follow: P. 226. —9 *Squalens*] CHANGED FROM *Squaleus* —9-10 *Squamosum*] FIRST BEGUN *Squal* —12 *dicebatur*] FIRST BEGUN *vi* —20 *se*] WRITTEN OVER & —21 *Calidas*] FIRST BEGUN WITH C OR V

VI. Index Theologicus

The title of this manuscript volume is mentioned in the *Commonplace Book*, and there are allusions to sections of it (one even including a page reference) on folios 12, 183, 197, 221, 244, 246. Horwood noticed this in his introduction to the facsimile edition of the *Commonplace Book*, in 1876, and expressed the hope that the Theological Index might be some day recovered. No trace of it, however, has been found to date, and the several headings printed by us are merely collected from the entries mentioned. Some of these are simply to "the other index," which suggests that it was of a size commensurate with the volume preserved.

Much of the material may have been used in the *De Doctrina*.

OUTLINES FOR TRAGEDIES

This celebrated series of notes and plans by Milton is preserved on pages numbered 35-41 in the Cambridge Manuscript in the Library of Trinity College (described in this edition, I, 407 ff.; XII, 398). The text was published, almost completely, by Birch, in 1753 (I, xlviii-lxxii). Facsimiles were given by Sotheby in the *Ramblings*, 1861, Plate IV ff., and photographic reproductions by Wright, in *Facsimile of the Manuscript of Milton's Minor Poems*, Cambridge, 1899, pp. 33-39. Masson edited the notes with care in the *Life*, II, 104 ff.; our edition differs little from his. Masson dates the plans about 1640 to 1642.

In editing the text, we have expanded abbreviations that contain the beginning and ending of a word, but no others. And while we have given great attention to the facsimiles, we are aware that the Manuscript has somewhat deteriorated with the years and have not hesitated to include without brackets a few letters which Birch and Masson were able to read, though we cannot. Incidentally, where Masson and Wright are not in agreement, our examination usually shows that the former was correct. One number and one word have been added in brackets to make the text intelligible.

And while we have refrained from adding punctuation, in a few places where the absence of pointing badly obscures the writer's intention, slightly greater spacing has been introduced between certain words.

The variants follow:

P. 228 [First Draft]. —3 Heavenly Love] ADDED LATER —6 with the serpent] CANCELLED —14 with others] THE BRACKET WAS ENLARGED TO INCLUDE THIS [THE WHOLE OF THE FIRST DRAFT WAS LATER CANCELLED.] [Second Draft] —2 Moses] THIS FINAL READING WAS THE RESULT OF MUCH REVISION. PROBABLY THE READINGS WERE IN ORDER: FIRST, Michael; SECOND, Michael or Divine Wisdom; AND THIRD, Moses, THE WORDS Justice. Mercie BEING ADDED WHEN THE THIRD READING WAS ARRIVED AT. —7 Hesperus . . . Starre] APPARENTLY MILTON FIRST WROTE The Evening Starre, TRIED TO CHANGE The to Hes, THEN ADDED THE NAME AND INDICATED THE PROPER ORDER BY ADDING SUBSCRIPT NUMERALS 1 2 3 1 —18 Death] FIRST PLACED BEFORE Labour BUT THERE CANCELLED. THEREAFTER THE WHOLE SECOND DRAFT WAS CANCELLED BY MILTON HIMSELF. P. 229. —3-9 recounting . . . thire sin] ADDED AT SIDE —3 his] INSERTED WITH

CARET OVER CANCELLED a —4 *being* with] MASSON'S EMENDATION IS ADOPTED. ALL THAT IS VISIBLE IS WIT AND AS THERE IS NOT ROOM FOR WITNESSING, HE IS PROBABLY RIGHT IN ASSUMING MILTON OMITTED SOME WORD LIKE *being* BY A SLIP. —6 place] ONLY pl IS LEGIBLE —7 hasts] THIS IS SURELY CORRECT, DESPITE BOTH MASSON AND WRIGHT. —9 thire] PRECEDED BY CANCELLED sin —10 Act 1] ADDED BY THE EDITORS —11 Justice] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED Mercie AND Heavenly Love —14 a hymne . . . creation] ADDED LATER P. 231. —1 Adam unparadiz'd] ORIGINALLY Adams Banishment —4 next] ADDED IN MARGIN IN PLACE OF CANCELLED first —10 passes] FOLLOWS CANCELLED comes —17-19 heer . . . man] INSERTED WITH A MARK FROM ANOTHER PAGE —23 is] EMENDED BY THE EDITORS FROM HIS —24 heer . . . fall] ADDED FROM BOTTOM OF PAGE WITH A MARK —27 etc. the chorus . . . impenitence] LIKewise ADDED LATER P. 232. —1 by] WRITTEN OVER ORIGINAL OF —5 promises] FOLLOWS CANCELLED & brings in faith hope & charity P. 232. —10 in Banishment] PRECEDED BY CANCELLED ex for ex[ul] or ex[iled] —11 ff.] MILTON WROTE THREE TITLES ON THE FIRST LEAF BETWEEN THE FIRST TWO DRAFTS OF PARADISE LOST; AND ON THE NEXT

PAGE REPEATED ONE SUBJECT. FOLLOWING MASSON, WE UNITE THIS MATERIAL, INSERTING "OR" IN BRACKETS FOR CLARITY. THE ORDER IS A LITTLE CONFUSING AT FIRST GLANCE IN THE MS, BUT MASSON'S ARRANGEMENT IS CONFIRMED BY THE ORDER OF THE BIBLICAL SOURCES. —13 NOT ENTERED IN PROPER ORDER BY MILTON —15 steward] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED WITH P. 233. —9 ff. THE MATERIAL IS SCATTERED ON FOUR PAGES. —11 the title . . . burning] THIS IS THE HEADING OF THE SECOND PORTION OF THE DRAFT —18 or Peor] ADDED WITH A CARET —20 with the preist] ADDED AT SIDE WITH A CARET —22-24 the angels . . . Melchizedeck] ADDED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE WITH A MARK P. 234. —17 strëam] THE MS HAS strëam —20 firce] ORIGINALLY firie —23 id est Gener] ORIGINALLY Lots son —25-27 he bids . . . nation] ADDED WITH A MARK FROM NEXT PAGE P. 235. —8 Cüephorusa] INSERTED WITH CARET ABOVE CANCELLED *Ἰεπλοφορο-* ("VEILED") —9 bin] INSERTED WITH A CARET —16 THE SYNOPSIS IS WRITTEN ON A DIFFERENT PAGE FROM THE TITLE —19 Eleazer] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED cont . . . FOR INTENDED contend. —21 Cosby] CHANGED FROM Cosbi P. 236. —1 et] INSERTED WITH A CARET —4 Jud.] FOLLOWS A CANCELLED ATTEMPT AT THE SAME WORD

—6 Samson . . . Hybristes, or] ADDED AS AN AFTERTHOUGHT —6-7 marriing or] INSERTED WITH CARET —10 Comazontes] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED Jud. —14 Eliadæ] PRECEDED BY CANCELLED the —21 in Gilboa] ORIGINALLY Auto-daïctes WHICH MUST BE INTENDED FOR *αὐτοδάκτος* OR "self-slain" —22 revolted] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED FROM P. 237. —4 or Idolomargus] INSERTED LATER —7-8 wher . . . religion] ADDED LATER —9 Abias] MILTON ALMOST SURELY MEANT TO WRITE "AHIAS" HERE —25 *συκοφαντούμενος*] ADDED WITH A MARK P. 239. —1 ff. MASSON READ THIS CORRECTLY; WRIGHT DID NOT; SEVERAL WORDS ARE NOW FRAGMENTARY —1 CANCELLED FIRST TITLE Assyrii —1 infra] ADDED LATER TO CONNECT WITH THE SYNOPSIS WHICH IS WRITTEN BELOW —7 Aiazomenos] MILTON FIRST CHANGED ζ TO C BUT RETURNED TO THE FORM PRINTED —18 Duræ] MASSON READ THIS ALMOST OBLITERATED WORD Dura P. 239. —22- P. 240 —1 or els . . . speech] ADDED WITH CARET —3 Queene] THIS LOOKS LIKE Queens —5 from] CHANGED FROM OF (?) —10 K.] PRECEDED BY CANCELLED FOR —16 command] FOLLOWS CANCELLED me —21 Herod] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED IN OR M —25 may] FOLLOWS CANCELLED make P. 241. THE BRITISH TRAGEDIES SECTION

IS VERY CAREFULLY WRITTEN, AND THE ITEMS NUMBERED BY MILTON HIMSELF. HE DID NOT NUMBER I AND 1a, BUT THE SUBJECTS DATE FROM 51 A.D., AND 408 A.D., AND SO MUST BE DIVIDED. —7-9 Vortiger . . . Speed] ADDED LATER AT SIDE —10 Vortiger] PRECEDES CANCELLED bele —10-11 the massacre . . . Malsbury] ADDED AT SIDE —12 from the faith] ADDED WITH A CARET —20-21 and the . . . in] THIS AND THE REFERENCE WERE ADDED LATER —23 See Speed, etc.] ADDED LATER P. 242. —2 Edmund] ABOVE THIS IS WRITTEN A CANCELLED CAPITAL I —5-6 or rather . . . Dunstan] ADDED LATER —7-9 to which . . . mariage] ADDED LATER —18 with] WRITTEN OVER CANCELLED OR AT P. 243. —3 Cedda had] SUBSTITUTED AT SIDE FOR CANCELLED had —4 against] ADDED WITH CARET ABOVE CANCELLED with —8 Kinewulf] CORRECTED IN MS —10 the danish ladie] ADDED WITH CARET —12-13 together . . . Speed] ADDED LATER —14 Bright- rick] ADDED WITH CARET ABOVE CANCELLED Bithrick P. 244. —3 Ethelred] FIRST BEGUN Etheld —9 defeating] FOLLOWS CANCELLED murder'd —15 in combat] ADDED LATER —23-25 wherein . . . magnif'd] ADDED LATER —24 prais'd] MASSON'S READING P. 245. MILTON'S SOURCE FOR ALL THE SCOTCH STORIES IS IN BELLENDEN'S TRANSLA-

TION OF THE "SCOTORUM HISTORIÆ" OF
HECTOR BOETHIUS, PRINTED WITH HOL-
INSHED —I-2 or . . . parts] ADDED
LATER —II witchcraft] FOLLOWS CAN-

CELLLED revenging —15 staid the]
FOLLOWS CANCELLED recover'd the

SEE ALSO PAGE 654 FOR A FEW ADDI-
TIONAL VARIANTS.

MR. JOHN MILTON'S CHARACTER OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT

The printed version of the *Digression*, issued as a quarto pamphlet of twelve pages in 1681, differs widely from the version of the Harvard Manuscript used in Volume X. We have therefore reprinted it in the text of the present volume. The variants are those of the Harvard Manuscript. It was in the possession of Thomas Mostyn as early as 1744 and was noticed in the *Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS*, 1874, Appendix, p. 359, No. 231. Our variants are given in two sections. First come those of the MS from the printed version, in which the first readings are those of the MS as printed in Volume X; and second is a record of the changes in the MS itself.

Variants of 1681 from the Harvard Manuscript

VOL. X, P. 317. —I-P. 318. —22 The
Digression . . . beaten home.] NOT IN
1681 P. 318. —24 armies] Arms
—25 advantages] an Advantage —26
want] the want —26 To other causes]

BEGINS NEW PARAGRAPH P. 319. —2
bird] Bridle —10-12 nor less . . .
times] NOT IN 1681 —12 For a parla-
ment] BEGINS NEW PARAGRAPH —12-
13 and as . . . redress] to Redress many
things, as 'twas thought —14 now]
NOT IN 1681 —17-18 and to . . . part]
to be sure the greater part —18 and
ample] or ample —20 place, when
once] place. But when once (NEW
PARAGRAPH) —23 behinde and] be-
hind, —26 then] thence —27 dishon-
est things] Horrid Deeds P. 320. —I
call'd] called —4-5 hee onely who
could] he who would —14 thir] this
—16 slighted . . . bereav'd] slighted,
and bereaved after, —20 if] though
—20 by thir orders] NOT IN 1681
P. 321. —3 whom] those whom —4
the state] what we call'd the State
—5 for that faith] NEW PARAGRAPH
—5 bee] have been —17 the terrible]
that *Terrible* —19 nessessarie] NOT IN
1681 —20 And if] NEW PARAGRAPH
P. 322. —3 worke] work done —4 im-
pudence] boldness —20 perswasion.]
perswasion: Distrusting the Virtue of

their own Spiritual weapons, which were given them, if they be rightly called, with full warrant of sufficiency to pull down all thoughts and imaginations that exalt themselves against God. —21—22 so much] NOT IN 1681 —23—24 were cleere to be no other then to have set up] are clear to have been no better than Antichristian: setting up —25 magistrate;] Magistrate, whom they would have made their Executioner, to punish Church-Dellinquencies [*sic*], whereof Civil Laws have no cognizance. —25 And well] NEW PARAGRAPH P. 323. —6 pietie,] Piety, to the work of Reformation, —8—9 which needed . . . themselves] NOT IN 1681 —9 The people] NEW PARAGRAPH —16 most of] NOT IN 1681 —17 now] under subtle Hypocrisie —17 bellies] Follies —17 rather then] most of them not —18 many] Time-servers, Covetous, —18 more then] not —19—21 covetous . . . contentment] NOT IN 1681 —21 many] most —21 had] NOT IN 1681 —22 these] this —23 who] which —23 by the affected] with the counterfeit —26 scandalis'd] foully scandalized —27 Thus they] NEW PARAGRAPH —28 great] our greatest —28 a people] the People P. 324. —6 further] a farther —12 wisely;] wisely; what good Laws are wanting, and how to frame them substantially —16 narrow] these narrow

—17 those] these —22 on] in —23 witt, as most doo, & consider] Wit; who consider —24 public] Publick good —27 too crude] rude P. 325. —15 money] many —20 From the] NEW PARAGRAPH —21 these] their —24 But on] NEW PARAGRAPH —25 back] NOT IN 1681 —25 to this] of this

*Changes in the Harvard
Manuscript*

These were not recorded in Volume X and may be conveniently collected here, references being to that volume.

P. 317. —8 among] CHANGED FROM amonge —23 parallel] CHANGED FROM parrallel —23 their] THE e ADDED LATER OVER CARET P. 318. —7—8 alledg'd] FIRST l ADDED OVER CARET P. 319. —2 bird] brid, CHANGED FROM bird, OR VICE VERSA; ANOTHER LETTER (PERHAPS l ?) MAY HAVE BEEN CUT OFF IN THE BINDING —24 profit] CHANGED FROM profet —27 wrong] CHANGED FROM wrong P. 320. —4 who] WRITTEN ABOVE CANCELLED that —6 unworthylic] un ADDED OVER CARET —12 among] CHANGED FROM amonge —28 ravning] ravning. SOMEWHAT BLOTTED BY HAVING BEEN REWRITTEN P. 321. —1 innumerable] SECOND n ADDED OVER CARET —1 theeves] SECOND e ADDED OVER CARET

—2 extraordinarie] WRITTEN OVER FIRST ATTEMPT ERASED —4-5 sequester'd] CHANGED FROM sequestered —20 plight] PARTLY REWRITTEN —21 religion] CHANGED FROM relection P. 322. —3 together] CHANGED FROM togather —11 nonresidence] SECOND n ADDED OVER CARET —11 among] CHANGED FROM amonge —11 many] n ADDED OVER CARET —21 convincement] FIRST c ADDED OVER CARET —24 spiritual] SOMEWHAT BLOTTED BY REWRITING —26 disciples] CHANGED FROM des-ciples —28 upon] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED thir P. 323. —2 devil] CHANGED FROM divil, OR VICE VERSA —4 disciples] c ADDED OVER CARET —5 bin] PRECEDED BY ERASED b —6 blaspheming] e ADDED OVER CARET —13 deluded] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED COMMA —14 despising] CHANGED FROM dispising —17 preach't] CHANGED FROM preached —20 godliness] FOLLOWED BY A CANCELLED COLON —21 had] ADDED OVER CARET —22 predecessors.] predecessors, THEN FOLLOWS THIS SENTENCE, CANCELLED BUT STILL LEGIBLE: But all were not such whither

all were such or were not, many yet Living can wittness, and the things themselves manifest that the more active part of them such were. PROBABLY PART OF THIS SENTENCE WAS WRITTEN, THEN CANCELLED, AND OTHER PARTS WRITTEN, AND FINALLY ALL CANCELLED —23 who] CHANGED FROM which —25 leudness] WRITTEN OVER ILLEGIBLE ERASED WORD —26 scandalis'd] THE WORD fowlely, WHICH PRECEDES THIS IN THE MS., HAS BEEN CHANGED SEVERAL TIMES, THE W HAVING BEEN WRITTEN OVER AND THE le INSERTED OVER A CARET P. 324. —8 handl'd] CHANGED FROM handled —8 vertuous] CHANGED FROM verteous —16 politicians] CHANGED FROM polliticians —21 naturallie] FOLLOWED AND PRECEDED BY CANCELLED not —26 elaborate] CHANGED FROM ilaborate —27 crude] CHANGED FROM rude BY INSERTION OF c OVER CARET P. 325. —14 few] WRITTEN OVER ERASED most —19 among] CHANGED FROM amonge —23 they] y ADDED OVER CARET. SEE ALSO PAGE 654 FOR TWO VARIANTS, NOTICED TOO LATE FOR INSERTION HERE.

TOLAND'S ADDITIONS TO THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN

In the text we have printed the verbal additions to the text found in Toland's version of the *History of Britain*, printed in 1698.

In the following notes we discuss first Toland's additions, second Milton's own leaf of errata, printed in later issues of the *History*, and thirdly

certain material not yet fully published, which may throw some light on the passages in the work suppressed by the censor, which last, we are convinced, are not connected with the *Digression*. Milton's Index to the *History* is reprinted in our Appendix at pp. 467-483, and a discussion of the variant issues of the original edition of the book will be found in the Addenda, at page 645 of this volume.

Toland's Additions

Toland published his text of the *History of Britain* from a "Copy corrected by the Author himself." The changes have been examined by Glicksman in PMLA, XXXV (1920), 116ff., and most of them are there collected. Professor Fletcher has, however, made an independent study of the books; our text is probably complete. It will be readily seen by any reader that these are not restorations of suppressed passages but author's revisions, probably made by Milton with a future edition in mind.

In our text, which is arranged somewhat like the marginalia, we have numbered the additions and given within brackets the readings of 1670, with page references to the reproductions thereof in Volume X, followed without brackets by the readings of Toland. Page references for Toland's

printing of these passages are as follows: 1, p. 10; 2, p. 11; 3, p. 23; 4, p. 32; 5-7, p. 33; 8-9, p. 34; 10, p. 35; 11, p. 37; 12, p. 39; 13, p. 69; 14, p. 92; 15, *passim*.

Most editions of Milton, from Birch's time down, have used Toland as a basic text. Mitford is, however, a notable exception, follows 1670, as does the Columbia edition.

Milton's Errata of 1670

Glicksman, in PMLA, XXXV (1920), 116ff., pointed out that the Errata, published in the later issues of the *History of Britain*, contains both corrections of misprints and author's changes by Milton himself. This has therefore been reprinted from the original, but page references to Volume X of the Columbia edition of Milton are added at appropriate places in brackets.

Most of these corrections are already incorporated in the text of Volume X.

ERRATA.

Page 2. l. 16. [2. 5] for Britains *read* Britans, p. 6. l. 18. [6. 13] for by the same remove, *r.* and by the *&c.* p. 8. l. 28. [8. 27] for bee't *r.* be, p. 13. l. 24. [14. 7] for be-spoken *r.* bespoken, p. 16. l. 9. [16. 27] for *Germannus r. Germanus*, p. 23. l. 3. [24. 5] for

Brother *r.* his Brother, *ibid* *l.* 16. [24. 15] for *Allobreges r. Allobroges*, *p.* 25. *l.* 3. [26. 8] for *Mertian r. Mercian*, *p.* 28. *l.* 18. [29. 26] for oppertunety *r.* opportunity, *p.* 29. *l.* 9. [30. 18] for unto *r.* to, *p.* 29. from the end of *l.* 26 to the beginning of *l.* 33. [31.5-9] should not have been in a different Character, so also a line in the next page [31. 17], *p.* 35. *l.* last, [36. 21-22] for *Bay-Close* inviron'd, *r.* Bay, close inviron'd, *p.* 51. *l.* 20. [53. 4] before made leave out he, *p.* 71. *l.* 33. [74. 19] for ex'steem'd *r.* esteem'd, *p.* 102. *l.* 33. [106. 17] for *Durslus r. Durstus*, *p.* 119. *l.* 12. [124. 2] for *Andreds League r. Andreds Leage*, *p.* 126. *l.* 18. [131. 20] for *Armes r. Artur*, *p.* 138. *l.* 5. [142. 21] for *haleluja r. Hallelujah*, *ibid.* *l.* 6. [142. 22] for *Benedic r. Benedict*, *p.* 139. *l.* 12. [144. 1] for the *r.* thir, *p.* 150. *l.* 17. [156. 1] for and *r.* as, *ibid.* *l.* 18. [156. 2] after begin no comma, *p.* 151. *l.* 9. [156. 24] for yee *r.* thee, *p.* 157. *l.* 13. [163. 12] for Daughter *r.* Sister, *p.* 160. *l.* 31. [167. 6] for *Loyden r. Loydes*, *p.* 161. *l.* 7. [167. 15] for her *r.* his, *p.* 161. *l.* 35. [168. 11] for *Witgeornseburgh, r. Witgeornesbrug*, *p.* 164. *l.* 4. [170. 20] for year a af- read a year after, *p.* 169. *l.* 21. [176. 14] for Epitomy *r.* Epitome, *p.* 170. *l.* 27. [177. 21] after testifies a period, *p.* 173. *l.* 1. [180. 3-4] before

far *r.* by, *ibid.* *l.* last, [181. 3-4] for Unkle *r.* Unkle's Son *p.* 174. *l.* 30 [182. 1] for *Kuiric r. Kinric*, *p.* 176. *l.* 9. [183. 14] after two *r.* or three, *ibid.* *l.* last but one, [184. 8] for Royal *r.* Regal, *p.* 177. *l.* 19. [184. 25] for *Occanford r. Ottanford*, *p.* 183. *l.* 23. [191. 9] after Embassadors leave out the stop, *ibid.* *l.* 24. [191. 10] after *Ecbert* two points, *p.* 192. *l.* last [200. 12] for *Ethelhelin helam, r. Ethelhelm*, *p.* 195. *l.* 13. [202. 25] for de did *r.* he did, *p.* 197. *l.* 23. [205. 7] for *West-Saxon r. West-Saxons*, *p.* 201. *l.* 14. [209. 6] for flight *r.* fight, *p.* 216. *l.* 13. [224. 1] for *Thames* there no comma after *Thames* but after there, *p.* 225. *l.* 27. [233. 19] for his *r.* this, *p.* 235. *l.* 4. [243. 1] for on *r.* about, *ibid.* *l.* last but two, [243. 24] for the *r.* that, *p.* 246. *l.* 17. [254. 2] for *Frena r. Frana*, *p.* 260. *l.* 23. [268. 16] before spread *r.* he, *p.* 264. *l.* 23. [272. 18] for *Ocford r. Otford*, *p.* 276. *l.* 29. [285. 1] for Bishop *r.* Archbishop, *p.* 277. *l.* 12. [285. 13] for Brother *r.* half Brother, *p.* 280. *l.* 4. [288. 5-6] for that prompted him *r.* that now as it were prompted him, *ibid.* after the last line [289. 2] leave out deed, *p.* 281. *l.* 13. [289. 12] for a youth *r.* then a youth, *p.* 296. *l.* 16. [304. 25] for of *r.* with, *p.* 299. *l.* 25. [308. 5] after legs no stop, after hight a period, *p.* 308. the six last lines [316. 13-17] should

have been in no different Character from the rest of the Book, and in the last line for revolutions *r.* revolution, besides other literal faults and wrong stops through the Book, which the Reader of himself may amend.

Variant of 1677

It may here be added that Glicksman hinted that one variant in the edition of 1677 probably had Miltonic authority, although not adopted by Toland in 1698. This is "a great Army" for "a greater Army" in the text given at Volume X, page 227, line 17.

*Suppressed Passages of the
History of Britain*

Edward Phillips tells us that Milton presented the Earl of Anglesey "with a Copy of the unlicens'd Papers of his History." This seems to refer to

the passages omitted by Milton at the order of the Licenser, and while some have thought it referred to the famous digression, it seems improbable that a Royal Licenser could have objected to that. No trace of the papers given Anglesey has been found by modern scholars. However, in Sotheran's *Illustrated Catalogue*, No. 819, item 756 describes a copy of the edition of 1671, interleaved, with numerous corrections and additions in a seventeenth-century hand. We have not been able to trace this copy, which was sold in 1930, and do not know if the additions were merely those incorporated by Toland or a more important series. In 1934 Maggs Bros., in *Catalogue* 598, item 1220, described another copy of the *History* with contemporary notes on the flyleaves and margins. This is now owned by Professor W. R. Parker, who kindly tells us that the notes contain nothing by Milton.

ESSAYS FROM THE COLUMBIA MANUSCRIPT

The two essays recently found in the Columbia Manuscript are really in a special class, more closely approaching the doubtfully rejected material than anything else in the main body of this Volume. It seems best to print them together with a definite statement of our reservations, which

are even greater in regard to the first than the second piece.

Of Statues & Antiquities

This is the first essay in the Columbia MS., pp. 3-4. In that collection almost all the works, signed or unsigned, are the composition of Milton,

but a few are ascribed to other writers, and some are apparently merely works he used as guides in official and legal work, which are hardly his own compositions. This and the description of Genoa belong neither to one class nor the other, but Milton's interest in Greece as evidenced alike in his plan to visit it in youth and his desire to have Christendom unite to free it in later life, make one suspect that this plan to recover Greek antiquities was not only approved but perhaps composed by himself. Perhaps someday it will be found in print as the work of another, but for the present it seems best to include it among works probably Milton's. We have met with no previous publication of this essay. The variants of the MS. follow:

P. 258. —20 can be] INSERTED WITH CARET OVER CANCELLED what P. 259. —21 these] CORRECTED FROM this P. 260. —23 Ambassadour] FIRST BE-

GUN Emb or Emp —25 these] INSERTED WITH CARET

A breif description of Genoa

This is found in the Columbia MS., pp. 4-5, without ascription to any author. That MS. is obviously made up of copies of Milton's writings, and of other MSS. which he found of use or interest. This essay like that on Antiquities must have been in his possession, for some purpose, but it is hard to see why he collected it here unless it was composed by himself. However, certainty on such a point can hardly be hoped for, and we have printed the work only as probably Milton's. We have met with no discussion or mention of it in print, hitherto.

The variants of the MS. are:

P. 262. —7 fortresses] CORRECTED IN MS —9 it] (2nd) INSERTED WITH CARET, SOMEWHAT ILLEGIBLE, THE INTENTION MAY BE SET OR OUT —13 except] THE CORNER OF THE MS IS GONE, AND THE INTENTION MAY BE excepted

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENCE

As promised at Volume XII, 415, we now give some additional facts about Milton's correspondence and new readings of some of the Mylius letters. And for convenience this is followed by a series of notes on false

letters, and a conspectus of the genuine letters to and from Milton.

LXXI. *Bramhall to Milton*

Although the text of this letter has not survived, we have given a quota-

tion which indicates its nature. It is surely quite clear that the "lying book" is the partly Miltonic *Joannis Philippi Responsio* and nothing else. Our quotation is from a letter from Bishop Bramhall (signed Joh. Derensis) to his son (under name John Pier-son), May 9, 1654, printed in *The Rawdon Papers* (ed. E. Berwick, 1819), p. 109. See also Stern, III, 264.

LXXII. Milton to Christopher Milton

This note was found by the present editors among the documents relating to the real estate transactions between Milton and Thomas Maundy now in the possession of Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach in New York City, and is now first published with his kind permission. Part of the left side has been torn away. The letter is here printed line for line like the original, with restorations in brackets. These readings are purely conjectural, but the sum involved is known from other documents in the same collection, some of which were described by Professor Hanford in *PMLA*, XXXVIII (1923), 290-296.

The initials in the signature and the rest of the manuscript are sufficiently like the signatures by Jeremie Picard on the other documents to make it plausible that Picard was

Milton's scribe in this note. The surviving scrap bears no date, but the note can safely be assigned to a period just preceding the transaction described in the other papers, that is, about January, 1657/8. Variant readings (marked MS.) are as follows:

Page 263. —8 ion] *We so read what is apparently a fragment of the usual abbreviation for the ending -tion* MS. —9 if] *preceded by another cancelled* if MS. —11 ve] *possibly ne or ue* MS. —12 finde] *The final letter is uncertain* MS. —13 brother] *bo'* MS. —15 Conv*] *followed by a sign of abbreviation like that in brother (l. 13) MS. We use the asterisk to indicate an uncertain reading.*

LXXIII. Mrs. Merian to Milton

We have given in the text an extract from Birch (I, lxxvi, 1753), in which he quotes, as if the language were more or less traditionally preserved, a description of this letter obtained by him in an interview with Elizabeth Foster (Milton's granddaughter) on February 11, 1737/8.

LXXIV-LXXV. Mylius to Milton

The *Tagebuch* of Mylius is not only written in an atrocious hand, but some leaves are out of place. When Volume XII went to press Dr. Lübbling had

examined it with such care as could be considered thorough for any ordinary document. But when we realized how much still remained to be done before absolutely satisfactory results could be obtained, and that the Conversations recorded had not been thoroughly edited, we resolved to give the material as known in 1936 there and reserve further information for the last volume. The two new letters given at page 264 were thus discovered and are now first printed. We believe the collection of letters from Mylius to Milton preserved in the *Tagebuch* is at length complete, although one word in the longer letter is an abbreviation not surely identified.

LIII (2nd Draft)

Dr. Lübbling, upon reëxamination of the original MS., has discovered the correct date of this document, and has succeeded in reading it in some places which had defied us previously. In almost every case we agree with his new readings, but the atrocious hand and inflated style of Mylius, which are at their worst in this and his last letter, make absolute certainty difficult. Fortunately the general sense of the letters is quite clear, and not different from the texts in Volume XII, though a few images are changed.

[1652, Jan. 13]

Dulce decus Miltoni.

Miltiadis et Miltonii trophæa odiosa sunt auctori, quem remitto, qui in ludo impudentiæ se impendio exercet, et gloriosis inimicitiiis inclarescere et per ruinam alienæ existimationis ad famam grassari conatur. Quod Hecuba (regina olim nunc servio) idem hic Briantis filius queritur. Sed quid in eum peccavit, aut quem ex suis interfecit Miltonius? Quis eum reti et falce Mirmillonem agere coegit? Quod Lacon ad Lusciniam, quis non ad ipsum, Vox et praeterea nihil. Ergo

Men'moveat cimex Pantilius, aut
crucier quod

Vellicet absentem Demetrius.

Manus inquinatas habeat necessum est, qui cum tam vili et infami luto ludere instituit, nec infame genus bubonum officere potest luminibus Phoebe.

Tu salveas, meæ expeditionis memor, quam Augusti Consilii censuram et Parlamenti approbationem superasse, et iam sub malleo et manu amanuensis sudare spero, quod si verbo dixeris et dederis reddam tibi totum

tuiss.

M.

[My "dear delight" Milton,

The triumphs of Miltiades and Milton are hateful to the author whom I return, who practices for lucre in a school of shamelessness, and tries to grow famous by vainglorious enmities, and to climb to renown by the ruin of another's reputation. What Hecuba said, "Once a queen, now I am a slave," is likewise the complaint of this son of Brias. But what wrong has Milton done him, and what member of his family has Milton slain? Who made him enact a Mirmillo with net and trident? Who would not say to him what the Spartan said to the nightingale—"A voice and nothing more." Well, then, "Should the bug Pantilius disturb me, or should I suffer because Demetrius rails at me out of reach?" He must needs have filthy hands, who sets out to play with such vile and infamous mud, and the ill-omened tribe of screech-owls cannot mar the brightness of the sun. May you prosper, mindful of my document, which has, I hope, come through the criticism of the August Council, and the approval of Parliament, and now sweats beneath the hand and hammer of the transcriber. If you will ask for it and give it to me (*i.e.* let me see it, for I am anxious to see what has been done to it), I will return it

to you intact (*i.e.* without changing a word). Wholly yours, Mylius.

Jan. 13, 1651/2.]

LXVI

Dr. Lübbling has succeeded in reading all portions of the farewell letter of Mylius.

[1652, *Febr.* 23.]

Salveas animitus dulce decus meum,
mi Miltoni. Etiam non rogatus ceu
scio et confido hodie facies et perficies,
quod fieri diu optavi, et ut efficias efflictim rogo, quo tandem ex amplexu tuo defæcata fronte et mente hinc ad tecti et lecti mei domestici licita gaudia enavigem, et iacturam quam me absente passa est mea mei lateris et laboris consors et intimioris admissionis amica, nautico fœnore resarciam. Nosti quid velim et qui sim ubicunque fuero et ivero

vel per Alpium iuga
Inhospitalem et Caucasum
vel occidentis usque ad ultimum
sinum

Tuus et tua virtute emptus
Mylius

[Heartfelt greetings, "my dear delight," my own Milton. Even unasked, you will today, as I know and trust, do and carry to completion

what I have long desired, and which I urgently beg you to effect, in order that at last, from your embrace, with carefree mind and brow, hence to the lawful joys of my home roof and bed I may sail, and repair with nautical interest the loss which has been suffered through my absence by her who is the heart's partner of my work, the friendly confidant of my inner self. You know what I wish, and who I am, wherever I shall be and go, "whether over Alpine heights and the inhospitable Caucasus or all the way to the remotest bay of the West,"

Yours, and the captive of
your virtue,
Mylius.

Feb. 23, 1651/2.]

LXXVI. *Milton* [to Dugard ?], 1650

In the Commons' Journals for 2 April 1652, in connection with orders to burn copies of the *Catechis Ecclesiarum Poloniae*, a Polish Unitarian work, printed in London by William Dugard in 1651 or 1651/2, known as the Racovian Catechism, are references to "the Examination of Mr. John Milton; and a Note under the Hand of Mr. John Milton, of the 10th of August 1650." This was probably a letter of Milton's, and Masson [*Life*, IV, 438] thinks Milton may have urged the publication, possibly in a

note addressed to the printer named.

It should be added, however, that this may have been less a letter than an official opinion as censor of the press.

Various Letters to Milton

Our notes for Volume XII did not collect references to letters to Milton of uncertain date, known only through his acknowledgments in letters included in the *Epistolæ Familiares*. These are referred to in the Conspectus below.

Letters of Mrs. Milton

It is just possible that a man in Milton's blind condition might sometimes have conducted his correspondence through his wife. However, the only documents emanating from the third Mrs. Milton we have met are later than 1674. Among them are preserved no letters, but there is a reference to one such letter, which concerned her husband, although written many years after his death. Toland in 1698 (in his *Life*, pp. 5-6) mentions among his sources "a Letter written to one at my desire from his last Wife, who is still alive." Unfortunately, Toland does not quote this directly, nor has the MS. apparently been preserved. No letters of the first or second Mrs. Milton are known to survive.

CONSPECTUS OF MILTON'S CORRESPONDENCE

In volume XII at the end of the notes on the Miscellaneous Correspondence (which consisted only of the complete letters to or from Milton which were known at the time), an attempt was made to list also such lost letters as could be definitely dated, or of which fragments or a definite description of the contents had survived, through other channels than the correspondence actually given in the volume. In the last paragraph however it was suggested that some additions might be made in the course of the still unfinished research for this final volume.

Success has crowned our efforts with the discovery of one letter of Milton himself, two addressed to him, never before published. Fragments of two more also have been inserted in the text, from printed sources overlooked hitherto.

It has now seemed well to add to the notes on this newly recovered material a Conspectus of all Milton's correspondence, in verse and prose, arranged in chronological order, and dealing in turn with every letter to or from the poet of which we have met with any account whatever, whether in the poet's works or elsewhere, whether it survive or not. In each case

a reference is given to where the letter appears or is discussed in the present edition, to Masson's discussions, and some slight additional information about some of the letters already dealt with is added occasionally.

Aubrey reported that the third Mrs. Milton had a great many letters Milton had received from learned men of his acquaintance, both of England and beyond the sea. Masson has assumed that a great deal has been lost (VI, 723) but it should be pointed out that the inclusion of so many slight letters in the *Epistolæ Familiares*, together with Milton's self-conscious interest in specimens of his Latin style would suggest that a fairly high proportion of his carefully written Latin epistles has survived. As for Mrs. Milton's letters, one has a feeling that seven of the letters to him we present may have come from her collection, and while she may have destroyed others, that number might be enough to account for the "great many" Aubrey knew about. In any case a letter to or from Milton has been of very considerable financial value since the middle of the 18th Century, and one feels that not many of them have been lost since that time. Nor is it easy to believe that Mrs. Milton destroyed

much after her acquaintance with Toland, whatever she may have done foolishly before that time.

The extensive correspondence with Mylius, all (save one letter) known only from the documents preserved by that diplomat suggests that of minor and unliterary letters a great many have perished, and the number of English letters lost is probably great.

After the conspectus is a brief list of pamphlets etc. that take the form of letters to Milton, though they can hardly be thought of as having been dispatched to the addressee.

And after that is a brief list of forgeries of Miltonic letters, and hoaxes (one or two of them unintentional) which have come to our attention.

1625

1. From Charles Diodati, in Greek, 1625. (Vol. xii, p. 292, no. 32; Masson I, 162.)
2. To Thomas Young. Earlier letters implied in *Ep. Fam. I*.
3. From Thomas Young, 1625, accompanying the gift of a Hebrew Bible. (Acknowledged in the next.)
4. To Thomas Young, March 26, 1625. (Vol. xii, p. 4, *Ep. Fam. I*; M. I, 147.)

1626

5. From Charles Diodati, 1626,

Spring. In Greek. (Vol. xii, 294, no. 33; M. I, 163.)

6. To Charles Diodati, 1626, in Latin verse. (Vol. i, 168, *Elegia I*; M. I, 164.)

1627

7. A Latin letter in verse to Thomas Young, probably *Elegia IV*. (Vol. i, 184; M. I, 185.)

1628

8. From Alexander Gill, accompanying Latin verses, 1628. (Acknowledged in next.)
9. To Alexander Gill, May 20, 1628. (Vol. xii, 6, no. 2; M. I, 190.)
10. From Alexander Gill, 1628. (Mentioned in the next.)
11. To Alexander Gill, July 2, 1628. (Vol. xii, 8, no. 3; M. I, 193.)
12. From Thomas Young, 1628. (Mentioned in next.)
13. To Thomas Young, July 21, 1628. (Vol. xii, 12, no. 4; M. I, 203.)

1629, and later

14. Letters from Fellows of Christ's College, Cambridge, mentioned by Milton in *An Apology against a Modest Confutation*, 1642. See Masson, II, 401, where the names of Thomas Bainbridge, Joseph Meade, Edward King, Nathaniel Tovey, Henry More, and others are sug-

gested as correspondents. See this edition, Vol. III, p. 297, for the reference.

15. From Charles Diodati, Ides of December, 1629, in Latin verse, acknowledged in the next.
16. To Diodati, 1629, in Latin verse. (Vol. i, 206, *Elegia* VI; M. I, 226.)

Our note, Vol. XII, p. 394, should have said that it is in the sixth *Elegy* that Milton gives proof of the continued correspondence with Diodati. From the introduction to that poem, Vol. I, p. 206, we copy the phrases which perhaps preserve some of Diodati's epistle, which was probably in Latin verse, dated 13 Dec. 1629:

"Ad Carolum Diodatum ruri com-
morantem. Qui cum idibus Decemb.
scripsisset, & sua carmina excusari
postulasset si solito minus essent bona,
quod inter lautitias quibus erat ab
amicis exceptus, haud satis felicem
operam Musis dare se posse affirma-
bat," &c.

1632

17. To an unnamed friend, about 1632. (Vol. xii, p. 320, no. 38; M. I, 323. It has lately been suggested by Prof. Parker that the recipient may have been Thomas Young. See *LTLS*, May 16, 1936, p. 420. Professor Candy has suggested Diodati as the recipient.)

1634

18. From Alexander Gill, accompanying Greek verses. (Mentioned in the next.)
19. To Alexander Gill, December 4, 1634. (Vol. xii, p. 14, no. 5; M. I, 623.)

1637

20. To Charles Diodati, Sept. 2, 1637. (Vol. xii, 18, no. 6; M. I, 642.)
21. From Charles Diodati, 1637. (Mentioned in the next.)
22. To Charles Diodati, Sept. 23, 1637. (Vol. xii, 22, no. 7; M. I, 643.)
23. [To Antonio Malatesti, 1637.] (The existence of this is only hypothetical, but see Vol. xii, 415, and xviii, 554.)

1638

24. To Sir Henry Wotton, April 6, 1638. (Mentioned in the next. See Vol. i, 476; xii, 412.)
25. From Sir Henry Wotton, April 13, 1638. (Vol. i, 476, and see Vol. xii, 326, no. 40, and p. 402; M. I, 737.)
26. From Henry Lawes, April 1638. (Vol. xii, 325, no. 39; M. I, 736.)
27. To Benedetto Bonmattei, Sept. 10, 1638. (Vol. xii, p. 30, no. 8; M. I, 789.)

Letters from Scudamore to English

merchants, 1638, introducing Milton, are mentioned in *Defensio Secunda*, our Volume VIII, p. 122.

1639, and later

28. To Lucas Holstenius, March 30, 1639. (Vol. xii, p. 38, no. 9; M. I, 802.)
 29. From friends at Naples, 1639. (See Vol. xii, p. 415, for reference from the Anonymous Life.)
 30, 31. To the Fathers at Vallombrosa, after 1639 ? (See the references in Vol. xii, 413.)

1642

- 32-34. At least three letters from Milton to his wife, after Sept., asking her return. (Implied by Edward Phillips in his *Life*, 1694. See Masson, III, 42, and our note, Vol. xii, 413.)
 34a. A letter from the Powells to Milton or his first wife soliciting her return.

Discussing his relations with his first wife, 1642, Edward Phillips, writing in 1694 (see Masson II, 507, Darbishire, p. 64), says: "Her Friends, possibly incited by her own desire, made earnest suit by Letter, to have her Company the remaining part of the Summer, which was granted, on condition of her return at the time ap-

pointed, *Michalemas*, or thereabout." [From this it is not clear who was addressed.]

1647

35. From John Rous, Jan. 1646/7 (?) (Implied by the next; a request for books for the Bodleian Library.)
 36. To John Rous, Jan. 23, 1646/7. (In Latin verse, Vol. I, 316; M. iii, 648.)
 37-40. (Three letters from Dati to Milton had gone astray before this date according to Milton's letter which acknowledged a fourth, mentioned in the next.)
 40a. To Carlo Dati, April 21, 1647. (Vol. xii, p. 44, no. 10; M. III, 652.)
 41. From Carlo Dati, Nov. 1, 1647. (Vol. xii, p. 296, no. 34; M. III, 680.)
 41a. To Carlo Dati (?). (Salvino Salvini, *Fasti Consolari dell'Accademia Fiorentina*, Florence, 1717, Masson, III, 691, says Dati planned to publish his letters from Milton and others. This may imply more letters than the one known now.)

1648

42. From Carlo Dati, December 4, 1648. (Vol. xii, p. 312, no. 35; M. III, 690.)

1650

43. To the Council of State or to Du-

gard, August 10, 1650. (Vol. xviii, p. 524, no. 76.)

1651

44. From Hermann Mylius, Oct. 16, 1651. (Vol. xviii, p. 264, no. 74.)
 45, 46. To Hermann Mylius between Oct. 16 and 20, not preserved.

At Vol. XII, p. 412, we referred to Milton's having sent two letters to Mylius before Oct. 20, 1651. Stern quotes at Vol. III, page 289, from a letter of Mylius to Wolzogen (31 Oct. 1651) the following:

"H. Miltonius hat zweimal zu mir geschicket in meinung mich zu besuchen, quem . . . expectavi, ist aber verhindert und hat sich entschuldigen lassen."

This suggests that the first letters were arranging for a meeting, which had to be postponed, either in the second or possibly even in a third lost letter. All of these were probably brief notes, for what we know of Mylius hardly suggests that he could have failed to copy or preserve any very lengthy letter from his beloved friend, Mr. Milton.

47. From Mylius, Oct. 20, 1651. (Vol. xii, p. 338, no. 47.)
 48. From Mylius, Oct. 25, 1651. (Vol. xii, p. 344, no. 48.)

49. From Mylius, November 6, 1651. (Vol. xii, p. 346, no. 49.)

50. To Mylius, Nov. 7, 1651. (Vol. xii, p. 348, no. 50.)

51. From Mylius, Nov. 7, 1651. (Vol. xii, p. 350, no. 51.)

52. From Mylius, Dec. 17, 1651. (Vol. xii, p. 352, no. 52.)

1652

53. From Mylius, Jan. 1, 1651/2. (Vol. xviii, p. 264, no. 75.)

54. To Mylius, Jan. 2, 1651/2. (Vol. xii, p. 52, and p. 352, nos. 11 and 52a; M. iv, 417.)

55. From Mylius, January 8, 1651/2. (Vol. xii, p. 360, no. 54.)

56. To Mylius, January 8, 1651/2, later. (Vol. xii, p. 360, no. 55.)

57. From Mylius, January 9, 1651/2. (Vol. xii, p. 362, no. 56.)

58. From Mylius, January 13, 1651/2. (Vol. xii, 356; xviii, 522, no. 53.)

59. To Mylius, January 20, 1651/2. (Vol. xii, p. 362, no. 57.)

60. From Mylius, January 21, 1651/2. (Vol. xii, p. 364, no. 58.)

61. To Mylius, Feb. 10, 1651/2. (Vol. xii, p. 368, no. 59.)

62. From Mylius, Feb. 10, 1651/2. (Vol. xii, p. 370, no. 60.)

63. From Mylius, Feb. 12, 1651/2. (Vol. xii, p. 372, no. 61.)

64. From the Council of State. (Mentioned in the next letter.)

65. To Bulstrode Whitlock, Feb. 12, 1651/2. (Vol. xii, p. 326, no. 41.)
66. From Mylius, Feb. 13, 1651/2. (Vol. xii, p. 372, no. 62.)
67. To Mylius, Feb. 13, 1651/2. (Vol. xii, p. 374, no. 63; M. v, 705.)
68. From Mylius, Feb. 21, 1651/2. (Vol. xii, p. 374, no. 64.)
69. To Mylius, Feb. 21, 1651/2. (Vol. xii, p. 376, no. 65.)
70. From Mylius, Feb. 23, 1651/2. (Vol. xviii, p. 523, no. 66.)
71. From Leonard Philaras, 1652. (This accompanied a gift of his portrait and is mentioned in Milton's letter to Philaras below.)
72. From Philaras, 1652. (A second letter is acknowledged in the same place.)
73. To Philaras, June, 1652. (Vol. xii, p. 54, no. 12; M. iv, 444.)
74. From Richard Heath, 1652. (Implied in the next.)
75. To Richard Heath, Dec. 13, 1652. (Vol. xii, p. 58, no. 13; M. iv, 469.)
76. From the printer Vlac, 1652, indirectly to Milton.

It should be noticed that the printer Vlacq communicated indirectly to Milton through letters apparently addressed to Hartlib. One of these is mentioned in "Ulac's" preface to his edition of the *Defensio Secunda*, Hague, 1654. See Milton's *Pro Se De-*

fensio, Vol. IX, 72-73, and *Defensio Secunda*, Vol. VIII, 40-43; also see Masson iv, 466. Another accompanying proof sheets of the *Regii Sanguinis Clamor* is referred to in the *Pro Se Defensio*.

1653

77. To Andrew Sandelands, Jan. 3, 1652/3. (Mentioned in the next.)
78. From Sandelands, Jan. 15, 1652/3. (Vol. xii, p. 327, no. 42; M. iv, 490.)
79. To John Bradshaw, Feb. 21, 1652/3. (Vol. xii, p. 329, no. 43; M. iv, 478.)
80. From Sandelands, March 29, 1653. (Vol. xii, p. 331, no. 44; M. iv, 493.)
81. To Sir Gilbert Pickering, July, 1653. (See Vol. xii, p. 414, no. 70, for a reference and clue to contents of this lost letter; see also M. iv, 524.)
82. [Omitted in numbering.]
83. From Bishop Bramhall, about 1652 or 1653. (Vol. xviii, p. 263, no. 71.)
84. From Adrian de Pauw, 1653. (Milton in *Defensio Secunda* mentions numerous messages. See Vol. VIII, pp. 190-191, and M. IV, 638.)
85. From Philaras before 1654. (Mentioned in Milton's next letter to Philaras, below.)

1654

86. From John Durie, April 14/24, 1654. (Quoted in *Pro Se Defensio*, Vol. IX, p. 24; M. iv, 631.)
87. From John Durie, April 19/29, 1654. (Quoted in same, Vol. IX, p. 24. See Masson iv, 631.)
88. To Bradshaw, about May, 1654. Mentioned in Marvell's letter to Milton below; see Vol. xii, pp. 332, 412; M. iv, 620.)
89. From Andrew Marvell, June 2, 1654. (Vol. xii, p. 331, no. 45; M. iv, 620.)
90. From Henry Oldenburg, before July, 1654. (Mentioned in Milton's reply below.)
91. Another from Henry Oldenburg. (Mentioned in the same place.)
92. To Henry Oldenburg, July 6, 1654. (Vol. xii, p. 62, no. 14; M. iv, 626.)
93. From Philaras, 1654. (Mentioned in next.)
94. To Philaras, Sept. 28, 1654. (Vol. xii, p. 64, no. 15; M. iv, 640.)
95. From Durie, Oct. 3, 1654. (Quoted in *Pro Se Defensio*, Vol. ix, p. 196.)
96. From an anonymous correspondent, Oct. 14, 1654. (Mentioned in *Pro Se Defensio*, Vol. ix, p. 194.) We incline to identify this with a letter from Ezekiel Spanheim mentioned in Milton's letter of Mar. 24, 1654/5 below.
- 97-98. Two letters from the Hague, unsigned and undated. (Quoted in *Pro Se Defensio*, Vol. ix, pp. 38, 40.)
99. A Letter from Amsterdam, unsigned and undated. (Quoted in *Pro Se Defensio*, Vol. ix, p. 38.)
100. From Lord Nieupoort, 1654 (?). (Mentioned in Morus' *Fides Publica*, and in *Pro Se Defensio*, Vol. IX, p. 98.)

1655

101. [Omitted in numbering.]
102. From Leo van Aizema, Jan. 29, 1654/5. (Vol. xii, p. 314, no. 36; M. v, 170.)
103. To van Aizema, Feb. 5, 1654/5. (Vol. xii, p. 70, no. 16; M. v, 170.)
104. To Spanheim, March 24, 1654/5. (Vol. xii, p. 74, no. 17; M. v, 172.)

1656

105. From Henry Oldenburg, 1656. (Mentioned in the next to Oldenburg.)
106. From Richard Jones, 1656. (Mentioned in next.)
107. To Jones, May (?), 1656 (?). (Vol. xii, p. 88, no. 22; M. v, 267.)
108. To Henry Oldenburg, June 25, 1656. (Vol. xii, p. 76, no. 18; M. v, 268.)
109. From Richard Jones, 1656. (Mentioned in next.)

110. To Jones, Sept. 21, 1656. (Vol. xii, p. 78, no. 19; M. v, 277.)

111. From Peter Heimbach, 1656. (Mentioned in next.)

112. To Heimbach, Nov. 8, 1656. (Vol. xii, p. 82, no. 20; M. v, 280.)

112a. From an unidentified friend.

A letter from an unnamed friend at Saumur to Milton written in the summer of 1656; partly described in the letter to Oldenburgh, *Ep. Fam.* 24 (XII, 96).

1657

113. From Emeric Bigot, early in 1656/7. (Mentioned in next.)

114. To Emeric Bigot, March 24, 1656/7. (Vol. xii, p. 84, no. 21; M. v, 283.)

115. From Henry de Brass. (Mentioned in next.)

116. To de Brass, July 15, 1657. (Vol. xii, p. 90, no. 23; M. v, 363.)

117. From Henry Oldenburgh. (Mentioned in next to Oldenburgh.)

118. From Jones. (Mentioned in next to Jones.)

119. To Henry Oldenburgh, Aug. 1, 1657. (Vol. xii, p. 96, no. 24; M. v, 366.)

120. To Jones, Aug. 1, 1657. (Vol. xii, p. 98, no. 25; M. v, 366.)

121. From de Brass, 1657. (Mentioned in next to de Brass.)

122. To de Brass, Dec. 16, 1657. (Vol. xii, p. 100, no. 26; M. v, 379.)

123. From Peter Heimbach, Dec. 18, 1657. (Mentioned in next to Heimbach; the apparent discrepancy in the date is due to the use of new style by Heimbach.)

124. To Peter Heimbach, Dec. 18, 1657. (Vol. xii, p. 102, no. 27; M. v, 380.)

124a. [Masson (V, 279) suggests that Lady Ranelagh in Ireland between 1656 and 1658 probably wrote to Milton. This is pure hypothesis but not improbable.]

1658

125. To Christopher Milton, about 1658. (Vol. xviii, p. 263, no. 72.)

126. From Jean Labadie, 1658 or 1659. (Mentioned in Milton's next to Labadie.)

127. From John Duric, somewhat later. (Mentioned in same place as the last.)

1659

128. To Jean Labadie, April 21, 1659. (Vol. xii, p. 104, no. 28; M. v, 592.)

129. To Moses Wall, 1659. (Mentioned in Wall's letter following.)

130. From Moses Wall, May 26, 1659. (Vol. xii, p. 333, no. 46; M. v, 602.)

131. To an unnamed friend, Oct. 20, 1659. (This was published by Toland in 1698, and is given at Vol. vi, 101-106; notes on the variants of the version in the Columbia MS.

appear in this volume, p. 644. The letter was pretty surely written to be laid before the Council by someone high in the State, who had visited Milton the night before. Masson, v, 618, suggests Vane or Meadows was addressed; Frost or Whitlocke seems to us equally probable.)

132, 133. From Henry Oldenburg, 1659. (Two letters, mentioned in next to Oldenburg.)

134. From Richard Jones, 1659. (Mentioned in next to Jones.)

135. To Henry Oldenburg, Dec. 20, 1659. (Vol. xii, p. 108, no. 29; M. v, 634.)

136. To Jones, Dec. 20, 1659. (Vol. xii, p. 110, no. 30; M. v, 635.)

1660

137. To General Monk, 1659/60 (February ?) (This is also given from Toland, 1698, in Vol. VI, 107-109, and is usually regarded as a tract. But Milton may indeed have sent it to "Old George." See Masson, v, 656.)

1666

138. From Peter Heimbach, June 6, 1666. (Vol. xii, p. 316, no. 37; M. vi, p. 501.)

139. To Peter Heimbach, Aug. 15, 1666. (Vol. xii, p. 112, no. 31; M. vi, 501-2.)

1670 ?

140. From Mrs. Merian. (Vol. xviii, p. 263, no. 73.)

*Notes on Other Epistolary
Material*

The following are not bona fide letters, but should be recorded here for completeness.

1. To Thomas Young (?), June, 1641, *Of Reformation*. This pamphlet takes the form of a letter to a friend, who, Stern (II, 57) suggests, may have been Thomas Young.

2. From an unknown friend, September, 1641, *The Plot Discovered*. This pamphlet, printed like *Of Reformation* by Thomas Underhill, exists in two forms, and is closely connected with Milton's book in subject. The titlepage of one version is *The Plot Discovered and Counterplotted Commended in a Letter to a private Friend, from a true-hearted well-wisher to great Britain's happiness*. The titlepage bears no date, which, however, has been supplied from the catalogue of the Thomason Tracts. On the copy of this in the library of the General Theological Seminary in New York is written in a seventeenth century hand, "J Milton Gent'." This has been interpreted (*LTL*S,

October 24, 1936, p. 868) as a mark of ownership, and as an ascription of authorship. But the style is far too simple to be Milton's, and the form "Gent'" is unusual for an owner's mark. The words are written immediately below the title (and above the motto), and it is possible that Milton was identified by someone as the friend addressed. Stern has pointed out the relation of the work to *Of Reformation*, and Mutschmann has recently reprinted the pamphlet in his *Milton's Projected Epic*, Tartu, 1936. Both used the other form of the pamphlet, with title beginning *Great Britain's Ruin Plotted*. Fortescue thought both versions subsequent to *Of Reformation*, and dated the second January, 1641/2. Was the author Thomas Young? See also pp. 580 and 635.

3. From Dati, Manso, and others, 1645/6. The commendatory verses preceding the *Poems* of this date are in a sense epistolary.

4. To Henry Lawrence and Cyriack Skinner, circa 1655. Milton's sonnets 20 and 21 are in a sense letters of invitation.

5. From John Phillips, August 17, 1655, *A Satyr against Hypocrites*. It is just possible that this satire may have been sent to Milton. See Masson, V, 228.

6. From "James Harrington," 1660, *The Censure of the Rota upon Mr. Milton's Book*, 1660. Though purporting to be in the form of a letter from Harrington to Milton, this pamphlet is actually a satire on both writers. See Masson, V, 659.

7. From Sir Roger L'Estrange, April 20, 1660, *No Blind Guides*. Though in form a letter, this pamphlet was hardly intended to be sent. See Masson, V, 689.

8. Two brief verse attacks on Milton which have been preserved in MS. may perhaps be mentioned here as they were obviously written during his lifetime, though it is unlikely that either was sent to him. The first was found by Richardson, written on a blank leaf before a copy of *Eikonoklastes* (see Darbishire, p. 276; Masson, VI, 717). It is called "Upon John Milton's not Suffering for his Traiterous Book when the Tryers were Executed 1660." The other is preserved in the British Museum (MS. Add. 33509) in a notebook of Thomas Stringer. It is entitled *A Satyr against J. M.* and was published by the present editors in *N&Q*, clxxiii, 45 (July 17, 1937). The first reads

Upon JOHN MILTON'S not Suffering for
his Traiterous Book when the Tryers were Exe-
cuted 1660.

That thou Escap'd'st that Vengeance which
o'ertook,
Milton, thy Regicides, and thy Own Book,

Was Clemency in *Charles* beyond compare,
 And yet thy Doom doth prove more *Greivous*
farr.
 Old, Sickly, Poor, Stark Blind, thou Writ'st for
 Bread,
 So for to Live thou'dst call *Salmasius* from the
 Dead.

The other verses are

A Satyr against J. M.

Religion was for other ends design'd
 Then for to cover *Pharisaick* mindes
 With the white robes of zeale yet men dispense
 With any thing that argues for their sense
 Though Reason bids us to Religion bow
 And impious men may make a Godly show
 Yet they protest 'tis more then what they ow }
 But when wee meet with those whose sole intent
 (They say) is to bee good & innocent
 Who fast & pray & observe all holy rites
 And in pure Contemplation spend the nights
 When these wee see to err wee safely may }
 To their debauches all the Ruine lay
 Of those who cast themselves & soules away }
 What is Religion but a holy cheat
 Where outward show makes holy sinners great.

In the original MS. the second line is changed from "Then for to garnish over wicked mind," and in the fifth line cancelled "bids" precedes "reason."

It does not seem necessary to list the longer and more formal attacks on Milton or his writings, such as those of *Salmasius*, *More*, *Ziegler*, *Bishop Hall*, and others, or the incidental references to him in the literature of his times.

Apocryphal Letters

1. The celebrated legend of the beautiful Italian lady who seeing Milton asleep left a verse quotation beside him should be mentioned here.

It is probably a romantic invention of the eighteenth century or even earlier. See *Todd*, 1801, I, pp. xxi-xxii.

2. A long series of letters between Milton, Galileo, Louis XIV, and Molière, undoubtedly forged in the nineteenth century, were described in *Comptes Rendus*, LXVIII (1869), p. 745f.

3. A letter from Jonathan Hartop to Milton is a fiction of the eighteenth century. According to James Easton, *Human Longevity*, 1799, pp. 241-2, the story was told that Hartop died at the age of 138 in 1791. Sotheby, p. 39, cites the *Wolverhampton Chronicle and Staffordshire Advertiser*, March 31, 1790. This paper is preserved in the Central Public Library, Wolverhampton, and the Chief Librarian, Mr. William T. Beeston, sends us the following transcript of all that relates to Milton.

WONDERFUL LONGEVITY

Mr. Jonathan Hartop, now living at the village of Airdborough, near Boroughbridge, Yorkshire, has attained to the amazing age of 137 years, having been born in 1653. . . . Mr. Hartop lent the great Milton fifty pounds soon after the Restoration, which the bard returned him with honour, though not without much difficulty, as his circumstances were very low. Mr. Hartop would have declined receiving it again, but the pride of the poet was equal to his genius, and he sent the money with an angry letter, which is extant among the curious possessions of this venerable man.

The letter itself is not quoted, and no copy has yet been found at Wolverhampton, or elsewhere.

4. In Mrs. Prothesia S. Elton's *The Piedmontese Envoy* (London, 1852), a historical novel, are included several imaginary letters to and from Milton. These have been occasionally referred to as if genuine, but are a pure fiction, not intended to deceive.

5. Occasional references are met with to a letter from Milton to Cromwell. These arise from a misunderstanding of Marvell's letter to Milton (Volume XII, no. 45) or from imperfect understanding of other works of Milton.

FUGITIVE, LOST, AND PROJECTED WORKS

I. Verse

1. Poems at the age of ten. John Aubrey in one place says that in 1619 Milton was "ten yeares old, as by his picture: & was then a Poet." No certain copies of any poems from this period survive. Candy alone seems to have thought he had trace of some of them in the "Milton-Ovid stanzas," but of this he has satisfied few save himself.

2. "Fixe heere yee overdaled spears." These two lines, which may be a fragment of a larger intended poem, were found written (in Milton's own undoubted hand) on the back of the letter to him from Henry Lawes, dated April, 1638. See Vol. XII, p. 402. They were first printed in Horwood's edition of the *Commonplace Book*, 1876, p. xvi.

3 and 4. Peck (*New Memoirs*, 1740, p. 86) says Milton planned "two large heroic poems; the one entitled, ARTHUR, in imitation of the *ILIAD*; the

other, ALFRED, in imitation of the *ODYSSEY*." The first is foreshadowed in the *Epitaphium Damonis*, lines 162 ff., and in *Mansus*, lines 80 ff.; and the second is referred to among his plans (III, 42, above). But there may also be the tradition of some remark about writing the two as parallel poems. We know from Richardson that Milton is supposed to have declined to translate Homer. Hayley (*Life*, Dublin, 1797, p. 194) quotes the highly poetical prose sketch of Alfred from the *History of Britain*. Anything composed for either poem probably was used in *Paradise Lost*.

5. *Paradise Lost* as a Tragedy. Edward Phillips in his *Life*, 1694, says: "This Subject was first designed a Tragedy, and in the Fourth Book of the Poem there are Ten Verses, which several Years before the Poem was begun, were shewn to me, and some others, as designed for the very beginning of the said Tragedy." The

verses given in our text are then quoted. Aubrey carries the composition farther back, though on Phillips's own authority for he wrote: "In the 4th (emended from "2d or 3d") Booke of *Paradise lost*, there are about 6 verses of Satan's exclamation to the Sun, which Mr E. Ph. remembers, about 15 or 16 yeares before ever his Poëm was thought of, which verses were intended for the Beginning of a Tragoedie which he had designed, but was diverted from it by other businesse."

On the basis of these hints and the plans for dramas in the Cambridge MS. Francis Peck attempted to reconstruct a portion of Milton's tragedy (*New Memoirs*, 1740, p. 41). Fenton also (*Paradise Lost*, 1785 edition, p. x) thought he could recognize several passages in the poem which had been prepared for a dramatic composition.

6. Verses from *Areopagitica*. These verses appear on the title-page of *Areopagitica*, of which a facsimile is reproduced in Vol. III, facing p. 293, but are not reprinted elsewhere in our edition. In the original the lines are in italics.

It may here be noted that a copy of *Areopagitica*, described in Catalogue 620 of Maggs Bros., Ltd., no. 4 (1936), bears on the title page a note (in a

hand rather like Milton's): "Qui libellos suppresserunt, iidem suppressere literas."

7. Verses from *The Readie and Easie Way*. Although the Columbia edition reprints the text of the second edition (1660) of this pamphlet, the titlepage is not reproduced. The verses did not appear on the first edition. Godwin (*Lives of Edward and John Philips*, 1815, p. 31), and Masson (V, 678) note that the first five words are from Juvenal's *Satires*, I, 15-16, but that the last three are Milton's addition. In the unique original copy, now in Harvard College Library, the lines are in italics.

Certain other works in verse, thought by various scholars to have been Milton's, but not sufficiently substantial to be listed in our text, may be mentioned here.

8. A poem printed in 1628 but now lost? On strong hypothetical grounds Todd (I, xvi) suggested that the poem of Milton's printed at Cambridge in 1628, mentioned in *Ep. Fam.* 3, was the *Naturam non pati senium*. Professor W. R. Parker points out to the editors that it was not necessarily this poem, but might have been either the *De Idea Platonica*, or some third poem now lost. While Milton's apparent thoroughness in gathering up even trifling composi-

tions in Latin verse suggests that we should rather seek the poem among things preserved than elsewhere, it is certainly possible that a third, *lost* poem may have existed, and it deserves an entry here.

9. Poems written in Italy or addressed to Italians. In 1762 Thomas Hollis made a vain search for six sonnets addressed to Milton's Italian friend the poet Chimentelli, and for other Latin and Italian MS. works which he had heard were in Florence. William Hazlitt also mentioned the possibility of such works being found. See Hazlitt's *Collected Works*, ed. A. R. Waller and A. Glover, Vol. IX (1903), page 218. Masson, however, (*Life*, I, 783) felt sure that little or nothing of the sort remained then in Florence. There is no certain proof that any such writings ever existed. For a very doubtful "translation" of some supposed lines in Italian attributed to Milton, see page 597.

10. Supposed verses about Leonora. It was long a subject of speculation as to whether any poems, known or otherwise unknown, might have been printed in a volume of verses published in Italy in honor of the singer Leonora. A copy of the volume, entitled *Applausi poetici alle glorie della signora Leonora Baroni*, edited by Francesco Ronconi, Brac-

ciano, 1639, is now in the Harvard College Library. It contains no verses whatsoever by Milton. There is little doubt he wrote his epigrams with this projected book in mind, but apparently they did not reach the editor in time or at all.

11. A poem on the Armada. Professor Heinrich Mutschmann (*Studies concerning the Origin of Paradise Lost*, 1924; *Further Studies concerning the Origin of Paradise Lost*, 1934; *Milton's Projected Epic on the Rise and Future Greatness of the Britanic Nation*, 1936) feels convinced that many passages now incorporated in *Paradise Lost* were originally written as parts of a national epic, but were later, when Milton altered his intention, transferred with but slight changes, if any, to the new poem.

12. A supposed Translation of the 11th Psalm. It has been stated that a Psalm by Milton was inserted in a collection made by Dr. Slater. This seems to arise from a misunderstanding; actually William Slatyer inserted a musical setting for the eleventh Psalm by Milton's father in his *Psalmes of David*, 1643.

13. Sonnets to Officers of the Commonwealth. Hayley (*Life of Milton*, 1797, p. 116) makes the interesting suggestion that Milton may have written other poems in the vein of

those to Cromwell and Vane which escaped collection. His criticism may be quoted: "We have lost, perhaps, some little poems that flowed from the heart of Milton, by their being addressed to persons who, in the vicissitude of public fortune, were suddenly plunged into obscurity with the honours they had received. Some of his sonnets that we possess did not venture into public till many years after the death of their author for political reasons; others might be concealed from the same motive, and in such concealment they might easily perish." He suggests Bradshaw and Overton as probable recipients of sonnets, citing a highly poetical prose passage to the latter ("Te, Overtone, mihi multis ab hinc annis et studiorum similitudine, et morum suavitate, concordia plusquam fraternâ, conjunctissime." See Vol. VIII, 232).

14. Translation of Homer. Richardson tells us in his biography that "it has been said *Milton* was put upon Translating *Homer*; he was Certainly the Best Fitted for it of any Man on Some Accounts, on Others not at All. for as he says in the P. S. to the Judgment of *Bucer* concerning Divorce . . . *my Mother bore me a Speaker of what God made mine Own, and not a Translator.* A good Reason for Declining it, as he did."

15. Dr. Willa Evans tells us she has suspected, from her studies of the work of Henry Lawes, much of which is still unpublished, that Milton may have written or revised songs occasionally for his friend other than the *Comus* and the doubtful *Lavinia* poem given at page 360. But she has met with no evidence to justify the ascription of any such poem to Milton. And his apparent solicitude in gathering up his minor poems makes us believe that little if anything of this kind has been lost.

16. It is not known who composed Milton's epitaph, but the likelihood that he did it himself would have been strong enough, had it survived, to have warranted its inclusion in this edition. Our knowledge of the epitaph rests solely on the rough notes of Aubrey. "He lies buried in St. Giles Cripplegate upper end of chancell at the right hand *v. his stone (grave-stone)*. memorandum his stone is now removed; for about 2 yeares since (now 1681) the steppes to the communion table were raised." The italicized words are cancelled. We believe the note means that Aubrey did seek the stone, and learned of its removal, just two years too late. The monument of which Milton had so little need, if it existed, survived scarcely five years.

17. On the basis of a passage in *The Reason of Church Government*, Tillyard thinks Milton planned (but did not write) some odes in the manner of Pindar and Callimachus. See *The Miltonic Setting*, 1938, p. 171.

II. Prose

1. *A cancelled passage?*

A cancelled passage in *Animadversions*, 1641. In "A Cancel in an Early Milton Tract," *The Library*, N. S. XV (September, 1934), 243-246, Professor W. R. Parker points out that all copies of this pamphlet known to him omit pp. 45-48 and exhibit other bibliographical irregularities. The reprint in Toland's edition (*Works*, 1698, I, 155-158) shows further curious evidence of change. Professor Parker suggests, that a passage of some 2,000 words was thus either cancelled or revised by Milton himself during the course of publication. It is also possible that the cancel was caused by some printer's error in repeating a passage. Though it is conceivable that some copies containing these cancelled leaves may be in existence, neither Professor Parker nor the present editors have traced any. Professor Parker formerly felt Toland might also have been using the original MS., but while not aban-

doning this completely, he agrees with us that the source of Toland's trouble was a copy of the first edition with the usually cancelled leaves complete, used as copy. There can be little doubt that the cancelled passage contained something offensive to any careful reader, but whether this was merely an error of the printer or some incorrect or unwise statement of Milton himself cannot be determined unless an early and complete copy can be recovered.

2. *A Proposed Reply to Lilburne*

There are in the Orders two references to what seems to have been a work the Council planned for Milton.

March 26, 1649 (IV, 87). "Ordered, that Mr. Milton be appointed to make some observations upon a Paper lately printed, called *Old and New Chains*."

March 28, 1649 (IV, 87). "That Mr. Milton be appointed to make some observations upon the complication of interests which is now amongst the several designers against the peace of the Commonwealth; and that it be made ready to be printed with the Papers out of Ireland which the House hath ordered to be printed." These are pretty strong evidence that it was hoped that Milton would reply to Lilburne's troublesome Levelling

publications. Masson, however (IV, 97), remarks, "My conjecture is that he deferred his 'observations' . . . till they were no longer necessary. The shooting of the trooper Lockyer in St. Paul's Churchyard (April 26) and the suppression of the organized Mutiny at Burford (May 14) were Cromwell's more effective 'observations' on that subject; and whatever of paper argument against Lilburne and the Levellers might still be needed might be conducted by more ordinary pens than Milton's."

3. *Heads Concerning the Insurrections in Essex*

An Order of Council reads:

June 25, 1650 (IV, 227). "That Mr. Milton do peruse the Examinations taken by the Committee of the Army concerning the insurrections in Essex, and that he do take heads of the same, to the end the Council may judge what is fit to be taken into consideration." There is little doubt that these headings were written, but we have met with no copy of them.

4. *A Translation of the "Intercursus Magnus."*

In Volume XIII, at page 645, No. 167L, was quoted evidence that Milton was to translate an old document

(relating to English rights in the Low Countries). The Order of Council reads:

March 28, 1651 (IV, 314). "That Mr. Milton do translate the *Intercursus Magnus* which he is to have from Sir Henry Vane."

The *Intercursus Magnus*, as it is usually called by historians, is a treaty between England and the Low Countries, concluded at London on February 24, 1495/6. It was signed on December 14, 1495, by Philip the Fair, Archduke of Austria, and Governor of Holland, and on February 20, 1495/6 by Henry VII of England. The original document is in the Public Record Office (Dipl. Doct. 624) and it is printed in full in Rymer's *Fœdera*, XII, 578 ff. According to S. R. Gardiner, *The History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, I (1894), 362 ff. the Dutch commissioners on April 22, 1651, produced the *Intercursus Magnus* as a basis for negotiations with the English ambassadors at The Hague. On May 10, the English ambassadors offered counter-proposals based on the same document. No agreement was reached, and on June 20 the English ambassadors returned to England. Obviously it had been assumed by both sides that the *Intercursus* would be the basis of their discussions, and the reason Milton

was asked to prepare an English version is clear enough.

Unhappily, Milton's version was apparently considered as only for the use of the diplomats, and does not seem to have been preserved at the Public Record Office, where a recent search failed to reveal a copy. Nor have we met with any printed text of the translation, or reference to one, and for this reason are unable to give a text of this interesting document.

5. *Lost State Papers*

It is clear that we have not by any means a complete collection of all the official work Milton did during his long service as Secretary for Foreign Tongues. Our collection of what he considered his important letters of state written in Latin to be sent abroad is probably fairly complete. But Milton seems to have regarded with less interest material which he merely translated into Latin from documents prepared in English, or translated into English for the use of the Council or other officials. Among the documents in the Columbia MS. are a few specimens of this class. But there are references to several more, which we described in Volume XIII in the notes under the numbers 167A-L. And it should be remembered that Orders

of the Council but rarely name the person to do the work when such translations are ordered. Some of the documents there described as lost have now been recovered. It has therefore seemed well to list anew those which are still missing, as well as to give the portions of the Orders which seem to predicate written work, which did not exactly seem to fit into the categories included among the State Papers. All of the material will be seen to belong to the early years of Milton's activity in the Government. Milton almost certainly continued to do a good deal of this sort of work. But we have no means of identifying it at present, nor indeed is it likely that we ever shall have. References without further description than line or page after dates of orders of the Council are to the pages on which Masson prints them.

It is perhaps sufficient to remark here that of the documents described as untraced in the notes to Volume XIII, under nos. 167A-K, we have at this time recovered no copies of 167A and B, papers from the Dutch Ambassadors; 167G-J, letters to the Spanish Ambassador and Dethicke's petition; and 167K, a paper from the Portuguese Ambassador, nor of 167, the letter to Tetuan.

Other official work for the Com-

monwealth is alluded to in several places.

June 26, 1650 (IV, 228). "That the Declaration of the Parliament be translated into Latin by Mr. Milton, into Dutch by Mr. Haak, and into French by Monsieur Augier." This work was later taken from Milton and given to Thomas May; see Stern, III, 256.

It may be added that several of Milton's known and extant works are in the nature of reports ordered by the Council. Thus we know, from the official records and from his writings, that his *Eikōnoklastes*, *Defensio*, *Defensio Secunda*, and Latin translations of the declarations or treaties concerning Spain, Sweden, and Holland were officially assigned tasks.

April 20, 1649 (IV, 87). "That the letters brought in by Mr. Watkins be viewed by Mr. Frost or Mr. Milton, to see if any of them contain anything concerning the exportation of any prohibited goods." [This does not necessarily involve written work.]

In *Censura Literaria*, 1805 (I, 438), we find the following note, quoted from an interleaved copy of Langbaine, once owned by Oldys: "Milton's cypher for secret communication with others used by Republicans under Oliver, I had among the Royal Let-

ters in Clarendon's Collection, which I redeemed from perdition, and presented to my late noble Lord of Oxford; and they are still preserved in the Harleian Library." Harley's collections are now in the British Museum, but this manuscript cannot now be traced, despite considerable search. It is the opinion of the authorities there that it may possibly turn up in some volume badly described in the old catalogue. It is doubtful if the cipher was composed by Milton in any case. (See also p. 654.)

6. *Idioma Linguae Latinae*. There is a good deal of information available about the Latin dictionary upon which Milton spent much labor. Mr. Packer, one of his pupils, remembered the title. The anonymous *Life* says it was an improvement on Stephanus. Aubrey says that Mrs. Milton gave it to his nephew, and that the work (three volumes folio in manuscript) was in the hands of Moyses Pitt, the bookseller who issued the Letters of State in 1676. Wood confusingly describes "A Dictionary completed and improved with great exactness from the several works of Stephens, Gouldman, Holyoke, Dr. Littleton, a manuscript of Mr. Joh. Milton &c for the use of Schooles—printed at Cambridge in qu." Wood here refers to the *Linguae Romanae Dictionarium*

Luculentum Novum of Littleton and others printed in 1693, in the preface to which appeared the following notice: "We had by us, and made use of, a Manuscript Collection in three *Large Folio's* digested into an Alphabetical order, which the Learned Mr. John Milton had made, out of *Tully, Livy, Caesar, Sallust, Quintus Curtius, Justin, Plautus, Terence, Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Manilius, Celsus, Columella, Varro, Cato, Paladius*; in short out of all the best and purest Roman Authors." Edward Phillips had already made some use of the MS. in his two works, *Enchiridion Linguae Latinae* (1684) and *Speculum Linguae Latinae* (1684), as Godwin (*Lives of Edward and John Philips*, pp. 229-230) noted. While collectors and compilers of dictionaries may regret that these tomes have disappeared with the passing of the centuries, editors of a complete edition of Milton are not wholly displeased that the problem of what portion of such a book may have been original and worthy of inclusion among the works of Milton is not presented to them. [See also the note on the copy of Cooper's *Thesaurus*, claimed by Collier to contain Milton's manuscript notes, below, p. 581; there is little doubt his fraud was suggested to him by references to the lost Latin

Dictionary.] Dr. Smith's Latin Dictionary, so much used in English schools, is largely based on Littleton, and some notion of the probable nature of Milton's notes can be gained by any reader who wishes to consult one of the many editions of that work; these dictionaries are for that reason of special use to any one who may wish to translate Milton's Latin.

7. *A Greek Thesaurus*. In the anonymous life of Milton it is stated that the poet "had begun a *Greek Thesaurus*." Nothing further is known of it, and it is probable from this passage that he did not make great progress with the work.

8. *A Defence of Himself*. Edward Phillips writes: "He had, as I remember, prepared for the press an answer to some little scribing Quack in *London*, who had written a Scurrilous Libel against him; but whether by the diswasion of Friends, as thinking him a Fellow not worth his notice, or for what other cause I know not, this Answer was never publisht." See Birch, 1753, I, lxxvii, and Masson, VI, 703 ff., 790. Masson thinks this an answer to *The Transproser Rehearsed*, Oxford, 1673, an attack on Marvell and Milton by Richard Leigh. Stern (IV, 207) notices that this did not appear in London, and it is just possible that the item recorded next by us may be

meant. However, the contemptuous tone seems better to fit Leigh than any other opponent of Milton. Aubrey rather unfortunately has an ambiguous statement which may be quoted in this connection: "Q. Mr. Allam of Edm: hall Oxon. of Mr. J. Milton's life writt by himselfe." It is not clear whether this refers to the famous autobiographical section in Milton's *Defensio Secunda*, to a separate lost autobiographical work, to an answer to some critic, or to a life of Milton by Allam, as Stern (I, 337) thinks.

It has also been stated by G. A. Aitken (*Poems of Andrew Marvell*, 1892, I, lxvii) that Marvell promised Aubrey to write Milton's life, but did not do it.

8a. The "scribing quack" mentioned by Phillips might also be Robert Dunkin, with whom Milton is said to have engaged in a controversy. The earliest reference to this exchange of hostilities seems to be John Walker's *An Attempt towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy*, 1714, part II, p. 229: "DUNKIN, ROBERT, A.M. St. Stephens in Branwell . . . He Published some things against *Milton*." This account is slightly expanded in Davies Gilbert's *The Parochial History of Cornwall*, I (1838), 310: "Robert Dunkin, who was ejected in the

interregnum and restored with the monarchy, and who has acquired celebrity by entering the field as a controversialist with the great John Milton." See also *N&Q*, IV, iv (1869), 478. Nothing has yet been identified as an attack by Dunkin, and perhaps the tradition (which seems fairly credible) may refer only to an exchange of letters, circulation of some brief manuscript tracts, or even a more or less friendly conversational discussion, but notice of this is necessary in a complete edition of Milton's works.

9. Milton's work as censor. Milton acted with some regularity as licenser of the press; see Masson, IV, 325-326; *Studies in Philology*, XXXIII (1936), 236-252. The extent of the writing involved in such work would of course be very small. Perhaps Mr. Milton's note of hand of Aug. 10, 1650, mentioned above, p. 524, was of this nature, and possibly some observations on *Mercurius Politicus*.

9a. Milton's note of hand. See page 524.

10. Official work after the Restoration. Various accounts of visits to Milton from officials of the government after 1660 are included in the early biographies. Though they are often highly colored, they rest on a basis of fact. Thus we know that he

assisted in the matter of the divorce of Lord Rous (see page 375 of this volume) and we are convinced that one high official who visited him was very close to the King. However, the tradition is strong that Milton refused to be Latin Secretary again, and any work for the government after 1660 must have been merely a matter of occasional personal courtesy to his friends. See also page 375.

11. Lost indexes or commonplace books. See the notes above, p. 509.

12. A life of Cromwell. Masson (VI, 815) thinks Milton planned to write one. See the note below, p. 555. on his collection of Cromwell papers. Was it perhaps to be included as a final portion of the *History of Britain*, or was it a separate work, perhaps suggested by Richard or other members of the Cromwell family? We may feel reasonably sure that it was never written; a work of this kind certainly could not have missed the attention of all the early biographers.

13. A continuation of the *History of Britain*. Toland (*Works*, 1698, I, 43) regrets that Milton did not continue the *History* down to his own time, and Masson (VI, 815) feels convinced that Milton planned either a life of Cromwell or a history of Cromwell's time. The intense nationalistic attitude of Milton might well have

conceived of the period from the Conquest to the fall of Charles I as a sort of foreign domination which might be passed over briefly in a History of England (which it will be recalled is the running title of the *History of Britain* in the original edition). This will not seem far-fetched to one reading the letter of Moses Wall to Milton or recalling the classical precedent of the Messenians.

14. Unlicensed portions of the *History of Britain*. It is doubtful how much of this material has been recovered. See page 519.

15. Domestic papers. Warton [Todd, I (1826), 25] was said to have found papers in Milton's own handwriting in Forest Hill, the home of the Powells. And Sir William Jones wrote Lady Spencer, Sept. 7, 1769, of a visit to Forest Hill, where he saw a "ruinous wall that made part of his [Milton's] chamber." He adds, "I am informed that several papers in Milton's own hand, were found by the gentleman who was last in possession of the estate." See Lord Teignmouth's *Memoirs of Jones*, 1804, pp. 66 f. It is curious that no recent writers seem to have found any trace of this material, which would have been very valuable at any time in the last two centuries. The tradition, we fear, may be a mere bit of local romancing.

III. *Other Forms of Art*

1. Musical compositions. Milton, whose father, it will be remembered, was an amateur composer of some pretensions, seems also to have written some music. Whether Aubrey's note that "he made his Nephews Songsters, and sing from the time they were with him" (Darbishire, p. 12) indicates any thing beyond the rendering of the music of others is not certain. Milton's own fondness for the organ, his collection of song-books made during his travels in Italy, and the several hymns and songs which occur among his poetry prove that he was interested in this form of art. The most definite record is in Newton, 1749, I, li: "he used to divert and unbend his mind with playing upon the organ or bass-viol, which was a great relief to him after he had lost his sight; for he was a master of music as was his father, and he could perform both vocally and instrumentally, and it is said that he composed very well, tho' nothing of this kind is handed down to us."

2. Art. There is one solitary mention of Milton as an artist, but it is based on a tradition so likely to be good that it deserves mention. In a letter from Roger Comberbach to William Cowper, Clerk of Parliament, dated December 15, 1736 (quoted in

Peck, p. 104), the writer mentions that Milton is said to have drawn or painted a portrait of himself on board, which was still extant in 1736. Since Comberbach, who was a resident in Cheshire, claimed that he had heard Milton's widow (who also lived in Cheshire) say that Milton himself painted it, the statement carries some little credibility. It may even have been among the pictures on which Aubrey, who seems to have seen them in the possession of Mrs. Milton, wanted to write his name in red letters to preserve them (Darbishire, p. 15). Newton says (1749, I, li): "It is also said that he had some skill in painting as well as in music, and that somewhere or other there is a head of Milton drawn by himself."

This tradition probably led the person who added the MS. notes to the Bristol Bible (described below at page 562) to include two portraits. While these are pretty clearly not authentic, they are reproduced at page 563.

In this connection Aubrey's description of him may be cited (Darbishire, p. 3): "He was . . . of middle stature. He had light browne (abrown) hayre, his complexion very (exceeding) fayre. ovall face (his eye a dark gray) . . . he was so fayre that they called him the Lady of Christ's coll." Professor Mutschmann has argued

that Milton was an albino. Professor Saintsbury thought this interesting but not conclusively argued. The descriptions and the portrait in the Pierpont Morgan Library make it certain that such albinism, if any, did not extend to pinkness of the eyes.

There is in the *Antiquarian Magazine and Bibliographer*, 1882, (II, 1-4) an article with a reproduction of a supposed self portrait painted by Milton himself, almost certainly not authentic. It bears the Milton spread eagle and the name "Joannis Miltoni."

3. Since the ancients regarded planting trees as an art, and it is certainly an activity of lasting benefit, we may mention that local tradition names Milton as the planter of a mulberry tree at Stowmarket, where his friend, Thomas Young, lived. See *N&Q*, II, v, 250, 343; V, i, 465, and Stern's *Milton*, I, 69. The mulberry tree associated with his name at Cambridge was probably not planted by the poet. That at Chalfont St. Giles, recently threatened with destruction, was his favorite, but was not planted by him. We fear it has been destroyed.

NOTES ON BOOK INSCRIPTIONS

1. From a volume of tracts presented to Patrick Young, 1645. The inscription (in Milton's autograph) is written on the title-page of *Of Reformation*, 1641, the first tract in the volume, which includes nine of Milton's other works. Presented about 1645 to the King's Librarian, it bears the name of an owner, "Matt. Pilkington, Stamford, 1693," and passed into the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, where it now is. The text is partly given by Todd, 1809, p. 131; in full in *N&Q*, II, iv, 459 (Dec. 5, 1857), and a facsimile in Sotheby, p. 121. See Masson, III, 645. A binder has cut away a few letters, but none

are doubtful. Scott's description of a presentation copy in the *Archivist*, VII, 8 (March, 1894), is confusing but refers to this volume.

2. From a volume of tracts presented to John Rous for the Bodleian Library, 1646. Milton presented a collection of his tracts to the Bodleian in 1646, with this autographic Latin inscription. Actually only the first eleven titles arrived to be bound up in the volume; the *Poems* being lost, a second copy was sent for by Bodley's Librarian, and occasioned the Latin *Ode to Rous* (Vol. I, p. 316). The text of the inscription was first printed by Thomas Warton in his edition of

Milton's *Poems*, 1785, p. 580; there is a facsimile in Sotheby, p. 120. See also Masson, III, 646.

3. From a copy of *Eikonoklastes*, 1650, which Milton gave the Earl of Carbery. This volume is described in *A Catalogue of the Library of the late Richard Heber*, 1835, part 6, #2354, and in Lowndes, *Bibliographer's Manual*, III (1900), 1566. See also Masson, IV, 246, and the 111th Catalogue of Bernard Halliday (1929), item 99, where the owners, all distinguished collectors, are named. They include William Thomas, Bishop of St. Davids; Lord Carbery; Richard Baron; Thomas Hollis; John Disney; and Lord Vernon. It contains notes by several of them. Our text follows the Halliday Catalogue, which is more complete than other versions met with.

4. From a copy of the *Poems* of 1645 presented to Peter Heimbach, 1655 or 1656. This volume is described in *A Catalogue of the Library of Robert Hoe*, 1911, I, 398, #2290. There is a facsimile in the Catalogue of the Roderick Terry Sale by the American Art Association, 1934. Milton's familiar letters #20, 27, and 31 are addressed to Heimbach.

5. From a copy of *Paradise Lost*, 1667, presented to Francis Rea. This volume is described in *Book Prices*

Current, X (1897), 211, and in *A Catalogue of the Library of Robert Hoe*, 1911, I, 399, #2294.

Other Presentation Inscriptions and Volumes with Corrections

In the text it seemed proper to give only such presentation inscriptions as involved original composition by Milton. This we interpreted as being anything beyond the names of the recipients, and such commonplaces as "To," "For," "From," and the conventional "Ex dono authoris." For the sake of completeness, however, it seems right to list briefly here all copies of Milton's own works which bear evidence of having passed through his hands. This includes both presentation copies and copies containing corrections which have with greater or less certainty been attributed to him. Like so much else that Milton wrote, many of these inscriptions and corrections are in the hands of amanuenses, and some seem to contain record of the gift in the hand of the recipient. Most of these books are described in Dr. French's article, *The Autographs of John Milton*, in *ELH* for December, 1937 (IV, pp. 301 ff.). The numbers in brackets below refer to these discussions, which contain many bibliographical references.

6. *Lycidas* (*Iusta Edovardo King Naufrago, Cambridge, 1638*)

A. Cambridge University Library copy, containing corrections by Milton, described in the notes to the present edition, I, 459. [F. 4.]

B. A similar copy in the British Museum, for which see below, p. 640. [F. 6.] See also p. 655.

C. A fragment of corrected proof at Cambridge, described I, 461. [F. 5.]

7. *Poems, 1645*

A. New York Public Library copy, which contains a note on the title of *Lycidas*, which seems to indicate that Milton at one time considered inserting after the words "a learned Friend" the name "Mr King Fell. of Christ's." [F. 22.]

B. John Sharp, in 1761, owned a copy which contained what he considered "many manuscript stanzas, for aught I know, in Milton's own hand-writing, and several interlined hints and fragments." Dr. Johnson, to whom he showed it was much pleased with it, but no later trace of the volume has been found than that in John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, IX (1815), 778. Perhaps this was prepared as printer's copy for the 1673 edition. [F. 23a.]

C. The Bodleian copy is a substitute sent by Milton for the first he gave, which was lost. It contains the "Ode to John Rous," of which the MS is described at I, 595.

8. *Paradise Lost.*

A. A copy with an autograph and a Latin verse was sold by Pickering in the 19th century. [F. 48.]

B. A copy with inscription and signature said to be in Milton's hand was sold by Daly in 1900 and is perhaps identical with the foregoing. [F. 47.]

C. The inventory of the third Mrs. Milton's estate mentions "2 books of Paradise," surely copies of Milton's two chief works.

9. *Paradise Regained, 1671*

A. A copy with inscription on the flyleaf "Sum Shadracis Cooke, Christ's Coll: Cantab. ex dono authoris" was sold in 1923. [F. 51.]

B. A copy with manuscript corrections, thought to emanate from Milton, belonged to George Daniel in 1864. Similar volumes are described in *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1866, Quaritch's Catalogue, 1874, and Maggs's Catalogue 598, for 1934. These all probably refer to the same book. [F. 52.]

C. See note 8C above.

10. *Of Reformation*, 1641

A. The Thomason copy, in the British Museum, is inscribed (in an uncertain hand) "By.Mr John.Milton Ex dono Authoris." [F. 10.]

11. *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, 1641

A. The Thomason copy has the note "By John Milton" on the title page. Masson thought this was in Milton's hand, but Stern disagreed. [F. 12.]

12. *Reason of Church Government*, 1642

A. The Thomason copy is inscribed "Ex dono Authoris." [F. 13.]

13. *An Apology*, 1642

A. The Thomason copy is inscribed "by Mr Milton Ex dono Authoris." [F. 14.]

14. *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, 1643/4
(2d ed.)

A. The Thomason copy has manuscript corrections which may be Milton's. [F. 16.]

B. A similar copy is also in the British Museum. [F. 16 bis.]

C. A similar copy is in the Van Sinderen Collection. [F. 17.]

D. A copy with corrections and the inscription "Ex dono Authoris," sold

in 1858, is perhaps identical with a copy owned by Dr. Rosenbach. [F. 15.]

E. A copy with the autograph "Jo. Milton" belonged to the Earl of Ashburnham and was sold in 1897. It may be identical with the foregoing. [F. 15 bis.]

15. *Of Education*, 1644

A. A copy of this, the rare separate edition, with an inscription on the first page "by Mr John Milton.," thought to be autograph, was in 1935 described in Robinson's 56th Catalogue, item 133, and is now in the William Clark Library, University of Southern California. [F. 17a.]

16. *Areopagitica*, 1644

A. The Thomason copy is inscribed "Ex dono Authoris" and contains manuscript corrections. [F. 19.]

B. About ten other copies are known, with manuscript corrections supposed to have been inserted by the publisher at Milton's direction; such copies are at the Bodleian, Lausanne, and in the Van Sinderen Collection. [F. 20.]

17. *Eikonoklastes*, 1650
(2d ed.)

A. The Grenville copy in the British Museum is inscribed "G. Dury. 1650 Ex dono Authoris." [F. 28.]

18. *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*,
1651

A. A Bodleian copy is inscribed "Liber Bibliothecæ Bodleyanæ ex dono Authoris, A° D. 1651." This was mentioned in 1924 in the *Library*, IV, iv, 128. [F. 38.]

B. A copy in Harvard College Library bears the inscription "Ch: Vane ex proprio dono Johannis Miltoni Authoris." [F. 37.]

C. A copy in the Pierpont Morgan Library has on the title-page "Ex donatione Autoris Londini. Mense August A. 1651" and on the flyleaf "Hocce Exemplar pretiosus Autographo ipsius Joannis Miltoni." [F. 40.]

D. A copy in the British Museum bears the inscription on the title page "IOH.MAVRITIJ ex dono authoris." [F. 40a.]

E. A copy inscribed "Gualter Frost ex dono Authoris" was sold at Sotheby's in 1917. [F. 34.]

F. A copy with manuscript corrections, sold in 1889 by Sotheby, and one sold by Libbie in the same year are probably identical and may be one of the foregoing. [F. 35, and 39.]

G. Samuel Hartlib's copy, in Harvard College Library, though not inscribed by Milton may well have been a presentation copy. [F. 36.]

H. A copy bearing Cromwell's sig-

nature is in the Van Sinderen Collection. Another copy with Cromwell's arms on the title-page was sold in 1897. One or both may have been presentation copies, though not so inscribed. [F. 33.]

19. *Defensio Secunda*, 1654

A. A presentation copy with Milton's autograph was sold at Sotheby's in 1910. [F. 42.] This may be identical with one of the following.

B. Milton's letters reveal that he gave copies of this book to Marvell, John Oxenbridge, Henry Oldenburg and others, and John Bradshaw. This last is probably the book inscribed "to my cousin Bradshaw," formerly at Marple Hall, Cheshire. [See F. 43; Letters 14 and 45 in the present edition, Vol. XII, and *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, IV (1886), 298.]

20. *The Readie and Easie Way*, 1660

A copy with MS corrections attributed to Milton was sold at Sotheby's in 1890. See *Book Prices Current*, IV (1891), 448. [F. 44.]

21. *History of Britain*, 1671

A. See the present volume, pp. 517 and 519.

22. *Epistolæ Familiares*, 1674

A. Comberbach's copy, with corrections emanating from Milton, has been lost since the 18th century. [F. 53a.]

23. *Letters Patent*, 1674

A. A copy with inscription on the title page "John Phillips, J.M., 1674." was described in Catalogue 111 of Bernard Halliday, 1929, item 100.

Album Inscriptions.

1. The Album of Count Camillus Cardouin is mentioned in Thorpe's Catalogue for 1836, and Milton's inscription is described in Hunter's *Milton . . . Gleanings* (1850), p. 23, and a facsimile is given in Sotheby, plate xiv, with description, pp. 73 and 106. The English lines are from *Comus*, lines 1022-23; the Latin from Horace, *Epist.* I, xi, 27. The book is now in the Harvard College Library.

2. The Album of Christopher Arnold, who was Professor of History at

Nuremberg, was acquired by the British Museum in 1850, where it is Egerton MS. 1324. Milton's inscription occurs at f. 85b. Only the signature is autograph. The text was first printed in *N&Q*, II, vii, 3 (Jan. 1, 1859). There is a facsimile in Sotheby, plate xvi, and in the facsimiles issued by the British Museum in 1908. See also Sotheby, p. 113, and Masson, IV, 353. The Greek quotation is from 2 Corinthians 12:9.

3. The Album of John Zollikofer was found by Stern in the Bibliothek der Vadiana (MS. 92a) and described in the *Academy*, XIV (1878), 449; the text appeared in his *Milton*, III, 278, and less accurately in *Anglia*, LVII (1933), 222. The album is now in the Stadtbibliothek at St. Gallen. There our text was verified by Mr. David Allan Robertson. The signature is in Milton's own hand, the rest in that of an amanuensis. No year appears but the date of Zollikofer's visit to England is known.

NOTES ON MILTON'S MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION

Material relating to Milton's library has been arranged, as is customary, in two groups, of MSS and printed books, respectively. Discussion of manuscript owned by him is followed by that of texts of his own surviving

notes on books in the section of Marginalia.

Raleigh

Milton edited a MS. in his collection under the title *The Cabinet-Council; Containing the Chief Arts of Em-*

pire. . . . By the Ever-renowned Knight, Sir Walter Raleigh, Published by John Milton, Esq., 1658. His brief preface is reprinted in the text from folio A2 recto and verso of the first edition. No verbal changes have been found in later editions.

In the older writers on Milton considerable confusion as to the work occurs, some thinking there were two different works edited by Milton. Thus William Oldys (quoted in *N&Q*, III Ser., ii, 382) says, "He published Sir Walter Raleigh's Prince: or his Maxims and Aphorisms of State. Also, Sir Walter Raleigh's Cabinet Council." A reprint in 1692 does indeed bear the title *Arts of Empire*, but is the same work. There is no evidence Milton had anything to do with publishing *The Prince, or Maxims of State*, by Raleigh, which appeared in 1642, and is a quite distinct work.

However, there were other works of Raleigh in MS. at the time, and some apparently in the hands of Sir James Tyrrell after Milton's death, which Toland, I, 44, in a passage echoing Milton's preface, hoped would be given by him to the world. There is no evidence that Milton had any connection with these writings.

Bodin

Milton possessed a MS. copy of Jean

Bodin's rare heretical treatise *Colloquium Heptaplomeres*, 1593, which he lent to a friend in Germany, 1662. See a letter from Hartlib to Robert Boyle, Feb. 2, 1658, in Boyle's *Works*, 1772, vi, 100; another from Hartlib to Dr. John Worthington, January 30, 1660, in Worthington's *Diary and Correspondence*, Chetham Society Publications, xiii (1847) 166ff; and letters between Conring and Boineburg, in *Studies in Philology*, XXI (1924) 399ff.

Malatesti

Milton apparently owned a MS. volume which bore the following dedication:

La Tina: Equivoci Rusticali di Antonio Malatesti, composti nella sua Villa di Taiano il Settembre dell' anno 1637: Sonetti Cinquanta: Dedicati all' Illustrissimo Signore et Padrone Osservantissimo Signor Giovanni Milton, nobile Inghlese.

The MS. was found in London about 1750 by a certain Mr. Brand, who gave it to his friend Thomas Hollis. It was item 938 in the sale catalogue of the library of Hollis [and others], Sotheby's, April 25, 1817. It was the subject of communications by S. W. Singer in *N&Q*, I, ii, 146; viii, 237, etc.; and is discussed by Masson, I, 786f. A copy made for Hollis was sent by him in 1758 to the

Accademia della Crusca in Florence and upon that was based a very limited edition printed in Italy in 1837. The poems contain many slightly improper double meanings, which Masson did not think could have gratified Milton. But his evident fondness for the famous epigram on More and Bontia, which he twice quoted, make one suppose Milton may have had more relish for such jests, at least in a foreign tongue, than his biographer. We regret that we have not located the original MS.

Cromwell Papers

In 1743 appeared a thin folio called *Original Letters and Papers of State, Addressed to Oliver Cromwell; Concerning the Affairs of Great Britain from the Year MDCXLI to MDCLVIII. Found among the Political Collections of Mr. John Milton. Now first Published from the Originals. By John Nickolls, Jun., Member of the Society of Antiquaries, London.* The 164 pages contain nothing by Milton, but it is stated in the preface that the papers were obtained from the widow of Joseph Wyeth, who got them from Thomas Ellwood, the pupil of Milton. Nickolls remarks that they were papers "Milton accounted worthy of his preservation." Since the latest document is an address to Richard Crom-

well on becoming Protector, it is clear that Milton obtained them after that time. Masson (vi, 815) suggests that Milton intended to write a life of Cromwell, but others believe that perhaps the papers were placed in his hands by the Cromwell family for safety. Several rather intimate papers are included. It is worth observing that the exact relations of Milton and Cromwell remain one of the great puzzles of history. Despite his high rank in the Government, and the high tributes paid to Cromwell in his writings there is not a scrap of direct evidence that Milton ever spoke to Oliver. Actually one supposes he knew him well, and that perhaps Richard leaned upon him considerably during his brief rule, and perhaps continued to think of Milton afterwards. Perhaps he suggested the life to Milton.

Milton's Horoscope

This is preserved in the Bodleian (M.S. Ashmole. 436, part 1, f. 119) and there is a facsimile in the British Museum (Add. MS. 24501, f. 8). It is described as the horoscope of John Milton the author of *Eikonoklastes*, and was cast by John Gadbury the almanac-maker, presumably for Milton himself. It is a chart, and only to be understood by one somewhat

versed in the subject, but this need not surprise us, for astrology has been a study of many learned and unlearned men from the most ancient times, and the careful records of the exact hours of births in his family Bible, as well as the lines in *Il Penseroso* (85ff.) suggest Milton's continued interest in the subject, though perhaps not a deep one. See the facsimile reproduced, page 348, of the document now at Cambridge, which is an old copy, not that possessed by Milton.

Drummond

Professor W. R. Parker has suggested that Milton probably owned some MSS of William Drummond of Hawthornden, which were used by his nephew Edward Phillips in preparing his edition of Drummond's poems in 1656.

The Columbia MS

This MS. has been described in the Notes to Volume XIII, and is referred to frequently in our present volume.

In addition to the transcripts of Milton's own works (which include 156 of the State Letters dealt with in Volume XIII, the Legal Index, the note on English Phrases, the Proposals, the Letter on the Ruptures, and the probably Miltonic essays *Of Statues and Antiquities*, and *A brief*

description of Genoa, dealt with in the present volume), the Columbia MS. includes transcripts of some short works not by Milton.

These are all more or less connected with Milton's work as Secretary of State, and are in the same hand as the Miltonic work. They include *The differences of all degrees*, by Thomas Sheres, 1582; *The State of a Secretary's Place* by the Earle of Salisbury; and *Sir Rob. Cotton touching the Spanish Ambassador*, of known authorship.

There are also numerous rules and extracts on various offices of state, and on legal procedure, not by Milton himself, though collected by or for him.

Other Miltonic MSS

Since the other MSS of Milton's own works now known to survive which were made by or for the poet are not (with the possible exception of that of the first book of *Paradise Lost*) those MSS sent to the printer by the poet, they may be presumed in most cases to have been in his library. Since all are treated at appropriate places in this edition, it does not seem necessary to list them here.

Unauthorized Miltonic MSS

In the literature about Milton there are a few references to MSS of our

author, which seem to be either contemporary copies made without his authority, or mere "ghosts" arising from misunderstandings of earlier writers. Lest they be thought unintentionally omitted we list those known to us.

1. In the Royal Archives at Copenhagen is a MS (Old Royal, 8vo, 3579), of *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, apparently copied from a printed version. It has a note in an old hand, "This MSS. was written by Milton's own hand," and it is followed by a copy of the probably apocryphal *Second Advise to a Painter*, referred to at page 597. It is described in the *46th Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, App. II, p. 71, with a rejection of the idea that it is in Milton's hand, and a suggestion that the date is about 1670-80.

2. Another MS of *Pro Populo*, in

the Bodleian (MS. Rawl. D. 230) is a handwritten copy of a printed edition, probably of no authority.

3. A. Geffroy, in his *Étude sur les pamphlets politiques et religieux de Milton*, Paris, 1848, p. 253, said a MS of *Pro Populo* was owned by Sir Francis Egerton. This may be based on a knowledge of the last item, or a confusion with a printed copy of the book with Egerton's MS notes, as Masson (IV, 430) suggested.

4. Geffroy, *ibid.*, p. 232, referred to a MS of *Areopagitica* in the Bodleian, but no trace can be found of it, and he was almost surely misled by a rumor or misunderstanding.

5. In *N&Q*, clxiv, 150, is a reference to an unnamed scholar's belief that the original MS of the *Artis Logicae* might exist. But no trace has ever been found of this, and it is not probable that it was preserved.

MARGINALIA

Milton frequently annotated the margins of books in his library in his youth in his own hand, and, after his sight began to fail, sometimes with the aid of amanuenses. A fair number of books from his library are known, and these show great variety in the amount and nature of the annotation. The problems presented to the editor

attempting to publish the surviving material are complicated. A purely ideal method would be to present mechanical reproductions of each annotated page, accompanied by type transcripts of the written words, with restorations of the letters cut off by the binders. But there are more than one thousand notes on Pindar alone,

and such a publication would involve two volumes the size of the present one. Besides, a great many of the marginalia are mere corrections of printers' errors and entries of readings from other editions and dictionaries, which, however interesting, are in no way the original work of Milton. Since this is an edition of his works, rather than a compilation for palaeographers, we have accepted a compromise and present a selection. In this we attempt to give *all* the now accessible notes that involve original composition of Milton.

Every known book has been treated as a separate problem, and while it has sometimes been hard to draw the line between what involves original composition and what does not, we have been rigid in our interpretation of the term in dealing with the Pindar and Euripides, where there are hundreds of notes, and liberal in dealing with those volumes in which few annotations appear. A very few notes not involving original composition have been included because of special interest.

Marginalia are, of course, not written with a view to publication. They are not uncommonly shaved badly in rebinding. They vary in intimacy of relation to the text that inspires them and in completeness of expression. All these factors have been taken into

consideration. It is our practice to give a complete reference to the place each note appears, after a number of some kind to identify the note itself. This is usually followed by a quotation from the book itself, bracketed. Such quotations are treated with considerable freedom, and at times are in the nature of a synopsis. Where the relation of text and note is very general, they are omitted. Outside the brackets is given the text of what Milton wrote or dictated, as accurately as possible, according to the rules of the *Columbia Milton*. Lost letters, where no question exists about them, are silently restored; doubtful words are either marked with brackets or an asterisk. In a few cases starred words reproduce clear but apparently ungrammatical readings of the manuscripts. We have also used asterisks where Milton tied a note to a special word in the text commented on. In no instance does this practice seem likely to be confusing. Finally, after notes in foreign tongues are given translations in brackets. In a few cases of textual comments the translation has been omitted, and we have also forborne to attempt translation of a few cryptic notes. On the other hand, we have not hesitated to use a free translation or paraphrase where clarity seemed to demand it.

Greek accents and breathings are

corrected and regularized throughout, except where Milton commented on a misprint or an error. Milton's own Greek has been so treated, because in such matters even Milton sometimes nodded.

Following the books from which marginalia are included in the text, we discuss separately all books now known, whether annotated or not, which have been attributed to Milton's library. Finally, we list books not now known, for which we have found strong evidence of Miltonic ownership. We record as completely as possible first publication of all notes. The proportion of new material is gratifyingly large; and while the amount of lost marginalia must be great, only one important book recently known, the *Remonstrance* of James I, has eluded our search.

Notes on Milton's Bibles

In a special study Mr Wynne Baxter in *N&Q* 11. ser. iii, 109 ff. has dealt with the Bibles connected with Milton or his household. He treats seven in all, but points out duplicates and forgeries among them. We have met with references to some others less probably connected with the poet, and add notes on them from later sources.

I. An English Bible (Baxter, no. 3.) in quarto, printed for R. Barker, London, 1612, King James version. It bears

the names of several early owners. By Psalm 88 in a 17th Century hand is "Windsor John," and inside the back cover "Eliz Elcock" and "Eliz Salmon Her Book" both in the same lady's hand. It was discovered for the modern world by Thomas Kerslake bookseller of Bristol who described it in the *Athenæum*, Jan. 5, 1884, p. 19, where the genealogical notes and the fourth of our marginalia are transcribed. See also *N & Q* 6. Ser. x, 245; 7 Ser. vi, 253 (Sep. 29, 1888). The volume was acquired by the British Museum, where it is MS. Add. 32310. A facsimile of the genealogical note appears in the volume of Milton facsimiles issued by the Museum in 1908. The first seven entries and the marginal notes are in Milton's own hand. Variants from the text are

P. 274. —BEFORE ALL IS FAINTLY SCRIBBLED John Milton was born y^e 9 —8 howre] CHANGED FROM hour —10 day] INSERTED WITH CARET —16 my wife] PRECEDED BY CANCELLED Hir P. 275. —5 Best] BADLY WRITTEN ABBREVIATION, LESS PROBABLY Better

The book bears many evidences of Milton's interest, which may be summarized as follows.

I. Verses Underlined

2 Chronicles 14: 11

15: 16, 17

16: 8, 12

17: 3
 18: 7, 26, 27
 19: 6, 11
 20: 12, 15, 17, 32, 33
 22: 3
 25: 2, 8
 28: 10, 23
 29: 2, 36
 30: 18, 20
 31: 21
 32: 7, 8, 14, 15, 26, 33
 35: 22, 23, 24, 25, 26

Ezra 7: 10, 13, 20

10: 12, 13

Nehemiah 12: 43

13: 13, 22, 26, 31

Esther 4: 16

Job 5: 17

Psalms 2: 12

Micah 6: 8

Malachi 3: 16-18

Romans 15: 6

II. Symbols of Attention in Margins

I. "NB" IN MARGIN

2 Chronicles 14: 11

15: 17

16: 9

18: 7, 26, 27

19: 26, 27

20: 12, 17, 25, 32

25: 2, 20

28: 15

32: 15

35: 25

Ezra 7: 10

Esther 4: 16

2. "KJ" IN MARGIN

["KING JAMES" ?]

2 Chronicles 20: 33

25: 20

28: 13

32: 33

Ezra 7: 13, 20

10: 13

Nehemiah 13: 13

Psalms 56: 13

66: 20

89: 33

3. "+" IN MARGIN

2 Chronicles 26: 5, 6

Psalms 50: 15

55: 22

105: 5

119: 96

141: 2, 3

142: 5, 6

146: 9

Luke 2: 10

4. MISCELLANEOUS MARKS

Psalms 51: 13

55: 1, 20

96: 12-13

119 (Hebrew letters
 opposite headings
 of sections)

John 4: 21-28, 40

5: 4

5. PASSAGES BRACKETED

2 Chronicles 14: 11

15: 15

16: 9

Job 27: 8, 9, 22, 23

Esther 4: 16

Psalms 94: 12, 13

III. *Sections Much Worn*

Proverbs 3-6

Ecclesiasticus

John

Most of New Testament after John

IV. *Sections Smudged by Wear*

Genesis 19

Leviticus 27

Nehemiah 9

Psalms 1, 42, 78

Proverbs 3

Song of Solomon 4, 8

Micah 5

Ecclesiasticus 9-10, 22

Matthew 3

Luke 22

James 4

V. *Holes Burned through Pages*

Exodus 9

Numbers 19

Deuteronomy 23

1 Samuel 9

2 Samuel 12

Amos 2

Matthew 3

Luke 10

John 10

VI. *Holes Patched and Restored with Handwriting*

Matthew 3: 5-7

4: 3-4

5: 11-12

John 16: 31-32

19: 13-15, 29-30

II. When Dr. Birch visited Milton's granddaughter Mrs. Foster in Cock Lane on Jan. 6, 1749/50, he saw in her possession an octavo Bible printed by Young in 1636 [1638?] inscribed "I am the book of Mary Milton" which seems to have belonged to the poet's first wife, but contained inscriptions by Milton, which Birch recorded carefully in his notes [BM. MS. Add. 4244, ff. 52-53]. This is the source of our text, since the book itself (Baxter No. 6) has been lost. Hunter, in *Milton, a Sheaf of Gleanings*, 1850, p. 34, first published the English notes, referred to by Masson, iii, 483, and iv, 335. The Latin note, first published by T. O. Mabbott in *N&Q* clix, 150 (August 30, 1930) was on a different blank leaf from the birth records. Birch seems to have tried to make an accurate transcript, preserving the abbreviations.

III. Baxter (no. 2) discusses a Bible,

London, 1588, which seems to have belonged to Milton's third wife, Elizabeth Minshull, before her marriage, in which a cut signature of the poet has been inserted, but no notes have been recorded from it. It was sold at Sotheby's in 1901 for £225, and again sold in America in 1907 for \$1,225. Following its return as not genuine by its purchasers there ensued over it a lively controversy. The last known sale of it was to Mr. Halliday of Leicester in 1926 for £41. (See *Book Prices Current*, XV, 298-299; *London Times*, December 10, 12, and 13, 1907; *ibid.*, January 28, 1926.) It contains signatures of Elizabeth Milton (dated 1664), Elizabeth Minshull, and many other residents of Nantwich.

IV. George Offor had a Testament thought Milton's described in *N&Q*, II Ser. iv. 334 (Oct. 24, 1857), and in Sotheby's *Ramblings*, 1861, p. 128 and Pl. XVII, ii, 2-3. The book was lot 697 in Sotheby's sale of Offor's Library, June 27 etc. 1865. It was destroyed in the fire of June 28, 1865, at Sotheby's. Its date was either 1613 or 1614; a discrepancy in descriptions of it led Mr. Baxter to give it two numbers 4 and 5.

The Bible was bound with a *Concordance* of 1615, and bore, in addition to what Sotheby thought at least

one authentic signature of Milton, a signature of one Robert Colecraft, who may have owned the book before Milton.

It contained a MS calculation showing "how many barleycorns would reach around the earth." Offor does not make it clear whether this was in the hand of Milton or of Colecraft, but one gets the impression that perhaps it was Milton's. No copy of the text of this note has apparently survived. As a barleycorn is one third of an inch, the sum would be roughly 4,752,000,000.

V. In *Epistolæ Familiares* I, (Volume XII, page 6) Milton refers to a Hebrew Bible given him by his teacher Thomas Young in 1625. No trace of this has been found in modern times, but it seems best to mention the book here.

VI. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July 1792 [lxii, 615] is described a Bible with several notes and sketches (given on Pl. III of the magazine) which called forth a letter of complete rejection by Capel Lofft [p. 789] etc. The book is referred to in Mitford's ed. 1852, I, xxvi etc. Owners known from signature or otherwise include Jane Bealby, 1658; William Lumley, 1662; Francis Blackburne, Archdeacon of Cleveland, born 1705; his son Francis Blackburne; his

grandson Francis Blackburne; Loftice Todd, 1744; the Gainford family; and George Henry Law, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

It came up for sale again in 1882, according to the *Athenaeum* [ii, 208, 246] and Mr. Thomas Kerslake in that periodical for Jan. 5, 1884 said he had once owned it, having got it from Bishop Law's library. He thought the notes the work of a monomaniac who fancied himself Milton. The mistake about his place of birth seems to clinch the matter and Mr. Baxter gives the book the number 7 only to reject it. However it contains a scrap of verse attributed to Milton, of some poetic merit. Is it possible that Thomas Chatterton had any association with this? The Bristol provenance, the spelling and the merit of the verses suggest him. The verses are written beside I Maccabees, xiv, where is described the sorrow even at Rome on the death of Jonathan Maccabæus. They are printed at page 600 of this volume. The other markings may be described here.

1. 1639, at Canterbury city—J^{no} Milton, son of J^{no} Milton, born at Oxford. late of Christ College, Cantabridg. This year of very dreadful commotion, and I weene will ensue murderous times of conflicting fight.



2. [A sketch, slightly like Milton, above which] J. Miltonius, M. A. C. Coll [and below it] Myself 1640
3. [Another sketch marked] 1639—J. Milton A. M. [See reproductions here copied from the *Gentleman's Magazine*.]
4. [On II. Maccabees, i, 19, "When our fathers were led into Persia, the priests . . . took the fire of the altar . . . and hid it etc."] Perhaps the reason why the Persians worship fire to this day. 1639
5. Mr. Hartlib to Mr. Milton sendeth the 12 books [text is booke] of the grecianne volumes, and is obliged to him— Octobre 2nd 1640/London.

VII. Baxter no. 1, "a Geneva bible of 1560," is from a bad description of the Minshull or a forgery.

VIII. In 1916 William Jaggard described a Latin Bible of 1581 which he had recently discovered (*Athenaeum*, 1916, 251). On a flyleaf was the signature, apparently in a firm, youthful hand, of "Jhon Melton." The book contained many marginal annotations and a MS. prayer written on a blank leaf. On the titlepage was also the signature of "C. Reynell e C.C.C. Oxon. 1717." The prayer follows:

O Blessed Lord God, who has commanded that we shall not adde to thy word, nor yet take from it. Grant, I beseech thee, that I may neither think thy certaine true Scriptures to be doubtfull, nor the uncertaine to be Canonically, but possess me with awfull and reverend thoughts . . . that I, adoring the fullness thereof, may avoid all hastie, supine, forced, and uncharitable expositions, and fetch my little light and candle of knowledge from that first shine and prime rayes of thee, the only Light, my Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, Amen.

[The other notes have not yet been published but Captain Jaggard informs us they occur on more than one hundred pages. The owner has both verified the text of the prayer and the

spelling of the name Melton, which he said he regarded as of no consequence. The editors know of many confusions of spelling of Milton's name by others, but can point out no case where he in person, or through an amanuensis, spelled his own name Melton. For this reason it is our opinion that the Bible in question is not as probably to be connected with the author of *Paradise Lost* as with John Melton, author of the *Astrologaster*, for whom see page 639.]

IX. In *N&Q*. cxliii, 31 (1922) R.S.M. of Bedford, England, described a Bible in his possession, traditionally the poet's. It has no title page but is believed to be of 1629. On the flyleaf is written "James Milton his Book the sun of Robert Milton his grammar Elizabeth gave him in the year 1682. . . . Robert Milton his hand." It bears also the names of Elizabeth Milton, Ann Milton, and Thomas May.

X. According to the *Los Angeles Examiner*, Jan. 20, 1929, the late Prof. J. Tarbotton Armstrong of the University of Southern California saw a Bible of 1599, bound with a Book of Psalms of 1639, which contained records of the children of one Francis Milton and persons named Jonos, as well as the MS. Prayer, written between the Testaments in a hand Pro-

fessor Armstrong thought the poet's. This text follows:

O lord, let thy mightie and mercifull hand be still our defence & comfort, thy mercies and thy loving kindness. in the merits of thy sonne Christ Jesus be our salvation. thy sacred word our direction and guid forever thy grace and holy spirit our continuall consolacion, and thy loving promises in Christ thy sonne our comforter in this world & in the end his merits our reward in heaven: Be it even so good lord, amen.

Turn not thy face, O Lord, from us in this miserable time. but rather give ere unto our praiers & answer us when we call upon thee.

O Lord increase our faith, and continue it evermore fervent in us towarde thee.

Professor Armstrong said that this Bible and three other books (see p. 580, below) were long kept by a family descended from Judge Jeffreys in a vellum wrapper marked "The Milton Books." The connection with John Milton the poet is, of course, far from certain, and, unfortunately, the death of Professor Armstrong has made it impossible for us, despite many inquiries in California, to examine the books.

XI. A Tremellius Bible which bore

on its title page an entry of purchase in what was possibly Milton's hand was once seen by Dr. Maurice Kelley, but cannot now be located. It bore no signature, and was without marginalia.

Pindar

The most heavily annotated book now known from Milton's library, *ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΙΣ*, *Pindari Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia*, Saumur, 1620, bears on the title page in his hand "Novemb' 15^o 1629 pret: —9s—0" and notes on hundreds of the pages, also in his familiar autograph, but does not bear his name.

It was in the sale of the books of J. B. Inglis, at Sotheby's, August 5, 1871, lot 1588, according to *N&Q*, IV, viii, 117. It was bought by Charles Sumner, who left it to Harvard College Library, where it is marked "Sum. 123." It was described in Justin Winsor's "Catalogue of Sumner Books" in *Library of Harvard University Bibliographical Contributions*, No. 6, Cambridge, Mass., 1879, p. 22, but no attempt has been made hitherto to publish the marginalia.

The notes presented include, we hope, all that was the original composition of Milton. In addition to corrections and comments in some places in this volume Milton added side notes for easy finding of certain comments,

especially on the Pythian Odes. The few selected by us are those that include words which do not occur in the printed text. Milton added many new references in the Index, but nothing that can be thought of as original composition. A few of the notes are written between the lines of the text, and some are not easy to find. The material is almost without exception in his own hand, but so neatly written and with so few corrections one almost supposes he copied them from a work sheet. Milton curiously enough usually referred to books of the *Iliad* by lower case Greek letters as numerals. This is so unusual and contrary to the practice of other scholars that we have altered these to the conventional capitals throughout, keeping lower case letters for the *Odyssey*, as is the custom. The variants follow:

P. 276. —7 Olympia, etc.] FOLLOWS CANCELLED 1 Olympia 2 Pythia 3 Nemea 4 Isthmia, THE WORD Pythia BEING CHANGED IN MS FROM Nemea P. 284. —4 898] INSERTED WITH CARET —7 χαλκεοθωρήκων] FIRST BEGUN WITH A KAPPA P. 285. —19 Callim:] FIRST BEGUN II OR H P. 289. —16 Bonaventuram] THE MS SEEMS TO READ Banaventaram P. 302. —5 dicit] FOLLOWED BY A SIGN LIKE A CROSS WITH

AN ACUTE ACCENT —21–22 scriptum] scripti ms

Euripides

The second most heavily annotated volume now known from Milton's library is *Euripidis Tragœdiæ*, Geneva, 1602. It was owned before 1740 by Francis Hare, Bishop of Chichester, and later by the bookseller, John Whiston, from whom Dr. Birch obtained it. For some reason it did not go with Birch's books to the British Museum, but remained in private hands until 1934, when it was obtained by the Bodleian Library from W. W. Vaughan, Esq., Headmaster of Rugby.

Dr. Johnson examined the book in 1779. Jodrell, in *Illustrations of Euripides*, 1781, accused Barnes of using it without proper acknowledgment. In the *Museum Criticum*, Cambridge, 1814, appeared at pp. 283 ff. of the first volume a record of the readings of the text of Euripides suggested by Milton, in which Milton's phraseology was not reproduced. Actually the mere corrections and emendations seem to have been of slight interest to textual critics. The only important suggestions are those praised by Jodrell (I, 119, and II, 335); both of these are expressed by Milton so briefly that we record them here instead of in our

text, where only notes involving original composition are collected. The first is "ἀγρῶνλοι f." for "ἰγρῶν," ολ in *Ion*, 496; the other "ῥδέων f." for "ῥδέων," in *Bacchæ*, 188.

Sotheby discussed the book in *Ramblings*, 1861, p. 108, and gave on his Plate XV facsimiles of thirty of the notes. These include the notes to which we give the numbers 2, 6, 7, 10, 13a, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 32a, 33, 37, 46, 51, 55, 57, 60, 61, 71. We omit Sotheby numbers 3, 13, and a part of 30, all lacking original content. The other marginalia are apparently now first published. Our notes were made at Rugby in a single day in 1928, when the book was made available to us by Mr. Vaughan, but the authorities at the Bodleian have confirmed several readings (including the ones which seem to be ungrammatical), and Sotheby's facsimiles have also been of great use.

On the flyleaf is written in Milton's own hand an inscription, of which only "Jo. Milton. pre d. 1634" is now legible. It is there accompanied by a transcript in which restoration is attempted thus: "Jo: Milton pre: o £ — 125 — 6d DS," in a hand thought to be Daniel Skinner's. There is a facsimile of this in Sotheby.

The variants follow:

P. 304. —16 Telephonte] PARTLY ILLEGIBLE —16 acad:] A SLIP OF THE PEN FOR ad: at: —17] Eustratius] A SLIP FOR Eustathius —19 Peritheo] THIS MIGHT ALSO BE Pentheo BUT AMMONIUS SHOWS CLEARLY THAT THE INTENTION WAS Perseus P. 305. —23-24 Eustratius, etc.] THIS ANNOTATION APPEARS TO BE IN THE HAND OF AN AMANUENSIS P. 306. —4-5 digni, etc.] ALSO IN THE HAND OF AN AMANUENSIS —16 Δὸς, etc.] ALSO IN THE HAND OF AN AMANUENSIS P. 308. —7 perdes*] THE INTENTION IS PLAINLY pendens —18 neque . . . petere] WRITTEN TWICE AND PARTLY A THIRD TIME P. 309. —18 δὴ] WRITTEN TWICE IN PLACE OF CANCELLED χθ. P. 311. —24 sermonum] PRECEDED BY CANCELLED rumorum P. 312. —25 ali aliqua] THE INTENTION IS alis aquila —26 Tauro] PRECEDED BY CANCELLED Tau P. 313. —10 erige] PRECEDED BY CANCELLED attolle —20 triremes] PRECEDED BY CANCELLED IN AND ITSELF EMENDED FROM triemes —21 Colchis] FIRST WRITTEN Cholchis P. 315. —6 opus] PRECEDED BY CANCELLED effi OR essi —18 assequutus] FIRST WRITTEN assequutum —19 sic] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED verto —22 vult] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED & et (?) P. 316. —10 Canterus] PRECEDED BY CANCELLED Brod. —13 raras fuisse] PRECEDES constat

INSERTED WITH CARET AND THEN CANCELLED P. 317. —12 quia] LAST LETTER DOUBTFUL. THOUGH MILTON WROTE NOTES ON IT, THE DANAÆ IS A FORGERY OF THE RENAISSANCE

Lycophron

Milton's copy of Lycophron, with the commentary of Tzetzes, is entitled *ΛΥΚΟΦΡΟΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΑΑΚΙΔΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΑ* and was printed at Geneva, 1601. On the title page Milton wrote in his own hand "Sum ex libris Jo:Miltoni pre: 13s. 1634."

The book is mentioned by Todd (I, cxlix), in 1801; by Sotheby (p. 110); by Masson (I, rev. ed., 568); and in *N&Q*, IV, iii, 107. It has been in the collections of Joseph Wells, Lord Charlemont, Birket Foster, and A. T. White, whose executors permitted us to examine the volume and make photostats of the notes. Although the volume was lent to a certain Mr. Meen, who in 1809 was preparing a new edition of Lycophron, we have not met with any publication of the Miltonic notes previous to our own. Almost all are in the poet's own hand, and practically all are of the kind including original composition. The variants follow:

P. 321. —6 suspicione] PRECEDED BY CANCELLED suspicione CHANGED FROM

suspicione —11 polluebant] THE WORD IS ALSO CONNECTED BY AN ASTERISK TO "IRRUEBANT" IN THE PRINTED TEXT AS AN EMENDATION BY MILTON. P. 323. —7 sit] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED quæ cum —14 Ovidio] FIRST WRITTEN Ovidior —19 conteruntur] PRECEDED BY CANCELLED per —22 molitor] FIRST BEGUN mole

Aratus

Milton's copy of Aratus, printed at Paris, 1559, contains both the *Phænomena* and the *Diosemeia*, now usually treated as one work. Edward Phillips, in 1694, mentioned reading both works with his uncle, probably in this copy. The volume was once owned by John Upton, who wrote in it "This book was originally the famous Milton's book; & the notes, as distinguished by his hand, are his notes." Upton wrote many notes of his own in the book, which has led to some confusion about notes wholly or partly in the hand of a Miltonic amanuensis. The book appeared in the Bindley Sale, 1818, Part I, lot 540; again, in 1835, in the Heber Sale, Part VI, lot 171; was obtained by John Poynder; and acquired, in 1850, by the British Museum (Pressmark, C. 60.1.7). On the flyleaf Milton wrote "Jo:Milton pre: 2s—6d. 1631"; and a quotation on the title page, "Cum sole, et lunâ semper Aratus crit."

Of the notes collected by us, Mitford published all save Nos. 1, 7, and the last five words of No. 4 (both additions in the hand of a Miltonic amanuensis) in his edition of Milton, 1851, I, clxxxi-ii. Sotheby gave facsimiles of all save our Nos. 8 and 11 on Plate XIV of the *Ramblings*, 1861, and discussed them at p. 105. Both give a few notes without original content, omitted by us, and there are others still unpublished in the original volume itself. One, Milton's "Draco" beside the Greek word *ἀράκων* in *Phænomena*, 46, perhaps deserves mention here. There are no variants to record, save the addition in No. 4, alluded to above.

Gildas

The annotations occur in Gildas's *De excidio et conquestu Britannia epistola*, which occupies pages 113-146 of Hieronymus Commelinus's *Re-rum Britannicarum*, Heidelberg, 1587. It was given by Thomas Hollis in 1765 to Harvard College Library. Except for the marginalia in Gildas, there is no writing of interest in the volume beyond two minor (though characteristically Miltonic) marks on the title page. The first is the change of a period to a comma after the word "Regionum," and the second is the insertion of the figures "7" and "6"

near the bottom, probably representing the price Milton paid. Although no signature of Milton is now to be found in the volume, it may have been lost with the prefatory flyleaves in the rebinding of the book; the handwriting is his. It may also be noted that Milton quotes from this edition of Gildas in his *Commonplace Book* (page 196 of this volume).

The Miltonic notes had not been noticed until recently, when a description of them was published by J. Milton French in *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XX (1938), 75-80, where facsimiles, transcripts, and translations were given, and where the authenticity of the notes was discussed at some length. In the present edition we print as a dagger Milton's cluster of four dots put in to indicate the position of his note. Our translation is from the 1638 edition of Gildas. There are no variants.

Ariosto

Milton's copy of the *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto, translated by Sir John Harington, 1591, was discovered late in the last century by the Rev. H. A. D. Surridge and was seen by Masson, who considered it indubitably Miltonic, but too late for notice in the *Life*. It was lent to the Library of

Christ's College for the Milton Exhibition in 1908 and was briefly described as No. 228 in the Catalogue, but has not otherwise been discussed in print. Late in the present year we succeeded in locating it in the possession of the discoverer's daughter, Miss M. K. Surridge, who kindly sent us a transcript of all the markings and marginal notes, together with photographs of the three most interesting pages, which confirm the opinion that the hand is Milton's own.

Like so many old books it has been badly shaved in rebinding, and several of the words written by Milton are badly damaged and hence either wholly or partly unread. However, we have before us tracings of the most fragmentary, and all the notes involving original composition of the poet are given in the text, as far as this is now possible. In addition to the notes thus selected, Milton marked a good many passages, numbered the similes (over 130 of them) by writing phrases such as "Simile 123" in the margin, and treats the "sentences" the same way. Beside pithy sayings and proverbs he often wrote the word "proverbe." He also sometimes numbered the proper names in lists. All this material is outside the province of this edition.

William Browne

The folio volume of *Britannia's Pastorals* by William Browne, 1613-1616, which contains an old note to the effect that "All the notes were written by Milton the poet," is traditionally said to have been sold in London by a distant descendant or relative of Milton, and was found by W. Ford, a bookseller of Manchester. It was somewhat doubted in the old days, but was ably defended by Sotheby, who in 1861, in the *Ramblings* (pp. 97-104 and Pl. XIV) published a selection from the marginalia. Sotheby and Pickering, who knew Ford, regarded the books as indubitably Milton's, on the basis of the tradition related by Ford, and the handwriting, which is also considered Milton's by the authorities at the British Museum.

On the basis of the tradition, the similarity of the notes to the running heads in Milton's copy of Pindar, and the confidence of all the best experts, we are completely satisfied that the book was Milton's and that the notes were composed by him. The book has been in several famous collections, including the Huth Library, and is now owned by Lucius A. Wilmerding, Esq., of New York, who, on learning of our plans, placed the book at our disposal and enabled us to publish

the notes in full, many of them for the first time.

The arrangement attempts to present the Miltonic notes in the briefest compass. They are written as side notes for the most part, less as commentary than as a guide to a reader. Therefore they have been set, one paragraph to each "Song," like the arguments found in old epic and narrative poems. Full references to the page on which a note is found and the lines near which it is written have been given. Nothing else has been added save the dashes between notes and in three or four cases enough words in italics within the brackets to make otherwise blind references clear. The material not bracketed is a complete transcript of the side notes, except one cancelled note given among the variants below.

The notes illustrated, printed, or both, by Sotheby are: I, i, 6, 8, 12; ii, 9, 12, 15, 16, 21, 23, 35; iii, 4, 11; iv, 3, 4, 6, 14; v, 4, 15; and II, i, 5, 10, 12, 16-18; ii, 5, 7, 10-14, 20; iii, 8; iv, 3-5; v, 5.

The variants follow. References are not to pages, but to items, for the sake of clarity.

- I, i, 6 beset] WRITTEN ABOVE CANCELLED *beest*
 13 one] MS HAS ON

- ii, 30 landskip] *ki* INSERTED WITH CARET

- 32 evill] CHANGED IN MS FROM *evell*

- iii, 12 Love's] PRECEDED BY CANCELLED *On*

- iv, 5 Phoenix] CORRECTED FROM ERRONEOUS ATTEMPT AT SAME WORD

- 16 fine] PERHAPS THIS SHOULD BE READ *faire* OR *clere*. THE WORD IS BLOTTED IN MS, PERHAPS CHANGED FROM *ch[r]istall*

- v, 15 undressing] *e* INSERTED WITH A CARET

- II, i, 13 Parasites] FIRST WRITTEN *Par-esites*

- ii, 7 good] ADDED LATER
 8 who] CHANGED FROM *whom*

- 14 FOLLOWED IN ORIGINAL BY CANCELLED NOTE ON II, ii, p. 40, l. 418: All *y^e* gods have been in love.

- iii, 8 To] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED *know (?)* OR *mu*

- iv, 3 pen] SOTHEBY PRINTED [*Muse*]
 6 ON P. 98 IS A CORRECTION "deer" AND SEVERAL CANCELLATIONS OF FINAL *e* IN THE PRINTED TEXT

- v, 5 Death] *e* INSERTED ABOVE LINE

Paul Best's Mysteries Discovered,
1647.

A copy of this rigidly suppressed religious work of a Unitarian character, in the Bartholomew Collection, given the Radcliffe Library about 1749, and transferred to the Bodleian about 1793 [Pamph. 84 (39)], was discovered by R. Brook Aspland to contain a brief theological note in Latin, etc., which on grounds of style and MS. he attributed to John Milton. Aspland printed the text, with his ascription, notes and translation, in the *Christian Reformer* (of which he was editor) for September, 1853 [3. Ser. ix, 561ff.], and later on pp. 13-14 of his pamphlet, *Paul Best, the Unitarian Confessor*, London, 1853, a copy of which, acquired in 1893, is in the BM [4905. df. 25 (8)].

Aspland's notion about the MS. was that it was like that of the Ode to Rous, a very formal and beautiful professional hand, which is thought by some to be Milton's own and by others to be the work of a professional copyist. But the hand of the Best treatise is really, we think, identical with that of the official who wrote the letter to Hamburg described in our note to Vol. xiii, letter 151, which is surely that of someone connected with Milton and the Foreign Office. This is

just what we should expect, for Milton was at times interested in heretical works officially, as we know he was personally from his possession of Bodin's MS., and was one of the few people who could safely have owned Best's book. The style is appropriate, and all the evidence favors the correctness of Aspland's ascription. We print the text from a photostat of the original, in which no variants occur, and have used Aspland's translation. The work has received little or no attention from other students of Milton, but the publication is admittedly obscure.

Thucydides and Irenicus.

The copy of Thucydides, in a Latin translation by Laurentius Valla, Basel, 1564, is bound in the same volume with the *Germaniæ Exegeseos* of Francis Irenicus, Basel, 1564. They bear an autograph signature of Milton and the few marginalia reproduced in the text. Originally in the Library of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, they came into the hands of Prof. G. P. Shapcott, by whose daughter they were sold to Elkin Matthews, who sold them to F. R. Halsey. They were in his sale, American Art Galleries, Feb. 17, 1919, were in the Gunther Collection, and are now

owned by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, by whose permission the texts are now printed.

Dante, della Casa, and Varchi.

The copies of Dante's *L'Amoroso Convivio*, Venice, 1529; the *Rime et Prose d. M. Giovanni della Casa*, Venice, 1563; and *I Sonetti di M. Benedetto Varchi*, Venice, 1555, have been bound together since the seventeenth century, and on the title of the second is an autograph inscription "Jo:Milton pre:10 d, 1629.Dece. . ." On a flyleaf is in the hand of an amanuensis

L'Amoroso Convivio di Dante
Rime et Prose di Mons.della Casa
Sonnetti di M. Benedetto Varchi

and there are markings and text corrections on many pages of all three books, but the only marginal notes involving composition are those in the text. Rebinding has shaved some of the writing.

The volume was obtained in 1809 by Richard Heber from Sir R. Robert Smyth Bart., and was item 1527 in the catalogue of the fourth part of the Bibliotheca Heberiana, sold in Dec., 1834, where the note on della Casa was published. The book was bought by the bookbinder Herring,

sold by him to Arthur Roberts, was no. 2043 in the Tite Sale, 1874, where it was obtained for the Lenox Library (now the New York Public Library). See Sotheby, *Ramblings*, p. 124, and Pl. 17; *N&Q*, 4 Ser. iv, 263; cxxviii, 49; and clxiii, 189 (Sept. 10, 1932)—the last being the first publication of the note on Varchi. The Dante contains no verbal notes, and the copy of Varchi's dedicatory epistle to Francesco di Medici, although probably in Milton's own hand, is in no way his composition.

Farnaby.

The copy of the *Systema Grammaticum* of Thomas Farnaby, 1641, was described by its then owner, Mr. Washington Moon, in *N&Q*. 2 Ser. vi, 39 (July 10, 1858) and fully (with transcript of the quantity marks Milton entered beside the section on the quantities of final syllables in Latin) in the same periodical, clxxi, 152 (Aug. 29, 1936) by T. O. Mabbott. The book has been in the hands of several collectors, among them C. F. Gunther, was in the Corder Sale Jan. 26, 1922, and is now in the Harvard College Library. It bears a signature (not autograph) "Ii Milton." The only verbal note is that given in the text—a kind of textual correction, as

Farnaby's printer used an italic n instead of a Greek eta. This note seems to be in Milton's hand, though the signature may be a later addition, made after the seventeenth century.

Polycarp and Ignatius

In Ely Cathedral Library is a copy of *Polycarpi et Ignatii Epistolæ*, Oxford, 1644, without Milton's name, but having on the title page in his hand "pretium 8d" and containing the marginalia given in our text. This book contains a note by Frederick W. Joy, who found the copy of Dio Chrysostom, with Milton's name, described below, at Ely. The Polycarp has not been hitherto referred to in print, and was recently rediscovered by Professor Maurice Kelley, who kindly sent copies of the brief marginal notes, of great interest, for publication in the present edition.

Malvezzi

A copy of *Discourses upon Cornelius Tacitus . . . by the Learned Marquesse Virgilio Malvezzi . . .* translated by Sir Richard Baker, 1642, was in the collection of Wynne E. Baxter. It was thought by him to contain notes by Milton and was described in *A Catalogue of the Milton Collection of . . . Baxter*, 1921, item 308. It was later offered for sale by the London firm of

Tregaskis, with the note, "There can be little doubt as to the authenticity of these manuscript notes," in Catalogue 870, item 231, in 1923, with facsimiles, and later in Catalogues 900 and 923. Professor Allan Gilbert called our attention to this book, which was located in the stock of the Wesleyan University Bookstore. Through the courtesy of the manager, Mr. J. E. Johnson, it was made available for the Columbia Milton. It is now owned by T. O. Mabbott. While the hand is, in our opinion, hardly that of Milton himself, the style of the notes is Miltonic, the price is entered on the title-page in his manner ("s 6"), and at least two parallels to certainly authentic notes of Milton have been found. On the whole the chances seem to be in favor of the book being Miltonic, and we have printed the notes as far as they are now legible. But we have placed them as a kind of Appendix and have not added translations, because the case is by no means a complete one, although several scholars consulted have reacted favorably to the work. The notes are badly shaved by the binder and much crowded. Doubtful readings are starred, but we print without special note words restored with fair confidence by Professor McCrear, Mr. Harold Mattingly, and ourselves. The two

passages important as evidence of Miltonic connection are the parallels between the notes on *aulici* (p. 500, l. 13, and *Commonplace Book*, p. 188, l. 1 ff.) and on doing evil to gain the state (p. 493, l. 26, and *Marginalia* on Euripides, p. 307, l. 5 ff.).

The variants follow:

P. 493. —22 imperij] PRECEDES CANCELLED dominationis P. 494. —25 wont] INSERTED WITH CARET P. 496. —26 Cæsar] INSERTED WITH CARET —29—31 ita . . . erat] INSERTED WITH CARET —30 obsequendo] PRECEDED BY CANCELLED prædicando P. 497. —13 Claudix] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED quæ —23 quot] PRECEDED BY CANCELLED tot —24 fecimus] PRECEDED BY CANCELLED non —32 shipps] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED lest P. 499. —2 apud] FOLLOWS CANCELLED ATTEMPT AT THE SAME WORD —6 Romanus] CHANGED FROM Romanus —22 Aristotle] INSERTED WITH CARET —24 testatur] PRECEDED BY CANCELLED respondit —26 Mœsia] CORRECTED FROM AN UNCERTAIN WORD, PERHAPS [Thess]alia P. 500. —15 imperij] FOLLOWED BY CANCELLED WORD WHICH LOOKS LIKE æmulates

James I.

A volume written by James I called *A Remonstrance . . . for the right of*

Kings and the Independencie of their crownes against an Oration of the Cardinal of Perron . . . translated . . . by R. B., printed by C. Legge at Cambridge, 1619, and with the initials J. M. and two small quarto pages of MS. notes at the end ascribed to Milton was sold for £7 at Sotheby's Dec. 17, 1908, lot 133. The son of the purchaser, the well-known bookseller Mr. Barnard, tells us that he believes the leaf with the MS. note was detached and sold separately, "probably to a public institution," but has no records of so early a date. He has also corrected the date of the book, given wrongly in the auction catalogue. Despite every effort we have been unable to locate the MS., which we greatly regret having to omit from our collections for this reason alone.

Les Delices de la Suisse.

This is known from a letter of May 25, 1809, from Thomas DeQuincey addressed probably to Dorothy Wordsworth, quoted in Horace A. Eaton's *Thomas De Quincey*, New York, 1936, p. 181. DeQuincey wrote,

" . . . if Mr. Heber by the strength of his purse had not prevented me, I should have bought a book (*Les Delices de la Suisse*) with Milton's M.S. notes on the margin."

Fitzherbert's Natura Brevium,
1584.

A copy of Fitzherbert's *Natura Brevium*, 1584, was bought of the third Mrs. Milton, who died in 1727 at Nantwich, by Joshua Eddowes, bookseller of Shrewsbury, who gave it to the father of the Rev. Dr. Stedman, who had it in 1830; it has passed into the collection of the New York Public Library. It is described by Hunter, *Gleanings*, 1850, p. 22; and by Sotheby, *Ramblings*, p. 125, the MS. notes being reproduced on his Pl. 17. It contains the inscription "Johēs Milton me possidet." The other inscriptions are also probably by the elder Milton, not his son, and are therefore given here rather than in the text. They are

1. Det Christus studijs vela secunda meis
2. Fortuna est vitrea, quæ cum fulgit
frangitur
3. Ne muti forsan mihi dein tua nomina
Et ne sim lingua prodigiose Vale.

Alexander Rosse, 1642

A copy of *Mel Heliconium* with Milton's initials and a MS. poem, etc., ascribed to him is in the New York Public Library. Since the notes are in verse, they are given in the section of attributed poetry. While many scholars are favorably impressed with the book, the authenticity is not quite fully established. See below, p. 589.

Marlianus, 1588.

A copy of *B. Marliani Urbis Romæ Topographia*, Venice, 1588, with the inscription "Jo. Milton" is described in the *Catalogue of the Library of . . . Wynne E. Baxter*, 1921, item 172. No notes are mentioned.

Eikōn Eliithine, 1649.

A copy of a book called *Eikōn Eliithine, the Pourtraicture of Truths most sacred Majesty*, 1649, with the supposed signature "Jo. Milton" on the title page and a note thereon by John Disney, 1810, was sold at Sotheby's, April 25, 1817, as lot 936 in the libraries of Thomas Hollis, Thomas Brand Hollis, and Disney. It again was sold by the same firm on Dec. 4, 1923. No notes are mentioned.

Terence, 1635.

A copy of the *Comædiæ* of Terence, Leyden, 1635, was presented to Harvard College Library in 1931 by Henry Saltonstall Howe. It bears on the title page the signature "Jo Milton." While it contains no marginalia, there are a few markings and underlinings, probably Milton's, especially in the text of the *Andria*.

Dio Chrysostom, 1604.

A copy of the *Orationes LXXX* of Dio Chrysostom, Lutetiae (Paris),

1604, is in the Library of Ely Cathedral, and was described in *N&Q*, VI, Ser. vii, 23 (Jan. 13, 1883). It came from the collection of Bishop Patrick, between 1691 and 1707, and bears the inscription: "Pfe: 18s. 1636. J:Milton" but contains only four marginal corrections of Greek words in the text, without original composition.

Heraclidis Allegoriae, 1544.

Sotheby, *Ramblings*, 1861, p. 125, describes a copy of *Heraclidis Pontici Allegoriae in Homeri Fabulis de diis*, Basel, 1544, which bore the signature on the title: "Jo. Milton. pd. pre: 5 s 1637," of which a description had been communicated to him by John Macray. The book had been in the collection of Lord Rolle of Stevenstone. The present representative of the family, Lord Clifford, kindly tells us there is no trace of the book in his library, nor in the MS. catalogue of Lord Rolle's books compiled some time before 1861. We fear the book may have already gone astray when Sotheby learned of it. No notes are mentioned.

Creccelius, 1614.

A copy of the *Collectanea* of John Creccelius, Frankfurt, 1614, which was in the Rowfant Library and later in the Church Collection (*Catalogue*

of the . . . Library of E. D. Church, New York, 1909, II, 641f), bought by Mr. Huntington in 1911, is now in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. On the title page it bears an autograph inscription: "pr^d 3 6 John Milton, 1633. 21 Octobris" but contains no marginal notes. We are not quite sure if the price was 3s. or 3s. 6d.

Boiardo, 1608.

A copy of the *Orlando Innamorato del S. Matteo Maria Boiardo*, Venice, 1608, small quarto, is described in Catalogue 123 (1930) of Bernard Halliday, Leicester, as containing the following inscription:

Bought at Venyce by Mr. Francis Gherard for Daniel Oxenbridge and by hym sent to his good Freynd Mr. John Milton, in London, p[er] ye Golden Lyon, Thomas Whiteing, Mr., ye 19th June, 1643, in Lyvorne.

Milton's connection with the Gherards (Masson i, 780) is pointed out, and in a private letter Mr. Halliday kindly says that the book contains no marginalia.

Apologia, 1629.

A copy of a book called *Apologia pro Confessione*, 1629, bearing the initials "J M" was in the collection of Wynne Baxter, who described it in *N&Q*, VI, Ser. vii, 67 (Jan. 27, 1883). No MS. notes are mentioned, and we

have not traced the book, nor indeed any other copy of it.

Frishlin, 1595.

A copy of *Operum Poeticorum Nicodemi Frishlini*, Strassburg, 1595, with the initials J. M. on the title page, ascribed to Milton's library, is in Harvard College Library. It contains numerous underlinings but no notes. It is enclosed in a wooden box said to be made from part of the oaken timbers of Milton's house in the Barbican, and containing a certificate to that effect, dated March 6, 1866, signed by the bookseller John Wallen.

Peacham's Valley of Variety, 1638.

A copy of Henry Peacham's *The Valley of Varietie*, 1638, was attributed to Milton's library by G. H. Last in his 217th Catalogue (1936), item 36. It bears at the top of the page the signature of Catherine Clark, and lower down on the page the initials "J M," and contains no MS. notes. Milton's descendants in India bore the name of Clarke, but their history is obscure, and we have found no reference to a Catherine among them. Mr. Last's courtesy in lending us the book is gratefully acknowledged, as is that of Dr. J. Quincy Adams who called it to our attention.

Negotiation, 1576.

A copy of a book entitled *Negotiation de la Paix, es mois d'Auril & May 1575. Contenant la requeste & articles presentez au Roy par M. le Prince de Condé, Seigneurs & gentils-hommes de la Religion: M. le Marechal de Dampville, Seigneurs & gētils-hommes Catholiques associez. . . . Avec la responce du Roy ausdits articles*. M.D. LXXXVI. bears on the title page a 16th century signature which seems to read R. Wanrekes, and below it in another hand the initials "J:M." This was ascribed to Milton's library by G. H. Last in his Catalogue 221 (1936), item 234. He, however, considering that the hand is not much like Milton's, priced it at only 25/, and in kindly sending it for examination by the present editors frankly admitted the highly tentative nature of his ascription. In such matters the personal element enters to some extent, but one of the editors, who has been a collector of many things for over thirty years, was favorably impressed by the book. It is true that there were hundreds of persons of the right initials who might have owned the book, but it turned up in England, and certainly no Englishman would have been a more appropriate owner for this particular book than Milton. The nature of the letters pre-

cludes the supposition of deliberate forgery, and an old note on the cover suggests that before it went into the Library of Dupplin Castle it once fetched £9 15/, apparently in the early part of the 19th Century. Surely some special interest was supposed to attach to the book, perhaps even a tradition of Miltonic ownership. It was recently presented to the Library of Congress. It contains no marginalia.

Olaus Magnus, 1558.

At Milton's Cottage at Chalfont St. Giles is preserved a copy of the *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, of Olaus Magnus, Antwerp, 1558, bearing a faded MS. monogram "JM." Its provenance is not known to the present custodian, J. C. Carroll. He kindly informs us it contains no notes. The book is in the same class as the *Negotiation*, not wholly to be rejected.

Seneca, 1620.

A copy of the *Workes of Lucius Annaeus Seneca* . . . by Thomas Lodge, 1620, in an old binding with the initials "I. M." worked in it, was item 3326 in an American auction sale not identified but probably Anderson or Henkel, and passed into the possession of W. H. Lowdermilk & Co., of Washington, where Capt. F.L. Pleadwell came upon it, thought

it might possibly be Miltonic, and through him the manager, Mr. John T. Loomis kindly supplied us with a rubbing of the binding and photo-stats of the few curious MS. notes. These are not in the hand of Milton or any of his known amanuenses, and the chance of any connection with him is very slight, but the attribution was made in good faith and with great reserve, and for completeness the notes are here described. Milton is not known to have used shorthand.

1. Beside Paradox 82 (sig. [Iiii6 verso]), where the text reads, "*No one but a Wiseman is rich*," is copied in the margin, "No one butt a Wiseman."

2. On page 691 are three notes not surely interpreted by any of several specialists to whom they have been submitted. The first two seem to be merely scribblings of the word "of" in a Secretary hand, according to Dr. Tannenbaum, and a brief note which may be an old shorthand, or some oriental script, not Arabic however. The text reads "Our owne preferments prove burdens to us," and it is possible the scribbling is "oft."

3. On page 752 is another similar inscription, part of which may be Latin, "ubi quisquam," or a Semitic(?) script. The text deals with the value of patrons.

4. On page 819 beside the text from *Naturall Questions*, xvi, "for there is nothing void in the Univers" is a hand.

Florio's Montaigne, 1613.

This book is referred to but without description, authentication, or location, in *N&Q*, 2 Ser. v, 115 (Feb. 6, 1858). No notes are mentioned, and we have met with no other reference to it.

A Concordance, etc.

Accompanying the Bible described above at p. 565 as No. X, was a *Concordance*, dated 1599, containing marginalia, which Professor Armstrong described as additions and corrections in a hand he thought Miltonic. A facsimile of one note in the *Los Angeles Examiner* of January 29, 1929, is not very legible, and the notes at best seem to be of the kind not collected in this edition, as lacking in original composition. The connection of this volume and the Bible with Milton is highly doubtful, but the other two books found with them were apparently unmarked, and connected with Milton only by a vague tradition. One was a French prayer book, and the other a volume of sermons. The latter Professor Armstrong thought might have been the elder John Milton's. We

have not been able to locate these books, and the exact titles and dates were not mentioned in the *Examiner*.

The Plot Discovered

A copy of this book, published in 1641, was noticed in *LTLS* in 1936 as bearing on the title page the words "J Milton gent." We do not consider this a mark of ownership, nor do we think the other pamphlets in the same volume in the General Theological Seminary were collected by Milton. For a full discussion see pages 533 and 636.

Salmasius

Todd, *Some Account . . . of Milton*, 1809, p. 76, says, "I have heard of a copy of Salmasius's book, the margins of which are said to be decorated with barbarisms and solecisms detected by Milton." But this may be merely due to an imperfect reminiscence of a phrase or two in Toland's edition of Milton's *Works*, 1698, I, 31, which does not necessarily imply an actual copy annotated by Milton ever existed. It seems best to give a reference here, however, as Todd may have based his statement on a more valid tradition.

Milton surely owned a copy of the *Defensio Regia* of 1649, whether he annotated it or not; and indeed of all the books to which he replied in print.

[*Cooper's Thesaurus*, 1573.]

[In the New York Public Library is a copy of *Thomæ Cooperi Thesaurus Linguae Romanæ et Britannicæ*, 1573, with hundreds of notes attributed to Milton by the discoverer, J. Payne Collier. It was noticed by Horwood in his edition of the *Commonplace Book*, 1877, p. viii, with a guarded statement that it did not seem to him, after a cursory examination, to be like other works of Milton. Subsequent revelations about the perverse genius of Collier leave no doubt that this was one of his many frauds, and we notice the book only as such. Collier's letters about the book may be found in the *Athenæum* for Oct. 23 and Nov. 13, 1875.]

Pascal

The London bookseller and bibliographer, Mr. George Bates, in September, 1937, described in his 16th Catalogue, at item 216, a book from Milton's Library called: *Les Provinciales, or, the Mystery of Jesuitisme. Discovered in certain Letters . . . the second edition corrected, with large Additionals*. London, for Richard Royston, 1658. Small thick 8vo.

The book bears the initials "J. M.," which a facsimile in the catalogue shows as indubitably Miltonic, and the signature of a former owner,

"John Newton," the friend of Cowper. The work is a translation from Pascal. Mr. Bates says it contains no Miltonic marginalia.

Beza

In a book of portraits of reformers, by Theodore Beza, Geneva, 1580, said to have been brought to France from England about 1750, and described as item 1436 in the *Inventaire des Autographes . . . Reunis par M. Benjamin Fillon*, Paris, 1879, Part II, was a signature "Joannes Miltonus" written opposite the following MS inscription on the title page.

Sit hoc tuum in primis verum et immortale decus, Anglia, quod Ioanem Wiclefum edideris, primum ausum romanæ meretrici bellum palam indicare.

Our source is the catalogue, called to our attention by Professor Maurice Kelley. The reproduction of the signature looks authentic, but the book cannot now be traced.

Navigation . . . du Jacques V

In the same catalogue a note on item 1436 mentions that another book originally accompanied the last which bore on the margin of the title page "la signature de J. Milton et deux petites lignes de sa main." The title was *La Navigation du roy d'Ecosse Jacques, cinquième du nom, autour de son royaume . . . , sous la con-*

duicte d'Alexandre Lyndsay . . . Paris, Gilles Bey, in-4. A third book, not named, once had accompanied these books, but all are untraced.

Howel

In Catalogue 620 of Maggs (1936), item 290, is described an engraved title-page from a copy of Howel's *Familiar Letters*, bearing on the verso the signature of Katherine Milton, identified as that of Milton's second wife, Katherine Woodcock Milton. Since she died in 1657/8, the book probably became the poet's property. We have not seen the signature, but Messrs. Maggs believed it authentic.

Law Books

In the inventory of the third Mrs. Milton's estate, which we know through the transcript, "Extracted from the Public Episcopal Registry of Chester," now in the New York Public Library, is an entry at the side, apparently overlooked by earlier students. This reads, "11 folios Com Law" and must relate to books once Milton's, perhaps inherited from his father. Among known books only the Fitzherbert might have been one of these, and we may assume at least ten lost law books were in Milton's collection.

Music Books

Edward Phillips tells us that from Venice, on his return journey from his Italian travels, Milton "shipp'd up a Parcel of curious and rare Books which he had pick'd up in his Travels; particularly a Chest or two of choice Musick-books of the best Masters flourishing about that time in Italy, namely, *Luca Marenzo, Monte Verde, Horatio Vecchi, Cifa*, the Prince of *Venosa*, and several others." No copies with Milton's name or any other evidence of Milton's ownership are now known.

Uncertain Books

In the Pierpont Morgan Library is a fragment on which is written the inscription "Liber Jo Milton," but not in the poet's own hand. We mention it merely for the sake of completeness, since it may have come from a book once in the poet's library, inscribed for him by an amanuensis.

A third Miltonic volume is said in the Fillon Catalogue to have accompanied the Beza and *Navigation* described above; but the title was not recorded.

See also the note on the *Concordance* above, on a French prayerbook and a volume of sermons, assigned doubtfully to Milton's library.

Miscellaneous Books

Milton had a large library. In his youth he doubtless used books at the university and later must have often borrowed books from friends and used volumes in public or semipublic collections in London. But it is probable that he owned many of the books cited in his writings. To compile a catalogue of these is beyond the scope of this edition, and even if it were made, it would surely represent only a fraction of the actual library. However, there is a list in Edward Phillips's *Life* of the books he recalled studying with Milton. Many of these are cited as sources for the *Idioma Linguae Latinae*, for which see p. 543. The other titles include the following (as well as a few already listed as preserved):

A Greek Testament; a Syriac Testament; the *Targum*; Frontinus, *Stratagems*; Pliny's *Natural History*; Vitruvius; Ælian, *Tactics*; Apollonius Rhodius; Quintus Calaber; Dionysius Afer; Geminus, *Astronomy*; Hesiod; Oppian; Plutarch; Polyænus; Xenophon; Amesius (theologian); Pierre Davity (geographer); Petiscus, *Trigonometry*; Riff, *Geometry*; Johannes de Sacro Bosco, *de Sphæra*; Urstitius, *Arithmetic*; Giovan. Villani; Wollebius (theologian).

Cross references in the surviving marginalia suggest that several of the Greek books were annotated. Doubtless the notes on Homer and Callimachus were very extensive. And some marginalia seem to be called for on Apollonius, Theocritus, and Aristophanes.

A few other books are mentioned in the Conversations collected in this volume. (See also page 656.)

Relics of Milton

While not a part of Milton's Library, a relic of him must here be mentioned for the sake of completeness, since it bears a presentation inscription, "Ioanni Miltoni, 1631," and was probably a gift from his father. This is the watch presented to the British Museum, in 1862, by Sir Charles Fellows and described by E. J. Wood in *Curiosities of Clocks and Watches*, 1866, p. 269.

A number of other interesting relics of Milton are preserved. They include the balustrade from Milton's house in Petty France, now in the Pennsylvania Historical Society, a piece of wood from that house, one from a rafter of the house in the Barbican, and a pane of glass from one of the houses now destroyed. One home of Milton, the cottage at Chalfont St. Giles, is still standing and is

now a museum. Of his personal property, the Bodleian Library has Milton's tortoise shell tobacco box, a small case containing his writing tablets, an arc, and a pair of dividers. At one time his pen, pencil, and other tablets accompanied them. Thomas Hollis owned the bed in which Milton died, and T. W. Jones once had his knife and fork. The portraits of Milton have often been discussed and include one cut by Thomas Simon as a seal die for the poet which has not yet been well reproduced. From the inventory of Mrs. Milton's effects one learns of Milton's coat of arms, which has not

been preserved, though a sketch by Aubrey may have been copied from it. The organ at Vallombrosa was formerly shown as that on which Milton played. Finally several locks of his hair are known. That which inspired Keats to write his sonnet is now in the Keats Memorial, at Hampstead.

Aubrey's drawings of Milton's arms are herewith reproduced. See also page 619, for Milton's favorite seal.



APPENDIX

Newly Discovered Texts of Hobson Poems

In addition to the familiar texts of the humorous epitaphs on Hobson printed by Milton in his *Poems* of 1645 and 1673, several other versions of these poems, which seem to represent earlier states, were in circulation during Milton's lifetime. These have been discussed recently by Professor W. R. Parker in the *Modern Language Review* for July, 1936. He has contributed to our edition not only this material but also material relating to a third poem on Hobson which may be Miltonic. The two earliest

new versions of the authentic Hobson poems are printed in our text at pp. 349-350. The doubtful poem is given at p. 359 and annotated in the appropriate place at page 590.

The poem placed second in Milton's own collections is given by us first, because it was the first to be printed. It appeared in a little volume called the sixth edition, much enlarged, of *A Banquet of Jestes*, 1640, at pp. 129-31, and this version is reprinted in the text, from a photostat of the copy in the Cambridge University Library. Below are the verbal variants of a version published in *Wit*

Restor'd, 1658, at p. 84, and of a version preserved in Bodleian MS Malone 21, fol. 69. The versions of 1645 and 1673 can be studied in the text and notes of Volume I.

Title] Another on the same 1658, BUT IN MS On Hobson ye Cambridge carrier who died 1630 in ye vacancy of his carriage by reason of ye sicknesse then hott at Cambridge —1 Here . . . lyes] Here lieth one 1658 —2 did] could IS THE READING OF 1658 —3 sung] hung 1658 —4 Whilst] So MS —4 might still] could but 1658 —5] 1658 READS Sphear mettall —6 resolution] revolution MS —6 was at] made of 1658 —7 all] a MS, 1658

—8 truth' twas] old truth 1658 AND MS —9 wheele] wheelles 1658 —10 being] once 1658 —11 us] men 1658 AND MS —13-18] OMITTED FROM 1658 —15 chiefe] OMITTED MS —15 right] aright MS —16 Carts were] cart was MS —17 him] OMITTED MS —21-24] OMITTED 1658 —22 had] in MS —23 Linckt] Like MS —23 flowing] flowings MS —24 disease] increase MS

The other Hobson poem is also printed in *Wit Restor'd*, 1658, p. 85; the version of that book is given in our text at p. 350. It may be compared with the text and the variants in Volume I; these variants do not involve verbal revision.

POEMS ASCRIBED TO MILTON

In the text are now given in large type all the poems assigned to Milton, of authorship not completely proven, but accepted by the editors as his, or at least as having strong claims to be regarded as authentic works of Milton. We do not regard these poems as surely Milton's, but think some are his, and all may be.

In the notes, following those on the poems in the text, are given descriptions and discussions of the authenticity of other poems ascribed to Milton. Texts are included, in the notes, of all which, while "doubtfully re-

jected" by us, are regarded as having any chance at all of being Milton's and also of some of the apocrypha. In general we consider absence from Edward Phillips's list of his uncle's writings as strong presumptive evidence against any work of any considerable bulk, but this does not apply to brief scraps of verse. Even poems now definitely known to be apocryphal are mentioned, though not usually quoted in full, except for some special interest.

We have willingly omitted mention of nothing that has come to our attention. The material assembled suggests

that a few more such things may exist in old periodicals, which have been regarded as too wretched for notice by our predecessors. But the virtuosi of the 18th Century were more often lacking in taste than in admiration for the great Milton, and we rather hope our collection is fairly complete.

*Inscription in place of portrait
of Charles I*

This inscription was apparently on Aug. 10, 1650 set up in place of the head of Charles I in the series of portraits of the Kings of England in the Old Exchange. The text is given under that date in the *Calendarium Carolinum*, 1664, p. 29 [B.M., P.P. 2465. a(1)] but without mention of Milton. However Wilhelm Worm Olai in his *Iter Anglicum*, under date May 24, 1652 tells of seeing it and transcribed it, omitting the dates, and says it was stated to be Milton's. He adds that he was told of Milton's blindness and composed forthwith an epigram on him:

Monstrum immane ingens Milton cui lumen
 ademptum
Post hac non Regi scommata plura dabit.

The *Iter Anglicum* is a MS in the University Library, Copenhagen [MS. Hist. 4to.39] which is described in W. D. Macray's 45th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, and

is quoted in *Book Lore*, II, 100-101 (1885). Our text is verbally that of the *Calendarium*, which is more complete, but the line divisions are those given by Olai. The authorship is not certain, but the testimony of Olai carries great weight, as it seems to record the story told generally to visitors, the circumstance of Milton's blindness being added.

Since writing the above we have run across an earlier reference to the inscription. It is from William Lilly's *Several Observations on the Life and Death of King Charles I*, 1651, reprinted in *Select Tracts Relating to the Civil Wars in England*, edited by Francis Maseres, 1815, p. 181:

"King Charles being dead, and some foolish Citizens going a whoring after his picture, or image, formerly set up in the old *Exchange*; the Parliament made bold to take it down, and to engrave in it's place these words:

Exit Tyrannus, Regum ultimus, Anno Libertatis Anglia restituta primo, Anno Dom. 1648. Jan. 30."

*Epitaph on Mazarin and Epigram
on Pope Urban*

These two poems were first printed in Charles Gildon's *Miscellany Poems upon several occasions*, 1692, at pp. 29-33. [The book was licensed on May

21, and the copy in the British Museum used has the Pressmark 11631. c.23.] This book claims on the title page to contain poetry by Milton and the lines on Mazarin are expressly attributed to him in the index as well as in the heading, while the make-up of the book indicates that the epigram on the Pope was ascribed to the same writer as well. Horwood found among the MSS of Sir Reginald Graham Bart. (a relative of the owner of the MS *Commonplace Book* of Milton) a MS that contained a copy of "Julii Mazarini Cardinalis Epitaphium Authore Joh. Milton" or rather the last three lines thereof, which he expands into ten of English verse, then he copies the epigram on the Pope which he accompanies with the English Version given as the translation in our text; and finally he quotes a poem "To a friend upon reading Mr. Charles Gildon's Miscellany Poems," which begins

I have, Sir, by a transient look
Travers'd this miscellaneous book:
Pardon the ink which I have spilt on
The two quaint epitaphs by Milton
(Pp. 29, 33)

The last are obviously page references, and it is clear that friends of Gildon accepted his attribution. A republication, with variants suggesting use of a different and perhaps better MS, of the Mazarin poem appeared in *Poems*

on *Affairs of State*, 1703, I, ii, p. 58, the variants being as follows:

—2 Italus] Italicus —10 sed] diu
—20 E] Et —26 seculum induxit]
induxit, sæculum —28 capiti] Capi-
tibus —31 mortes cælo irrogante]
à cælo mortes erogata —32 unam]
unam tantum —33 Vincenni] Vin-
centinis —34 Id] Et —36 læden-
tem] cedentem —49 Adoptivo] Adop-
tiva —54 unum] unum tantum —64
bonæ] Vir bonæ —65 rogas] rogitas

The poems have occasioned a great deal of discussion. Hayley sent the lines to Cowper and the poet wrote him on March 19, 1793, expressing his opinion that the verses were authentic, and pointing out the extreme difficulty of translating them. Since Cowper did not carry out his plan of doing this, the present editors have tried themselves. It should be noted that we present for the most part merely a translation of the text word for word. But in the original are a vast number of double and triple meanings, all of which are meant—*prædo* *purpuratus*, refers to his interest in the presidency of the academy, his shiftiness, his position as premier, his cardinal's red, and his bloody deeds, while *Fefellit Medicos* means both "he cheated the Medici," and "he fooled his doctors." On the whole, students seem to accept the poem as Milton's—

his fondness for humorous epitaphs is known; a man who had written so many polite letters to the old fox Mazarin might well have wished to relieve his feelings, by writing what he really thought to himself, and the Latin is the work of a master whoever he may be. It has been pointed out that as Urban VIII died in 1644 Milton excluded the lesser poem from his 1645 volume; it is so slight a thing that he well might have done so. On the whole we regard both poems with only slight reservation, as Milton's work.

Ad Christinam Reginam

The epigram to Queen Christina was published as Milton's by Toland, 1698, I, 38-39, although it had already appeared in the 1681 collection of Marvell's *Poems*. Both ascriptions are posthumous. The modern tendency is to regard the verses as Marvell's. But Birch, Newton, Symmons and Todd all thought them Milton's. There are three hypotheses, one of which must be true; that Marvell wrote them, that Milton wrote them, or—that they wrote them together. In the absence of better evidence than we have at present, editors of both Marvell and Milton probably should continue to reprint the poem, and we have given Toland's text, and his translation. See also Masson, IV, 624.

Epigrams on Prince Charles

These poems are engraved below the frontispiece portrait of Charles I as Prince of Wales, in Sir Walter Raleigh's posthumously published *Tubus Historicus*, 1636, and are signed J. M. They were ascribed to Milton by Joseph Sabin, in his *Dictionary*, no. 67591, probably because of Milton's known interest in Raleigh's *Cabinet Council*, another posthumous work which he published, with the statement he got his copy from a friend who had similar things in his collection. A copy of the *Tubus* in Cambridge University Library, according to Sayle, (*Early English Books*, Cambridge, 1903, III, 1739) contains a MS inscription, almost a dedication, to the Bursar of Eton College, and Sayle points out that John Meredith, an Eton worthy of the time, is a more probable author than Milton. The MS is a formal hand, not Milton's, but this means little, unless it can be identified as Meredith's. Milton was a close friend of Sir Henry Wotton who was at Eton at the time, and the omission of so small a thing from Milton's own volumes is not significant. We know of no parallel use of the motto *Meliora supersunt*, however, and it seems safer for the present to say no more than that the verses are probably by John Meredith, but possibly

by John Milton. Our text is from the copy of the original book in the New York Public Library, but since the plate in that copy and all others we have seen is shaved, the last line is supplied from Brushfield's *Bibliography of Sir Walter Raleigh*, Exeter, 1908, no. 237. The MS inscription follows, from a photostat of the MS at Cambridge;—

To the Reverend & my Most
Worthily Honord Friend,
Mr Richard Bateman
Fellow & Bursar of the College-
Royall at Eton:
I humbly consecrate
these Affamix,
as a small symbol of my
ever-vowed Observance
Meliora supersunt

J.M.

On Mel Heliconium

These verses appear written on a blank leaf of *Mel Heliconium* by Alexander Rosse, 1646, and the longer poem is signed J:M: The hand is very similar to Milton's, and has been accepted by some scholars but not by others. This first comes to notice in Puttick & Simpson's Catalogue, April 20, 1849, where the longer poem is quoted, whence it was gathered into *N&Q*, 2 Ser. iv, 371 (Nov. 7, 1857) and viii, 344 (1859). Both the longer poem and the couplet are in Sotheby's *Ramblings*, 1861, p. 111f, and Pl. xvi. The book was in the collection of William Tite, and is now in the New York

Public Library. A privately printed edition of the poem was issued in 1859. The long poem contains one change in the MS, in line 5 with] *written above cancelled* by. On the whole the poem has tended to be accepted by most scholars as Miltonic, and is therefore placed in large type, but it seems to have a kinship to the other poems with chemical imagery, and we are not altogether satisfied of its authenticity. Neither Miss Darbishire nor Dr. Mabbott thinks the hand Milton's, but this does not preclude his having composed the poem. The single line of verse written in quotation marks at the bottom of page 5 is copied from the printed text of that page of *Mel Heliconium* and reads:

Dote not on Beauty, Beauty's but a flow'r.

Another scrap of verse, written near this, is also probably a quotation. It reads:

Ah, who would trust to formes, which howres
impaire?
Vertue's true shape, and only goodnesse faire.

The volume has a printed date 1642 but this is altered to 1646 in the "Miltonic" copy.

Epitaph on Moll Cuspurse

This poem first appeared without any ascription of authorship on the

recto of the last leaf of a curious little volume with the lengthy title:

The Life and Death of Mrs. Mary Frith. Commonly Called Mal Cut-purse. Exactly Collected and now Published for the Delight and Recreation of all Merry disposed Persons. London, Printed for W. Gilbertson at the Bible in Giltspur-street without Newgate, 1662.

Of this we have used the copy in the British Museum, (1079. b. 11). In Charles Johnson's *General History of . . . the Most Famous Highwaymen*, London, 1734, p. 192 (where the account of this eccentric, who dressed as a man, is largely based on the pamphlet of 1662), it is said: "When she was dead, she was interr'd in St. Bridget's [St. Bride's, Fleet Street] Church-yard, having . . . the following Epitaph, compos'd by the ingenious Mr. Milton, but destroy'd in the great Conflagration of London." This is not the best authority, but the parallel to the Hobson verses and some similarity to some of the other verses ascribed doubtfully to Milton are notable, for Milton lived at one time near St. Bride's Churchyard, and there is some chance these verses are his. An article in *N&Q*, IX, xii, 152 (August 22, 1903) by Thorn Drury indeed seems to imply some copy of the Frith pamphlet contained the ascription, but we

have located no other than the one used. In the 19th line of the original "by" is misprinted "bv" in the original. The verses are there followed by another poem on the same subject, which may be given here for completeness:

An Acrostick

Merry I liv'd and many pranks I playd,
And without sorrow now in Grave am laid,
Rest, and the Sleep of Death doth now Surcease
Y ouths active Sins, and their Old Ag'd increase.

Famous I was for all the Thieving Art,
Renown'd for what Old Women ride in Cart;
In Pocket and in Placket I had part;
This Life I Lived in a Mans Disguise,
H e best laments me that with Laughter Cries.

A Third Hobson Epitaph

This poem *Hobsons Epitaph*, we reproduce in our text from *A Banquet of Jestes*, London, 1640, pp. 131-2, where it appeared originally in conjunction with Milton's known Hobson verses as reprinted at p. 349. It was found by Professor W. R. Parker, who thought it might be possible that all three poems were Milton's, and that he had decided two were enough to give in the collection of 1645. Professor Parker had come to no final conclusion on the matter, but had decided not to publish until some later date. But he was persuaded, in consideration of the probability that no other attempt at a complete edition of Milton could be made for many years to come, to contribute this inter-

esting poem, (which has perhaps an equal chance of being Milton's or merely the production of the same group of poets and wits at Cambridge to which he had belonged) to the Columbia edition. He has also compiled a list of the variant readings from other versions of the poem which he has discovered. It should be added that a great many more poems on the general subject of Hobson are known, but the place of the first appearance of this is peculiarly suggestive. We have used the first publication, as the chances of changes being by the other hands in this kind of humorous poem are great.

In the following variants, symbols indicate other texts of the poem.

58: *Wit Restor'd in severall Select Poems Not formerly publish't*, London, 1658, pp. 83-4.

Bod.: Bodleian MS. Tanner 465, pp. 235-6.

Add.: British Museum MS. Add. 15-227 (recto, fol. 74)

Sl.: British Museum MS. Sloane 542 (recto, fol. 52)

The verbal variants follow:

Title] *On the death of Hobson, the Cambridge-Carrier* 58. Upon Hobson the Carrier BOD. In Hobsonum Archi-

tabellarium Cantabrigiensem. 1631. ADD. An Epitaph on Hobson the Carrier of Cambridge SL. —1 Hobson . . . many] lies old Hobson among his BOD. —1 debtors] betterers ALL. —2 unlearned] not learned BOD. SL. 58. unlearn'd ADD. —2 yet of many] yet a man of BOD. and yet a man of ADD. —3-4] OMITTED BOD. AND ADD. —3 testifie] justify 58. —4 That] Who 58. —5 was] is 58. BOD. —5 t' have begun] hath he gone ALL. —6 In Embassie] An Embassie 58. On an embassy BOD. In an embassy ADD. On Embassies SL. —7 in good time] to his praise BOD. ADD. —8 well remembreth] will remember 58. ADD. may remember BOD. SL. —9 thence] hence BOD. —10 benighted] benighting ALL. —11 No] Nor 58 —11 is it] thinke yee ADD. —12 Since most men] Since all men BOD. SL. For most know ADD. —13 could] would BOD. —14 Bin mir'd in any ground] In any way been mir'd ADD. —14 Bin] Them 58 —14 ground] way BOD. —14 his] the ALL. —15 there] heere BOD. SL. —15 indeede, still] & still is ADD. —15 at a] like to ALL. —16 a] his BOD. ADD. 1658 some SL. —17 So] Thus BOD. —17 rest] rests 58. —17 thou] the 58. —17 ever] dusty ADD. —18 to Charls-waine] Charls his Waine SL. AND 58.

Several other poems on Hobson are

preserved, but we have no reason to connect them with Milton.

Lavinia.

This poem first appears in the 1640 edition of Shakespeare's *Poems*, sig. L6verso, without signature, but has been ascribed with some probability to Milton by Todd, whose arguments we reprint from the *Works*, 1801, I, lxxxix-xci.

"As Milton is believed to have continued his friendship for Henry Lawes, the musician, throughout the Rebellion, I am led to think that he now often experienced a pleasing relaxation from business and study in listening to the "soft pipe, and smooth-dittied song," of his early acquaintance. Lawes, who was acquainted with the principal poets of his time, and was honoured with many of their productions for the use of his lyre, had now published two *Books of Ayres*; in the latter of which, dated 1655, is a ballad, which "The Table, with the names of those who were the Authors of the Verses," ascribes to "Mr. I. M. p. 37." The ballad consists of the first and last sextains of a little poem, which had appeared not long before in an edition of Shakespeare's poems; at the end of which is "An Addition of some excellent poems, to those precedent of renowned Shakespeare, by other Gen-

lemen;" but these verses are without any signature, while Milton's epitaph on Shakspeare, in the same volume, is subscribed I. M. It may not perhaps seem improbable, that Milton might formerly have acknowledged to Lawes this production of his earlier days, which yet he had not thought worthy of admission into his collection of poems. The little poem shows at least a remarkable familiarity with Sylvester's *Du Bartas*; a book in which Milton was assuredly conversant. I submit the verses, with deference, to the determination of the reader.

If not decisive, this is at least worthy of consideration and the poem has been set in larger type as having a fair claim to be Milton's."

A version of the poem in Lawes's *Second Book of Ayres, and Dialogues*, 1655 has the entry in the table "In the non-age of a Winters day, 37 (*aliàs*) 45/- Mr. I. M." The text of the poem given is of 1640. Verbal variants of the version of Lawes, in which the alterations may be due to the musician, are as follows, as Todd collected them.

line 3 earlier birth] easier birth
 5 When each] Where every
 20 certaintie] constancie
 23 retiring quench'd their] return-
 ing quench'd the
 24 tooke] kept.

*On Worthy Master Shakespeare
and His Poems*

This poem appeared in the Second Folio of Shakespeare, 1632, and has been assigned to Milton by Coleridge, who thought there was "no other man, of that particular day, capable of writing anything so characteristic of Shakespeare, so justly thought, and so happily expressed." He regarded the internal evidence as decisive. See his *Seven Lectures on Shakespeare and Milton*, 1856, pp. 105ff., a volume edited by J. P. Collier, it is true; but despite the bad reputation of this man, there is no reason to suspect a tampering with Coleridge's text here. Many other Shakespearean scholars have thought the lines Milton's. Sir Sidney Lee (*A Life of William Shakespeare*, 1917, p. 588) notes ascriptions to Jasper Mayne, Student; John Marston, Student; and John Milton, Student. Another ascription has been made to "someone named James," but no satisfactory candidate has been found for this name (unless, we might suggest, this is a posthumously published work of James I), and it will be recalled that triple names are very rare in England at this period.

Milton contributed to the Second Folio the *Epitaph*, which he later collected. It is there unsigned, but signed

I. M. in the 1640 edition of Shakespeare's *Poems*. The strongest argument against Milton's authorship is the difficulty of explaining why he did not collect so fine a poem if he wrote it. This seems to us so much against the attribution that we have placed the verses among the more doubtful poems ascribed to Milton. Our text is from a copy of the Second Folio in Harvard College Library.

ADDITIONAL ASCRIBED POEMS

Epitaph on Thomas Young

A. G. H. Hollingsworth, in *The History of Stowmarket*, Ipswich, 1844, p. 194, prints a copy of an epitaph at that place, erected soon after 1655. Hollingsworth asks rhetorically whether this may be the work of Milton and concludes that "the probability is quite in favour that the pupil should write the last memorial of one whom he so highly honoured and loved as his old master." While we do not feel that the grounds for such an ascription are very strong, there is at least a slight possibility that Hollingsworth was right, and the inscription must in any case be noticed here. In 1844 some of the lines on the stone were illegible and apparently intentionally erased, but Hollingsworth printed from a copy "made many years since, when the epitaph was

fresh and legible." The text which follows has been kindly verified for us by the Rev. F. Tucker Harvey, Vicar of Stowmarket. The "Y" is surely meant for "Ye" throughout, and "President" must be a mistake for "resident" since Young's son never held the high position, but died young.

Here is committed to earth's trust
Wise, pious, spotless, learned dust,
Whom living more adorned the place,
Then the place him such was Gods grace.

TO THO. YOUNG	{	D D
		Mr of Ie Coll Cam
		A member of Y late assem.
		Pastor here An 28
	{	Died An {
		Ætatis 68.
		Xti 1655
		Nov. 28.

Who, with his deare wife and Eldest
Son Tho Young M.A. & President
of Ie Coll Cam, lyes here expect
ing Y Resurrection.

Hollingsworth shows one reading "Mem of Ie Coll Cam" which may be correct.

Epitaph on William Staples, 1650

This inscription on a monument in St Giles Cripplegate, was ascribed tentatively to Milton by Thomas H. Gill in *N&Q*, I, v, 361 (April 17, 1852) chiefly on the ground of merit, and Milton's connection with this church, where he, and his father before him, were buried. This is of course the most shadowy kind of evidence, but the epigram has other merits besides

its brevity, and we have gladly included it, using the text of *N&Q*.

Quod cum cœlicolis habitus, pars altera nostri,
Non dolet, hic tantùm, me superesse dolet.
Hoc posuit mœstissima uxor, Sara.

We are sure "habitus" should be "habitas," and "hic" probably should be "hoc" but have not been able to verify the inscription from the monument.

On Day Break

This poem was first printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1786 (lvi, 698-699) with the following letter of introduction.

MR. URBAN,

I AM in possession of the original edition of that sublime Epic poem *Paradise Lost*, as published by the author, in *ten* books. In two leaves prefixed to the title-page of this edition, there are some lines, apparently written by a female; and at the bottom of the page this singular remark appears: "*Dictated by J. M.*" We know that the daughter of Milton officiated as his amanuensis; and, from the sentence above-quoted, there is some reason to attribute the lines to the author of *Paradise Lost*. For the entertainment of your readers, they are here faithfully transcribed.

AN OXONIAN.

ON DAY BREAK.

Welcome, bright chorister, to our hemisphere;
 Thy glad approaches tell us day is near.
 See! how his early dawn creeps o'er yon hill,
 And with his grey-ey'd light begins to fill
 The silent air, driving far from our sight
 The starry regiment of frighted night;
 Whose pale-fac'd regent, Cynthia, paler grows,
 To see herself pursued by conquering foes;
 Yet daring stays behind, to guard the rear
 Of her black armies whither without fear
 They may retreat, till her alternate course
 Bring her about again with rallied force.
 Hark! how the lion's terror loud proclaims
 The gladsome tidings of day's gentle beams,
 And, long-kept silence breaking, rudely wakes
 The feather'd train, which soon their concert
 makes,
 And with unmeasur'd notes, unnumber'd lays,
 Do joyfully salute the lightsome rays.
 But hearken yonder, where the louder voice
 Of some keen hunter's horn hath once or twice
 Recheated out its blast, which seems to drill
 Th' opposing air, and with its echo fill.
 Thither let 's hie; and see the toilsome hound,
 Willing, pursues his labour, till he's found
 Some hope of what he follows, then with fresht
 And pleasing clamour tells it to the rest.
 O thou, who sometimes by most sacred voice
 Father of Light wert styl'd, let my free choice
 (Though all my works be evil, seldom night)
 Shun loving darkness rather than the light.
 Let thy essential brightness, with quick glance,
 Dart through the foggy mist of ignorance
 Into the darken'd intellect, and thence
 Dispel whatever clouds o'erspread the sense;
 Till, with illumin'd eyes, the mind
 All the dark corners in itself can find,
 And fill them all with radiant light, which may
 Convert my gloomy night to sun-shine day.
 Though dark, O God! if guarded by thy might,
 I see with intellectual eyes; the night
 To me a noon-tide blaze, illumin'd by
 The glorious splendour of thy Majesty!

This MS has never been forthcoming, and the authenticity is more than doubtful. See Todd's *Life*, 1801, p. cxx, and Sotheby, *Ramblings*, 1861, p. 79. We have included the text from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for completeness, but think it probably not Milton's composition.

Epitaph on a Rose Tree

This poem is written in an old hand which looks a little like Milton's on a flyleaf of a copy of Milton's *Poems*, 1645, in the British Museum [Pressmark, C.12.d.20], where it was discovered by Henry Morley, who published it in the *London Times*, July 16, 1868. A separate edition on a single octavo leaf, called *Epitaph on a Rose Tree confin'd in a Garden Tub*, corrected by John Edward Wall, appeared soon after; [the copy in the British Museum has the pressmark 11621.h.1.(145)] The poem caused a great controversy, which may be followed in part in the columns of the *Athenæum* and *N&Q* at the time. It was said that the initials look like T.M. or P.M. This simple solution has received much commendation among students. We give a text from the MS, which we have examined in the original and a photostat copy, and have come to the following conclusions. Whatever the initials look like, the poem is in the Miltonic manner, and we feel sure that the person who wrote it out in a copy of the *first edition* of Milton's poems wished the signature to be read J. M., and either believed this poem was by Milton or wished others to think so. The authenticity of the MS and the poem are separate and distinct problems, the Miltonic

ring of some of the verses is an argument that cuts both ways, but if the MS is not Milton's but meant to look like his hand, the good faith of the copyist comes in question. Our feeling is that the poem, which has affinities with some of the other brief poems in this section, comes from the group of early admirers of Milton, but on the whole we regard the weight of evidence as being against his authorship of the verses, although we do not regard this as absolutely disproven at present. Crashaw has also been suggested as the author, but we think the verses are Milton's, mistakenly believed Milton's by an early admirer (which is most probable), or a hoax.

AN EPITAPH.

He whom Heaven did call away
Out of this Hermitage of clay,
Has left some reliques in this Urne
As a pledge of his returne.
Meane while the muses doe deplore
The losse of this their paramour
With whom he sported ere the day
Budded forth its tender ray.
And now Apollo leaves his laies
And puts on cypres for his bayes.
The sacred sisters tune their quills
Onely to the blubbering rills
And whilst his doome they thinke upon
Make their owne teares their Helicon,
Leaving the two-topt mount divine,
To turne votaries to his shrine.

Thinke not (reader) mee lesse blest
Sleeping in this narrow cist
Then if my ashes did lie hid
Under some stately pyramid.
If a rich tombe makes happy, then
That Bee was happier far then men
Who busie in the thymie wood
Was fettered by the golden flood,
Which from the Amber-weeping Tree
Distilleth downe so plenteously.

For so this little wanton Elfe
Most gloriously enshrind it selfe.
A tombe whose beauty might compare
With Cleopatra's sepulcher.

In this little bed my dust
Incurtained round I here entrust,
Whilst my more pure & nobler part
Lyes entomb'd in every heart.

Then passe on gently ye that mourne
Touch not this my hollowed Urne
These Ashes which doe here remaine
A vitall tincture still retaine
A seminall forme within the deeps
Of this little chaos sleeps
The thred of life untwisted is
Into its first existencies
Infant Nature cradled here
In its principles appeare.
This plant thus calcind into dust
In its Ashes rest it must,
Untill sweet Psyche shall Inspire
A softning & prolifick fire
And in her fostering arms enfold
This Heavy & this earthy mould
Then as I am Ile be no more
But bloome & blossome [as be]f[ore.]
When this cold nummes shall retreat
By a more then Chymick heat.

J. M. 10^{ber} 1647.

A Fragment of Milton

These verses appear in *The New Foundling Hospital for Wit*, 1773, Vol. vi, pp. 32-33, accompanied by the following note. "When Milton in his youth was at Florence, he fell in love with a young lady; and, as she understood no English, he writ some verses to her in Italian; of which the above is the sense." The poem is probably connected with the traditions mentioned elsewhere that there were uncollected Italian verses by Milton in Florence. But it is hard to believe that anyone who had before him what purported to be a poem by Milton in any

tongue would have failed to publish the text as well as a translation, and the poem is almost surely to be regarded as a mere jeu d'esprit. But since it is ascribed to Milton, and no other definite author is known we have given it. We would here acknowledge with sincere thanks the kindness of Captain William Jaggard, who called our attention to this poem of which we have met with no other account.

A FRAGMENT OF MILTON.
FROM THE ITALIAN.
NOT IN HIS WORKS.

When in your language, I unskill'd address,
The short-pac'd efforts of a tramell'd muse,
Soft Italy's fair critics round me press,
And my mistaken passion thus accuse;

Why, to our tongue's disgrace, does thy dumb
love
Strive, in rough sound, soft meaning to impart?
He must select his words who speaks to move,
And point his purpose at the hearer's heart.

Then laughing they repeat my languid lays—
Nymphs of thy native clime, perhaps—they cry,
For whom thou hast a tongue, may feel thy
praise,
But we must understand e'er we comply!

Do thou, my soul's soft hope, these triflers awe!
Tell them, 'tis nothing, how, or what I writ;
Since love from silent looks can language draw,
And scorns the lame impertinence of wit.

Lines to a Painter

In the Table of Contents of *Poems on Affairs of State*, 1697, Vol. I, the four long poems each headed *Directions to a Painter* which occupy pages 26–57 are described as “Directions to a Painter, said to be written by Sir

John Denham, but believed to be writ by Mr. Milton.” and Todd informs us that the ascription occurs in the 1703 edition as well as 1697. They had been published as Denham's in the edition of 1689, but are regarded still as of uncertain authorship. Margoliouth in his edition of Marvell seems to reject Milton, Marvell and Denham alike. And it may be said that it is hard to understand how anyone who had ever read any of the acknowledged poems of Milton could have attributed these couplets to the author of *Paradise Lost*. They are an example of how bad a nearly contemporary attribution may be, unless, as has occurred to us, there was some tradition that Milton had criticised or polished the verses a little for some member of the group of friends of Marvell. If such was the case, it would now be impossible to identify anything as Miltonic. But in addition to quoting the first lines of each we give the curious epic speech lines 131–150 of the first poem. The first line of this has actually been quoted as “expressly ascribed to Milton”—by William Godwin, *Lives of Edward and John Philips*, 1815, p. 190. The first poem begins “Nay Painter, if thou dar'st design that Fight.” The opening lines of the other poems are “Sand—ch in Spain now, and the Duke in love,”

"Draw England ruin'd by what was
giv'n before," and "Painter, Where
was't thy former Work did cease?"
The extract follows,

Noah be damn'd! and all his Race accurst,
Who in Sea-brine did pickle Timber first!
What though be Planted Vines, be Pines cut
down,
He taught us how to Drink, and how to Drown:
He first built Ships, and in his Wooden Wall,
Saving but eight, e'er since endanger'd all.
And thou Dutch Necromantick Fryar, be
damn'd,
And in thine own first Mortar-piece be ram'd!
Who first invented Cannon in thy Cell,
Nitre from Earib, and Brimstone fetcht from
Hell.
But damn'd and treble damn'd be Clarendine,
Our seventh Edward, with all his House and
Line!
Who to divert the danger of the War
With Bristol, bounds us on the Hollander:
Fool-coated Gown-man! sells, to fight with
Hance,
Dunkirk; dismantling Scotland, quarrels France:
And hopes be now bath bus'ness shap'd, and
Power
T' out last our Lives or his, and scape the
Tower;
And that he yet may see, e'er he be go down,
His dear Clarinda circled in a Crown.

To sum up, we regard it as incredible that Milton wrote these poems, and highly improbable that he had anything to do with them. We think there is a bare possibility that the ascription was not merely an irresponsible one designed to aid the sale of the book, but based on some rumor that Milton had helped his friend Denham with the verses. But we do not feel this is sufficient reason for including the full poems, which run to about a thousand lines, even in such an edition as the Columbia Milton,

though had they been brief things we should have given them.

Sonnet on the Plague

This poem was printed by Birch in his *Life of Milton* in his edition of the *Prose Works* (1738, p. xxxviii) where it was stated to have been "found on a Glass-Window at *Chalfont*"; but was omitted from subsequent editions. We now know from the *Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission on the MSS of his Grace the Duke of Portland*, Vol. VI, 1901, p. 66, where a letter of George Vertue to the Earl of Oxford of Feb. 24, 1737/8 is given, that this was a hoax by Pope and Chesterfield, given to Richardson as a joke, and by him sent to Birch. The discussion of the poem before this came to light is very curious; see Todd, I, 104, and Masson VI, 498. The latter came to the conclusion that Birch had satisfied himself the poem was an imitation, but the style gave him pause—as it had done to Richardson and Birch. Considering the probable authorship of Pope, we need not wonder that "these be good verses." Birch's text follows:—

Fair Mirrour of foul Times! whose fragile Sheene
Shall as it blazeth, break; while Providence
(Aye watching o'er his Saints with Eye unseen,)
Spreads the red Rod of angry Pestilence,
To sweep the wicked and their Counsels hence;

Yea all to break the Pride of lustful Kings,
 Who Heaven's Lore reject for brutish Sense;
 As erst he scourg'd *Jessides'* Sin of yore
 For the fair *Hittite*, when on Seraph's Wings
 He sent him War, or Plague, or Famine sore.

On Madam Elizabeth Swettenham

Horwood has mentioned in his edition of the *Commonplace Book*, Camden Society, 1876, p. xiii, (and compared with the *Mel Heliconium* and Henry Morley's verses) a MS epitaph on Madam Elizabeth Swettenham among the MSS of Sir Reginald Graham, Bart., from which he quoted only lines 1 and 10-14:

If chearfull, chaste as are the snows . . .
 No soul can be more blest than this,
 Whose sacred reliques in this urn
 Are kept until the Soul's return,
 To reunite itself to its known mate,
 And raise these reliques to a happier state.

The same six lines are given also in the *Hist. MSS. Commission's* Vol. VI, Appendix, 343; and in the same MS volume is a copy of part of the Mazarrin epitaph and other Miltonic material mentioned in the note to that poem above. Horwood thinks these verses on Madam Swettenham definitely not Miltonic, and cites them rather as evidence against the *Mel Heliconium* and *Rose Tree* poems, but he thinks them evidence that these images were in current use among a group that included admirers of Milton. Had we located a more complete text we should have given the

full fourteen lines. We do not regard them as Milton's, but believe they must be noticed here.

Two points of connection with Milton may be mentioned. The Swettenham family had for centuries been settled in Cheshire, one branch at Somerford Booths near Macclesfield, and the other in Swettenham near Nantwich, the home of the third Mrs. Milton. The Elizabeth Swettenham celebrated in the epitaph may have been Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Wilson and wife of Philip Swettenham, who died in 1673, though many Elizabeths both earlier and later are named in family pedigrees (see George Ormerod, *The History of . . . Chester*, III [1882], 560-561). Additional interest derives from the fact that a relative of this Elizabeth later married Roger Comberbatch, prothonotary of Chester (died 1757), who was a nephew of Mrs. Milton's and whose letter to William Cowper is quoted elsewhere in this volume.

Lines in a Bible

These appear in a Bible with notes attributed to Milton, described as no. VI, in our notes, p. 562. There is little doubt they are a hoax, and the Bristol provenance and excellence of the poetry suggest that perhaps this book

had come at some time into the hands of Thomas Chatterton.

When that day of Death shall come,
then shall nightly shades prevail—
soone shall Love & Music faile—
soone the fresh turfes tender Blade
shall florish ore my sleeping shade.

School-Lawes

In *Book Prices Current*, XV (1901), 511, we find ascribed to Milton a pamphlet called *School-Lawes, or Qui Mihi in English Verse*, 1650. The absence of a reference to a separate work like this from the list of Phillips, is the strongest presumptive evidence against it, and we may dismiss the attribution as chimerical.

On the Librarie at Cambridge

These verses were published in *N&Q*, iii, 37 (January 18, 1851) as signed "J.M. 1627." in a *Collection of Recente and Witty Pieces by several eminent hands*. It was suggested in the same periodical (pp. 141-142), that until a copy of the book is forthcoming, the verses must be thought a hoax, of the 19th Century.

ON THE LIBRARIE AT CAMBRIDGE

In that great maze of books I sighed and
said,—
It is a grave-yard, and each tome a tombe;
Shrouded in hempen rags, behold the dead,
Coffined and ranged in crypts of dismal
gloom,
Food for the worm and redolent of mold,
Traced with brief epitaph in tarnished gold—
Ah, golden lettered hope!—ah, dolorous
doom!

Yet mid the common death, where all is cold,
And mildewed pride in desolation dwells,
A few great immortalities of old
Stand brightly forth—not tombes but living
shrines,

Where from high sainte or martyr virtue
wells,

Which on the living yet work miracles,
Spreading a relic wealth richer than golden
mines.

Milton's Prayer of Patience

This poem, which was an original composition of the American poet, Elizabeth Lloyd Howells, has sometimes through pure misunderstanding been included in 19th Century editions of Milton. It appeared for the first time in the *Friends' Review*, Philadelphia, January 1, 1848, Vol. I, No. 15, page 239. It consists of eleven stanzas of four lines each and is entitled, *Milton's Prayer of Patience*. As originally published it was unsigned but was written "For Friends' Review." In the issue of the *Review* for November 11, 1848, Vol. II, No. 8, pp. 118-119 there is a brief article entitled *Milton's Blindness* which reprints two stanzas from the poem below with an editorial article on Milton and a valuable footnote explaining the authorship and pointing out that the poem was not by Milton as a good many readers had thought. This note points out that the editor of the London *Friend* in which the poem was also printed in the October issue, had mistakenly attributed the poem to Mil-

ton, thus causing the misunderstanding which this note clears up. See also *N&Q*, 9 Ser. xi, 386. Apparently the note of explanation received less attention than the poem, for it is occasionally met with as "a composition of Milton." The text from the *Friends' Review* follows:

MILTON'S PRAYER OF PATIENCE

I am old and blind!
Men point at me as smitten by God's frown,
Afflicted, and deserted of my kind,
Yet am I not cast down.

I am weak, yet strong,
I murmur not that I no longer see—
Poor, old, and helpless, I the more belong.
Father Supreme! to Thee.

All-merciful One!
When men are farthest, then art Thou most near,
When friends pass by, my weaknesses to shun,
Thy chariot I hear.

Thy glorious face
Is leaning toward me, and its holy light
Shines in upon my lonely dwelling place—
And there is no more night.

On my bended knee,
I recognize Thy purpose, clearly shown,
My vision Thou hast dimmed that I may see
Thyself—Thyself alone.

I have nought to fear;
This darkness is the shadow of Thy wing;
Beneath it I am almost sacred—here,
Can come no evil thing.

Oh! I seem to stand
Trembling, where foot of mortal ne'er hath been,
Wrapped in that radiance from the sinless land
Which eye hath never seen.

Visions come and go,
Shapes of resplendent beauty round me throng;
From angel lips I seem to hear the flow
Of soft and holy song.

It is nothing now,
When heaven is opening on my sightless eyes;
When airs from "Paradise" refresh my brow,
That earth in darkness lies.

In a purer clime,
My being fills with rapture—waves of thought
Roll in upon my spirit—strains sublime
Break over me unsought.

Give me now my lyre!
I feel the stirrings of a gift divine,
Within my bosom glows unearthly fire,
Lit by no skill of mine.

The Milton-Ovid Verses

The late Professor Hugh C. H. Candy in the *LTLS* of January 26, 1922 announced the discovery, and published with scholarly apparatus in London, *N&Q*, from Sept. 9, 1922 to Feb. 17, 1923 a series of MS verses which he ascribed to John Milton. He later collected them with expanded notes in a volume entitled *Some Newly Discovered Stanzas written by John Milton on Engraved Scenes illustrating Ovid's Metamorphoses*, 1924. The material is pretty well described by this title, but we may add that the verses are in eight line stanzas written in a copy of *Iohan. Posthii Gernershemii Tetrasticha in Ovidii Metamor. Lib. XV*, Frankfurt, 1563. Dr. Candy based his arguments in great measure on the handwriting, and believed the verses, which run to 166 stanzas (besides a dozen more probably lost, for the book is imperfect), were a work of Milton's extreme youth. There is no doubt that Dr. Candy had convinced himself of this, but we have found almost no

other serious students of Milton who have been convinced by him. Under the circumstances we do not feel justified in reprinting the material, which is easily accessible in Dr. Candy's book. The first stanza reads:

OF CHAOS

1. the world created.

A chaos all confus'd on heapes doth ly,
out of which great Jove doth by and by,
create the heauens sun starrs, the sea, the earth,
fish fowle and euery beast that draweth breath,
fire, earth, aire, water all were in disorder
He placeth eueryone in his owne order
The light unto the heau'ns about doe goe
The grosse and moyst unto the earth below.

Baptistes

Francis Peck, in his *New Memoirs* of Milton, 1740, assigned to our author the translation of George Buchanan's *Baptistes* published in London, 1642, by order of the House of Commons, and reprinted both the Latin text and the original, at pp. 265 ff. The edition of 1642 bore the name of *Tyrannicall-Government Anatomized*, and it may be stated that Peck brought forth not one scrap of direct evidence to connect Milton with this work, which has never been accepted as a work of Milton. In the original English edition it was printed as prose but Peck has cut this up into verse.

Satyr against Hypocrites, *by John Phillips*

In 1710 an edition of this work by Milton's nephew was brought forth with the peculiarly unhappy ascription to his uncle, perhaps because of some confusion over the association of Milton and Phillips in the *Responsio* (an entirely distinct work) or perhaps because someone thought such an ascription might help the sales of the book. The *Satyr* originally appeared 1655.

Epistola ad Pollionem *by Dr. William King*

Miltonis Epistola ad Pollionem is an original satire by Dr. William King, published in 1738, the ascription being part of the disguise—the allusions of the poem are to King's time, not Milton's, but the work is sometimes sold as Milton's by careless booksellers.

Upon a Fly, By John Cleveland (?)

In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1817, Part ii, p. 160, this poem which has the lengthy title "Upon a Fly that flew into a Lady's Eye, and there lay buried in a Tear" and begins "Poor envious soul! what couldst thou see?" is published with a query as to author-

ship. In *N&Q*, V, iii, 368 (1875) James Crowdy reprinted it and suggested Milton as the author. At page 398, W. M. pointed out that it occurs in Cleveland's poems. It is found in John Cleveland's *Works*, 1687, pp. 231-232, but is not included in Berdan's edition, which means the ascription is highly doubtful. But there seems no reason to suppose it by Milton, but rather by someone who admired his work. The text is that of *N&Q* where the poem was first ascribed to Milton, but an apparent error is corrected in brackets from the 1687 version, which is otherwise the same verbally.

*Upon a Fly that flew into a Lady's Eye,
and there lay buried in a Tear.*

Poor envious soul! what couldst thou see
In that bright orb of purity?
That active globe? that twinkling sphere
Of beauty, to be meddling there?
Or didst thou foolishly mistake
The glowing morn in that day-break?
Or was't thy pride to mount so high
Only to kiss the Sun, and die?
Or didst thou think to rival all
Don Phaëton and his great fall?
And in a richer sea of brine
Drown Icarus again in thine?
'Twas bravely aimed, and, which is more,
Th' hast sunk the fable o'er and o'er.
For in this single death of thee
Th' hast bankrupt all Antiquity.
Oh! had the fair Egyptian Queen
Thy glorious monument [once seen],
How had she spar'd what Time forbids,
The needless tott'ring Pyramids!
And in an emulative chafe
Have begged thy shrine her epitaph?
Where, when her aged marble must
Resign her honour to the dust,
Thou might'st have canonized her
Deceased Time's Executor?
To rip up all the Western bed

Of spices where Sol lays his head,
To squeeze the Phoenix and her nest
In one perfume that may write best,
Then blend the gallery of the skies
With her seraglio of eyes,
T' embalm a name, and raise a tomb
The miracle of all to come,
Then, then compare it; Here's a gem
A pearl must shame and pity them.
An amber drop, distilled by
The sparkling limbeck of an eye,
Shall dazzle all the short essays
Of rubbish worth and shallow praise,
We strive not then to prize that tear,
Since we have nought to poise it here.
The world's too light. Hence, hence, we cry,
The world, the world's not worth a fly

On a Faggot, by Lord Rochester (?)

In the *Oxford and Cambridge Miscellany Poems*, [1709,] wherein Elijah Fenton signed the Epistle Dedicatory, at pp. 286-7, is the following:

*An EXTEMPORE upon a Faggot,
by MILTON*

Have you not in a Chimney seen
A Faggot which is moist and green;
How coyly it receives the Heat,
And at both ends do's weep and sweat?
So fares it with a tender Maid,
When first upon her Back she's laid;
But like dry Wood th' experienc'd Dame
Cracks and rejoices in the Flame.

Todd, 1801, I, cxxxi, pointed out that this poem is usually included among the works of Rochester. It is there called *A Description of a Maidenhead*, and according to Johannes Prinz, in his *John Wilmot Earl of Rochester*, Leipzig, 1927 (*Palaestra*, no. 154), p. 149, it first appears in the fourth edition of Rochester's *Familiar Letters*, 1705, Vol. I, page 224. Prinz

calls it a "popular erotic ditty" but does not make the exact meaning of "popular" clear. One supposes the ascription to Rochester not absolutely certain; but although Fenton was an editor of *Paradise Lost*, the ascription to Milton is almost certainly wrong. We should point out, however, that in the early eighteenth century, when the activity of John Phillips as a collector of loose songs may have been remembered, and the Bontia epigram was ascribed to Milton, Fenton's as-

cription may not have seemed so absurd as it at first appears to a modern student of Milton.

"Our lives are Albums"

In a volume called *Golden Thoughts on Mother, Home and Heaven*, with an introduction by Theodore L. Cuyler, 1878, at page 328, a poem beginning "Our lives are albums, written through" is attributed to Milton, though actually by J. G. Whittier.

CONSPECTUS OF ORIGINAL AND TRANSLATED VERSE
PASSAGES IN MILTON'S PROSE WORKS

Several editors of Milton's poems have made more or less complete collections of the scraps of verse to be found in his prose works. In the case of some of the translations from Greek into Latin and even of some of the English translations, Milton may have been merely quoting from others. But it seems better to list here everything in the form of verse now attributed to him, which is not collected in our Volumes I and II or the verse sections of the present volume.

1. From the draft of a letter to a friend, circa 1632.

Begins, "How soone hath Time the
suttle theefe of Youth"

14 lines, sonnet, Vol. XII, p. 322;
see also Vol. I, pp. 60, 443.

2. From *Marginalia* on Euripides
(acquired by Milton in 1634).

Milton's improvement on the Latin
version of *Rhesus*, 1-5.

- Begins, "vade ad Cubile Hecto-
reum"

5 lines, Vol. XVIII, p. 311.

3. From Milton's note on the back of
a letter from Henry Lawes, 1638.

Begins, "Fixe heere yee overdaled
sphears"

2 lines, Vol. XII, p. 402; Vol. XVIII,
p. 266.

4. From *Of Reformation in England*,
1641.

A. Translation of Dante, *Inferno*,
XIX, 115 ff.

Begins, "*Ah Constantine, of how
much ill was cause*"

3 lines, Vol. III, p. 26.

B. Translation of Petrarch, *Sonnet*
108

Begins, "*Founded in chaste and
humble Povertie*"

5 lines, Vol. III, p. 27.

C. Translation of Ariosto, *Orlando
Furioso*, XXXIV, 79

Begins, "*Then past hee to a floury
Mountaine greene,*"

4 lines, Vol. III, p. 27.

These lines are slightly altered from
Harington's version of Ariosto. Four
lines that precede them, which have
formerly been assigned to Milton, are
a direct quotation from Harington's
version of *Orlando Furioso*, XXXIV,
72, with two unimportant words
changed.

5. From *Reason of Church
Government*, 1641.

Translation of line (by Phrynichus,
Comicus ?) in Suetonius, *Nero*, 38.

"When I die, let the Earth be rould
in flames"

1 line, Vol. III, p. 202.

6. From *Apology for Smectymnuus*,
1642.

A. Translation of Horace, *Satires*, I,
i, 24

Begins, "Laughing to teach the
truth"

3 lines, Vol. III, p. 318.

B. Translation of Horace, *Satires*, I,
x, 14

Begins, "Jesting decides great
things"

2 lines, Vol. III, p. 318.

C. Translation of Sophocles' *Electra*,
624

Begins, "'Tis you that say it, not I:
you do the deeds"

2 lines, Vol. III, p. 319.

- 6a. From Marginalia on Ariosto
(about 1642).

An elegiac couplet, of which only
the second line is preserved, appar-
ently original.

2 lines, Vol. XVIII, p. 331.

7. From the titlepage of *Areopagitica*,
1644.

Translation of Euripides, *Supplices*,
438 f

Begins, "This is true Liberty when
free born men"

5 lines, Vol. XVIII, p. 267.

8. From *Tetrachordon*, 1645.

Translation of Horace, *Epist.* I, xvi, 40

Begins, "Whom do we count a good man, whom but he"

6 lines, Vol. IV, p. 137.

9. From *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, 1649.

Translation of Seneca, *Hercules Furens*, 922

Begins, "There can be slaine"

3 lines, Vol. V, p. 19.

10. From *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, 1651.

A. Lines on Salmasius

Begins, "Quis expedit Salmasio suam Hundredam"

8 lines, Vol. VII, p. 428

B, etc. Several translations from Greek verse into Latin

Vol. VII, pp. 112, 308, 310, 312, 314, 350.

[Mitford and Beeching reprinted as if Milton's, the English versions of the two foregoing, and of several of Milton's quotations from Latin authors in the *Pro Populo*, which are the work of Joseph Washington. See the Nonesuch Press-Random House edition of Milton, 1938, p. 853, for a note on this by Mr. John Gawsworth.]

11. From *Defensio Secunda*, 1654.

A. Epigram on Bontia

Begins, "Galli ex concubitu gravidam te Pontia Mori"

2 lines, Vol. VIII, p. 36; and see Vol. IX, p. 240.

[This epigram on Bontia and Morus may be Milton's. See Masson IV, 587. It first appeared in *Mercurius Politicus*, Sept. 30, 1652. Milton's references seem to indicate another author, but his language is indefinite, and perhaps purposely so. See note below on *Pro Se Defensio*.]

B. Milton's lines to the fishes

Begins, "Gaudete Scombri, & quicquid est piscium salo"

10 lines, Vol. VIII, p. 56.

C. Lines

Begins, "de virtute loquutus"

2 lines, Vol. VIII, p. 92.

D, etc. Several translations from Greek verse into Latin

Vol. VIII, pp. 64, 68, 74, 84.

12. From *Pro Se Defensio*, 1655.

A. Epigram on Morus

"quicquid peccat Morus, plectitur fides publica"

1 line, Vol. IX, p. 50.

B. Epigram

Begins, "*Poma alba jerebat*"

2 lines, Vol. IX, p. 208.

C. Epigram on Bontia

Begins, "*Galli ex concubitu gravidam te Pontia Mori*"

2 lines, Vol. IX, p. 240; and see Vol. VIII, p. 36. See No. 11A above.

13. From the titlepage of *The Ready and easy Way*, 1660 (2nd Edition)

An adaptation of Juvenal, I, 15-16
Begins, "et nos"

2 lines, Vol. XVIII, p. 267.

14. From *History of Britain*, 1670.

A. Lines addressed by Brutus to Diana, and her Reply

[Translations of Latin verses given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, I, xi]

Begins, "Goddess of Shades, and Huntress, who at will" and "Brutus far to th' west, in th' Ocean wide"

6 and 8 lines, Vol. X, pp. 11-12.

B. Epitaph on Kenelm

[Translation of verses found in Matthew of Westminster, under the year 821 A.D.]

Begins, "Low in a mead of Kine under a Thorn,"

2 lines, Vol. X, p. 194.

15. From *De Doctrina Christiana*.

A, B. Two translations from Greek verse into Latin

Vol. XIV, p. 174; Vol. XVII, p. 220.

16. From the *Defensio* of John Phillips, 1652.

A few original epigrams are included in this work, but it is impossible to decide if they are the work of Phillips or of his uncle, who revised it.

Vol. XVIII, pp. 429, 434.

NOTES ON APOTHEGMS AND CONVERSATIONS.

In the larger editions of classical authors one sometimes finds a collection of the apothegms or spoken compositions of a great author. And in the case of Milton, whose blindness made him compose at least in later years without recourse to the pen, the line between his oral and written compositions is hard to draw. But while we have in a few cases exact quotations of his witty remarks, most

of the relations of the kind that have come down to us are in indirect discourse, and some are even more shadowy. The collection attempts completeness for actual apothegms, but perhaps no two people would draw the lines of inclusion and exclusion at exactly the same place, when it comes to the partly reported conversations. In general we try to give the earliest full account of each inci-

dent, but accounts that seem to supplement each other are given in all versions. Some of the historical parts are selected on the theory that they represent what Milton himself told his family or friends. And while we have usually gone back to the earliest source for every document, a feeling that the exact punctuation and spelling were of less interest in the case of spoken compositions has led us to use the printed versions of Warton and Masson for two series of not readily accessible documents. At the end are references to the chief conversations reported by Milton in his own works, and some more or less shadowy references in the biographers, followed last of all by some highly apocryphal anecdotes which might be missed if we omitted them. In every case the setting has been cut to just enough to make the circumstances of the remark clear. Our references to the Letters in Volume XII are by number and not page; references consisting of a volume and page number alone refer to our present edition. The conversations with Mylius have been dealt with in a special section, since they are entirely the work of Dr. Lübbling, and are partly now first published. See the notes below. The arrangement is otherwise chronological according to

the time each item was written or published as far as can be determined. Our list of sources follows:

Wotton's letter to Milton. Printed in Milton's *Poems*, 1645, pp. 71 ff. reprinted in Columbia edition, I, 476.

Christopher Arnold to Georg Richter. Printed in *Georgii Richteri JC. Ejusque Familiarium Epistolæ Selectiores*, Nuremburg, 1662, p. 483. See Masson, IV, 351.

From the *Journals of the House of Lords*. See Masson III, 291.

From the *Orders of Council*. These are taken from Masson, IV, *passim*.

From the *Journals of the House of Commons*. See also *Parliamentary History*, IV, 162, and Masson VI, 195.

Report of Aizema. From his report of his embassy to England preserved in Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, *Invent.* of papers of L. van Aizema, no. 45. Printed by Stern *Milton* III, 258 (1879). The translation is by Professor Barnouw. See also on this incident the Journal of the House of Commons (cited by Masson, IV, 438) for a reference to the Examination of Mr. John Milton, April 2, 1652, and "a note under the hand of Mr. John Milton of the 10th of August, 1650." Whether addressed to Dugard or the Council is uncertain, but probably the former. See our notes on Milton's correspondence, p. 524.

Roger Williams's letter to John Winthrop. Printed in *Publications of the Narragansett Club*, Providence, Rhode Island, VI (1874), 262.

Nieuport's letter to Alexander More. Printed in More's *Fides Publica*, 1654, pp. 19 ff. The translation is from Masson, IV, 632.

Anonymous letter to Alexander More. Bodleian MS. Rawl. A. 16, fol. 455. Printed in *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, 1742, II, 529.

Von Boineburg's letter to Conring. Printed in Johann Daniel Gruber, *Commercii Epistolici Leibnitiani*, Hanover, 1745, pp. 947-948. See also *Studies in Philology*, XXI (1924) 400-1.

Testimony on Milton's Will. The documents are in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Somerset House, London, Deposition Book, 1674, ff. 238-239, 311-313. Printed in Warton's second edition of Milton's poems, 1791, pp. xxvii-xlii. Our text follows Warton in a few instances, where the original documents seemed to be inaccessible when Dr. French verified this material in 1936.

John Aubrey's Minutes. Bodleian MS. Aubrey 8, ff. 63-68. Printed partially in 1813 under the title *Letters Written by Eminent Persons*. See Helen Darbishire, *The Early Lives of*

Milton, 1932, pp. 1-15. Our extracts are from pp. 6, 7, 12, 13, 14 of Darbishire.

Anonymous Life. Bodleian MS. Wood. d. 4. Printed in *English Historical Review*, XVII (1902), 95 ff. The manuscript was in the collection of Anthony à Wood, but in his sketch of Milton in the *Fasti Oxonienses*, 1691, pp. 880 ff., he uses only the portions concerning Lord Rous. Our extracts are from a photostat of the original MS.

Anthony à Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, 1691, is cited from Darbishire's reprint, *Early Lives*, p. 41. His text is curiously lacking in direct quotations of Milton's remarks.

The Life by Edward Phillips. Printed in *Letters of State, Written by Mr. John Milton*, 1694. Our extracts are from the edition of 1694, pp. xiii-xxi, xxv-xxviii, xxxvi-xliv.

The letter from Gill is printed in *A Vindication of King Charles the Martyr*, 1697, second edition. Our extract is from page 51. See also Masson, IV, 252, where the story is unqualifiedly rejected.

Toland's Life of Milton. Printed in *A Complete Collection of the Historical, Political, and Miscellaneous Works of John Milton*, Amsterdam, 1698, I, 5-47 (separately paged). Our extracts are from the 1698 edition, pp. 9, 10, 18, 39, 40, 43, 45, 46.

Dryden's Fables, Ancient and Modern, 1700, preface, sig *A.

A Vindication of King Charles the Martyr, 1697. Our extract is from p. 51. See Masson, IV, 252, where the circumstance is added that Dugard later yielded. The book was reprinted in 1711.

The Monitor, 1713, I, No. 17.

The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood, first edition, 1714. Our extracts are from pp. 132-137, 233-234.

Letter from Jacob Tonson. Original letter in the Pierpont Morgan Library. Printed in *Book Auction Records*, 1903-4, pp. 290 ff., and by Helen Darbishire, *The Manuscript of Milton's Paradise Lost, Book I*, 1931, p. xiv.

Jonathan Richardson, Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost, 1734. Our selected extracts are from the edition of 1734, pp. iv-v, vi, vii, xiii, xiv, xxxvi, xlvii, lxxxv ff., c, cxi ff., cxiv.

Lord Onslow's memorandum. The original Onslow portrait has been lost. We follow a transcript made by Benjamin van der Gucht in November, 1792, as published in *The Portraits, Prints and Writings of John Milton Exhibited at Christ's College, Cambridge*, 1908.

Bishop Newton's Edition of Para-

dise Lost, 1749. Our extracts are from pp. xv, xix, xlviii ff., li, lvi ff.

Thomas Birch's edition of the Works of John Milton, 1753. Our extracts are from I, lxxvi-ii.

Charles Symmons's edition of the Prose Works of John Milton, 1806. Our extract is from VII, 446-447.

Todd's edition of the Poetical Works of John Milton, 1809. Our extract is from I, 120; the authority is a MS. note found in a copy of Toland's *Life of Milton*, communicated to Todd by Mr. F. G. Waldron.

The Certificate accompanying Milton's Writing Case. This document has been long in the Bodleian Library, but we have met with no publication of it, and therefore here give the text in full.

I Richard Lovekin of Namptwich in the County of Chester, do affirm, and will make Oath if need be, that a Tortoise Shell Case containing, a Pen, Pensil, 3 Leaves of Ivory, and a Pair of Dividers; and a Fish Skin Case in which is contained 6 Ivory Leaves, late in my Possession, and now the Property of Joseph Massie, were given me by my Aunt Mrs. Milton Widdow of Poet Milton, sometime before her Death, who informed me that both of the Cases abovementioned belonged to her deceased Husband Mr. Milton, and that he used the raised oval at the Bottom of the Tortoise Shell Case as a Seal, also that he did intend to have had his own Coat of Arms engraved on it: in witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand this first Day of October A.D. 1742.

Richard Lovekin.

Another note, bound with the above and said to have been written by William Milton Bridger, Esq., of Hal-

vaker, Sussex, who died in 1862, reads as follows:

This Box was given to Mr Milton when the Duke of Richmond was sent ambassador to France, he gave it him and Mrs Streeter gave it me April 22 1807

Conversations with Mylius.

The most extensive record of Conversations with Milton is that compiled as part of his diary of his diplomatic mission to England by Hermann Mylius, the Agent from Oldenburg. The material was noticed by Stern, who, in 1879, published extracts in his *Milton* (III, 287 ff.). But a recent examination at the Landesarchiv of Oldenburg revealed that much more was there than Stern had printed. The present transcriptions are made from the original *Diarium* or *Tagebuch*, and include all records of the actual conversations now legible. The great importance of the material would long since have led to publication, had not the handwriting been so difficult. The editors are extremely grateful to Dr. Lübbling who undertook the work, and has read the proofs. No translation has been given, partly because of considerations of space, and partly because, while the sense is clear, it is not easy to set the German-Latin jargon of Mylius into satisfactory English. Because of the

peculiar nature of these extracts, they are given as an Appendix.

For the texts, see above, pp. 484 ff.

In addition to the material collected in the text, there are a good many references to conversations in Milton's own works and the works about him, of which the more important may be briefly referred to here, the references being given in parentheses; in most cases the talk is implied but not described.

In the early period we learn of almost constant conversations: in 1628, with Alexander Gill and discussions with the Fellow for whom Milton wrote a Disputation (*Epistola Familiare*, 3); with the unknown friend, about 1632 (*Correspondence*, 38). And his visits and conversations with Young are not only mentioned in *Ep. Fam.* 4, but according to local tradition at Stowmarket, Milton continued to visit him often between 1628 and 1655 (Masson, I, 204).

In France we read of his courteous reception in 1638 by the English Ambassador Scudamour in Paris, who gave Milton letters of introduction to English merchants along the way, and conducted him to Grotius, who received and entertained him highly and worthily (Masson, I, 752 ff., based on *Defensio Secunda*, VIII

p. 122; and Phillips); and Hayley (*Life*, Dublin, 1797, p. 38) suggests that their talk was more probably of Galileo than of Grotius' own neglected *Adamus Exul*, which the fanciful suppose Milton might have become acquainted with on this visit—and indeed stranger things have happened.

In Italy Milton visited Galileo according to *Areopagitica* (IV, p. 330) and the doubts of this are laughable since we know Milton was a friend of the astronomer's son, and however the admission of strangers to see Galileo may have been officially frowned upon, a silver crown probably changed such frowns as there were to smiles. These friendships are referred to, not only with the younger Galileo, but with many other friends of Dati in our letters 10 and 35. Milton's acquaintance with Manso in Naples is famous (*Defensio Secunda*, VIII, 122), as is that with Holstenius (*Ep. Fam.* 9). And he was not only eagerly received by his friends at Florence but on March 17 and 24, 1639, he read his Latin poems before the Svo-gliati Academy (Masson I, 822) and on October 30, 1638, he dined at the English College in Rome (Stern, I, 333.) And he probably met as well as heard the singing of Leonora Baroni when entertained by Cardinal

Barberini at Rome (Hayley, p. 43).

A memorandum of July 20, 1652, by Thurloe, to send to Mr. Milton the order [of July 11] concerning Dr. Walton, in conjunction with the order itself, indicates Milton's interest in Brian Walton's plan for a polyglot Bible. (See Masson, IV, 446-447.)

During the period of the Commonwealth we know how much he was visited, and there is a tradition that he was allowed a weekly table for diplomats by the authorities. A conversation with visiting dignitaries is recorded in *Defensio Secunda* (VIII, 190 f.). We read of conversations with Cyriack Skinner, Henry Oldenburgh, Lady Ranelagh (in Letters 14, 18, 19, 45), and Dr. Paget must have been a frequent visitor. Milton tells us (V, 64; VII, 6 ff.; IX, 12) that both his own famous *Eikonoklastes* and the replies to Salmasius and More were ordered by the Council, and the *Letter to a Friend concerning the Ruptures of the Commonwealth* was occasioned by a conversation in 1659. Less pleasant are the references to the dispute about Milton's tenancy in Whitehall, given by Masson, IV, 314 f. And the controversy with Dunkin referred to elsewhere in our notes may have been merely a friendly discussion.

According to Dr. W. Binckes, *A*

Sermon Preach'd before . . . Commons, 1705, p. 16, "Judge Milton, a professed Papist, in his Circuit, at *Warwick*, affirm'd to several Gentlemen and Justices that his Brother Milton the famous Author, was of his Religion."

Ned Ward, in his *Secret History of the Calves Head Club*, 1703, quoted by Godwin, *Lives* (of the *Philippines*), p. 279, says Milton founded the Club to observe the 30th of January yearly, in memory of the execution of Charles I. Such a grim custom is hardly to be believed the idea of Milton, but the 17th century was less gentle in such matters than we, and Milton may well have attended a meeting, if such were really held.

Here also should be recorded from Bliss's edition of Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, I (1815), col. 486, an incredible story that "when Mr. Milton buried his wife he had the coffin shut

down with 12 several locks that had 12 several keys, and that he gave the keys to 12 several friends, and desired the coffin might not be open'd till they all met together." Bliss gives as his authority one Kennet, and says the that the story came from Mr. Harvey, son of Dr. Harvey of Petty France, who had it from old Mr. Lounds. Absurd as it seems, this may indeed represent a tradition of some chance remark of Milton which report has twisted. One wonders if there is some connection with the more or less apocryphal story that Milton, to gain time at the Restoration, pretending to be dead, had a mock funeral made for himself, and that the King laughed heartily when he heard of it. Warton (2nd edition of Milton's *Poems etc.*, at p. 358) had this from Mr. Tyers, and it is told also in Cunningham's *History of Great Britain*, I, 14. See Todd, (1801) I, p. ci.

NOTE TO LEGAL DOCUMENTS

The present collection of legal documents includes all the legal papers yet discovered which are wholly or in part to be considered the composition of Milton. Most of them are in the first person, the others are, by reason of content, obviously based, to some extent, on statements made by the

poet himself. Thus leases are omitted, and documents relating to land are included only where something personal is found in them. One or two documents doubtfully fulfilling the requirements are included, lest they be missed. The proportion of hitherto unpublished material in this section

is high, when Milton's fame and activity are considered.

Some five documents here printed are a selection from a body of material which has only very recently come to light. In a forthcoming book by J. Milton French there will be reprinted and discussed several legal actions involving Milton and his father as either plaintiff or defendant; and for detailed description of the circumstances and procedure of those actions the reader must be referred to that book. The documents here selected are only those in which Milton may safely be assumed to have had some active share as composer. Their actual language, of course, is the work of a lawyer; in two cases of his brother Christopher Milton. But to a certain extent both the facts set forth and the language in which they are clothed may be thought of as Miltonic.

In accordance with the usual practice of the present edition, the contractions in the original MSS. have been extended, and the letters i, j, u, v, initial ff, and long s altered to conform to modern usage. Otherwise the printed text reproduces faithfully the form of the MSS.

The editors wish to take this opportunity to thank Professor Leslie Hotson for his generous assistance in placing at the disposal of the editors

many references to legal documents pertaining to Milton and in suggesting other fruitful avenues of search.

At the end of the section are notes on other surviving documents of Milton, not considered sufficiently personal to be included among his Works.

1. *The Warcupp Receipt*

This document, not in Milton's hand, but signed by him, Feb. 16, 1649/50, was in the possession of Mr. Ives in 1861, when Sotheby published it in the *Ramblings*, p. 125. It is now in the Dreer Collection, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, and our text is from a photostat of the original. The name which we print "Coster" has also been read "Foster."

2-5. *Documents Relating to the Powell Lands*

These documents are all preserved in the Public Record Office (S. P. 23/101, pp. 925, 929, 931, and S. P. 23/110, p. 597) and were published by Todd in 1826, (I, 83 ff.). See also Sotheby, p. 113, and Pl. XVI; Masson, IV, 243, 337.

The note at the end of the first document is holographic, and at p. 395, l. 12, "doc" is written above cancelled "am ready toe" by Milton. There is a significant change in Mrs. Powell's

phrasing at p. 397, ll. 30–31, “heretofore . . . occasion” was first written “for a long space upon a small occasion.”

6. *Answer to Pye*

Sir Robert Pye’s bill against Milton was dated February 11, 1646/7. His complaint was that Milton had disturbed him in his possession of the manor of Forest Hill, taken over by him from Richard Powell on an unpaid mortgage. Together with Milton’s answer, dated February 22, it is filed among the Chancery Proceedings in the Public Record Office, London, under the press-mark C2 Charles I/P10/15 (*i.e.*, Chancery Proceedings, second series, reign of Charles I, bundle P 10, number 15). Pye presented a “replication” at an uncertain later date, but surely during the winter of 1647–1648 (C2 Charles I/P98/30). The Court rendered a final decree dismissing the suit on June 16, 1649 (C 33/192, f. 794 [*i.e.*, Chancery Books of Decrees and Orders, volume 192, folio 794]). The principal documents in this suit were first published by J. Milton French in the *London Times Literary Supplement* on December 21, 1935, and March 14, 1936. The variants are:

P. 399. —21 and may] inserted over caret —28 Powell] inserted over caret

—or neglected] inserted over caret P. 400. —8 that] inserted over caret —13 three hundred] followed by words later completely erased and then replaced by flourishes

7, 9, 10. *Ashworth Documents*

Mrs. Elizabeth Ashworth brought action against Milton some time during the winter of 1653–1654, probably early in February. Though her bill has not been found, the substance of it may be reconstructed through Milton’s answer and the various other extant documents in the suit. Her complaint was that by “extending” or seizing the lands in Wheatley (near Forest Hill) formerly in the possession of Richard Powell, Milton had deprived the Ashworths of their rightful opportunity of collecting a debt due them from Powell. Milton’s answer, given in the present text, is, like the other documents in the proceedings, in the Public Record Office, its press mark C 10/44/2. After various further proceedings, depositions, reports, and certificates, the court rendered its final decree on June 5, 1657 (C 33/207, ff. 1250–1251^v), confirming an agreement apparently already reached by the parties to the suit, by which Anne Powell and her son Richard should repay the debt to Mrs. Ashworth, and Milton should with-

draw from Wheatley. No documents in this case have previously been published or referred to in print. The two short records given as our numbers 9 and 10 are from the Decree and Order Books, C33/205, f. 989, and C33/207, f. 221^v. The variants are:

P. 401. —25 most] INSERTED WITH CARET P. 402. —20 said] INSERTED WITH CARET P. 403. —6 over and] INSERTED WITH CARET —14 one] INSERTED WITH CARET —24 one] INSERTED WITH CARET P. 405. —2 then] INSERTED WITH CARET —25 from thence . . . ended] INSERTED WITH CARET —27–28 for the same terme of yeares] INSERTED WITH CARET. SUMS OF MONEY ARE USUALLY FOLLOWED BY SEVERAL FLOURISHES.

8. *Bill Against Lady Cope*

Milton brought action against Lady Elizabeth Cope, widow of Sir John Cope, to recover the unpaid portion of a loan to Sir John Cope made in 1638. Two copies of the bill exist, neither completely legible (C8/120/72 and C7/452/60). Since one is a copy of the other, however, it has been possible to supply from one almost all of the words torn or rubbed out of the other. The present text is thus a composite. The subsequent documents in this suit are very extensive, including

many answers, inventories, orders, and depositions, and continuing to the eve of the Restoration. A final decree, however, has not been found despite careful examination by the editor and by a professional searcher in the Public Record Office. The latest record found in the case is an order of June 11, 1659 (C33/212, f. 792^v), perfunctorily stating that unless Lady Cope and the other defendants show cause to the contrary, the recently taken depositions shall be published—*i.e.*, made available to both sides for consultation in preparation of further proceedings. Whether the case was settled out of court, or whether the Restoration interrupted the normal course of events, we are left in the dark. Though none of the documents in this suit have been published, photostatic or typewritten transcripts of a considerable number of them are in the Harvard College Library.

9–10. [*See above, under 7.*]

11. *Milton's Endorsement on Maundy's Lease*

This note is found, as dictated by Milton, on Thomas Maundy's counterpart of a mortgage deed from Maundy to Milton, January 14, 1657/8, sold at Anderson's, December 6–7, 1920, and now owned by Dr.

Rosenbach. It was published by Hanford in *PMLA*, XXXVIII (1923), 291. It and the letter from Milton to his brother were the only documents in the composition of which Milton may be traced in this collection.

12. *Milton-Powell Bond*

Although the loan of John Milton, Jr., when an undergraduate, in 1627, of £300 to Richard Powell has long been known, the original record of the transaction has only recently been found in the Public Record Office (C 152/61) by J. Milton French, in 1936, and first published with facsimiles and an account of the subsequent actions on it in *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XX (1938), 61-73. The document is of particular interest as bearing one of the latest specimens of Milton's own hand. For though the original transaction took place in 1627, the memorandum by which the loan was cancelled with Milton's signature was not entered on it till 1659. The signature is that of a blind man, very faint and hesitant, but unmistakable. Some of the document has been obliterated by time, but it has been possible to supply the missing portions from other references to the business or from similar documents in the same file. There are no variants.

13. *Conveyance to Cyriack Skinner*

This document, of May 7, 1660, was item 75 in the Sale of Samuel Weller Singer, at Sotheby's, August 3, 1858, and a part of the text was quoted in the auction catalogue. It is not in the hand of Milton, but of an amanuensis; was bought by Richard Monckton Milnes (later Lord Houghton) and discussed by Sotheby (*Ramblings*, 1861, p. 129) and Masson (*Life*, V, 703). It is now first published in full through the courtesy of the present owner, Lord Houghton's son, the Marquess of Crewe, who presented us with a photostat of the whole document. The bond was bought by Milton from George Foxcroft, merchant, of London, on May 13, 1651, his conveyance to Milton being witnessed by Nehemiah Massey and Mathew Davis. It was entered the same day at the office of the excise. Payment of £16 was made twice yearly, one payment being made after Milton sold it to Skinner on June 5, 1660. Milton's Conveyance to Skinner bears the following notes: "Entered 5th May. 1660 James Barnard Dep. Comptrollr," "7th May. 1660 Entred in the Registers Office for the Excise John Howland Reg.," and "Intr. 1 Junii 1657. pro Aud^r per Ri: Sclater." In the body of the text of the conveyance is a single emendation. At the

beginning "I John Milton" is corrected from "I Cyriack Skin" which suggests that Skinner himself wrote the document. Milton's signature is accompanied by a fine impression of his double eagle seal. At p. 420, l. 27, before "make" is a cancelled "p" for intended "pay."

14. *Marriage Allegation*

This document, of February 11, 1662/3, was discovered in the Ecclesiastical Court for the Issue of Marriage Licenses (sometimes called the Faculty Office) by Col. Chester. It seems to have been first published by J. J. Howard, in *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, II (1876), 131. Masson, *Life*, VI, 475, gives a facsimile of the signature which is in Milton's own hand, though he was blind at the time. The text has been verified by the Registrar of the Ecclesiastical Court at Lambeth, A. W. D. Moore.

15. *Milton's Acquittance to Dr. Hamey*

This document, of 1665, is printed from the original MS (Folger MS. 960. 1) in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C., through the courtesy of the reference librarian, Mr. Giles E. Dawson, and the trustees of Amherst College. The docu-

ment is a single small folio leaf, and was bought by the late Mr. Folger in June, 1928, from E. Williams of Hove, Sussex, England, at private sale. As far as is known it has not hitherto been listed, described, or published.

Other documents relating to the same transaction are in the possession of Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, on which see Hanford's article in *PMLA*, XXXVIII (1923), 290 ff., and our notes in this volume, pp. 521, 625.

The heading used by us is a copy of the old endorsement on the document. The body of the MS is in the hand of a scrivener, and the signature, of course, is not autograph. The seal (doubtless the usual double eagle) is no longer legible. Some very slight changes were made by the writer of the document, as follows:

P. 421. —24 tripartite] INSERTED WITH A CARET P. 422. —3 an] AT PRESENT THIS LOOKS RATHER LIKE ANC BUT APPARENTLY THE WORD WAS FIRST ERRO-NEOUSLY WRITTEN AND BUT CORRECTED —5 AND 14 Jeremie] WRITTEN ABOVE CANCELLED Baldwin —15 and] APPARENTLY CORRECTED

16. *Contract for the Publication of "Paradise Lost"*

This celebrated document of April 27, 1667, was mentioned by Bishop Newton in his edition of *Paradise*

Lost, 1754, p. xlvii, but was lost sight of thereafter until Francis Mackie, a tailor, found it among old papers he bought from a member of the family of the publisher, Tonson. Mackie sold it to Septimus Prowett, who planned an edition of *Paradise Lost*. It was item 124 in Southgate's sale of Prowett's books, February 28, 1826. Later owners were Sir Thomas Lawrence, a bookseller named Meigh, Pickering the publisher, and the banker poet, Samuel Rogers, who gave it to the British Museum, where it is now MS Add. 18861, in 1852.

The text was first printed in 1826 in the *Retrospective Review*, XIV, 294, and a facsimile was given in Mitford's edition, 1851. A photographic facsimile, the basis of our text was issued in *Facsimiles of Milton's MSS*, 1908, by the British Museum. See also Sotheby, p. 202, and Masson, VI, 509.

Since the terms are unusual, it is assumed that Milton had something to do with the composition. Two copies were made and signed, the one preserved being that retained by the publisher.

The signature is in the hand of an amanuensis, probably the same person who wrote the Columbia MS of Milton's State Papers. It is accompanied by an impression of Milton's

seal in black wax, probably the best specimen of the seal known. This is reproduced below from a woodcut used by Masson, VI, 511. It confirms the note of Anthony Wood, and a drawing of the arms made by Aubrey (also given, p. 584). Wood tells us that "The arms that *Joh. Milton* did use and seal his letters with, were, *Argent a spread eagle with two heads gules, legg'd and beak'd sable*." It will be recalled that Milton was born in a house in Bread Street called the Spread Eagle. The seal does not show the crest, which Aubrey tells us was "an Arme dexter holding an Eagles head & Neck erased G[u]les]." Another legible impression of the seal is on the Conveyance to Cyriack Skinner.

John Milton



It may be recorded here that although Milton probably owned the little portrait seal by Thomas Simon (now in the National Portrait Gallery, London) and considered having his arms engraved on a box which he

used to seal letters, the spread eagle seal seems to be the only one he used legally. We have no trace of the seal itself in modern times, and it may well have been destroyed at his death.

The variants follow:

P. 423. —5 other] INSERTED WITH CARET —15 to be printed] PRECEDED BY CANCELLED print (?) —17 same] INSERTED WITH CARET OVER CANCELLED the (?) —34 before a Master in Chancery] INSERTED WITH CARET P. 424. —3 behalfe] INSERTED WITH CARET OVER CANCELLED default —8 Seal] MILTON'S TWO-HEADED EAGLE

17. Receipt for Payment on "Paradise Lost" and Related Documents

This document, of April 26, 1669, was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXXV (1815), i, 292; and published in facsimile in the same periodical for July, 1822 (XCII, ii, 13), from the original then owned by Sir Thomas Gery Cullum. See Sotheby, *Ramblings*, p. 137, and Masson, VI, 628. The MS was bequeathed in 1922 to the Library of Christ's College, Cambridge, by the late G. G. Milner-Gibson-Cullum. A forged copy was once owned by Dawson Turner. In the original MS the phrase "to be paid" is inserted with a caret.

So great is the interest that attaches

to everything connected with the publication of *Paradise Lost*, that we include here the final receipt for payment given by the third Mrs. Milton to Symmons and her release to him. The receipt was first published, when in the possession of Sir Thomas Gery Cullum, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Apr. 1815, p. 292. It is now in the Library of Christ's College, Cambridge. Our text follows the facsimile given by Sotheby. See also Masson, VI, 779.

I do hereby acknowledge to have received of Samuel Symmonds Cittizen and Stationer of London, the summ of Eight pounds: which is in full payment for all my right, Title, or Interest, which I have, or ever had in the Coppy of a Poem Intituled *Paradise Lost* in Twelve Bookes in 8vo. By John Milton Gent: my late husband. Wittness my hand this 21st day of December 1680.

Elizabeth Milton

Witness William Yapp
Ann Yapp

Upon departing for Nantwich, Mrs. Milton seems to have given Symmons a more elaborate release, which was like the document published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April 1815, p. 292. Like the foregoing document, it was then owned by Sir Thomas Gery Cullum and is now in the Library of Christ's College. Sotheby does not give a facsimile, and Masson, who discusses the document in the *Life*, VI, 780, gives no text. Our decision to insert the document came too late to verify our text from the original,

and the text is that of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1822, the first complete version.

Know all men, by these presents, that I Elizabeth Milton of London, widow, late wife of John Milton of London, Gent. deceased, have remised, released, and for ever quitted, and by these presents doe remise, release, and for ever quitted clayme, unto Samuel Symonds of London, Printer, his heires, executors, and administrators, all and all manner of Act'on and Act'ons, Cause and Causes of Act'on, Suites, Bills, Bonds, Writings, obligatorie Debts, Dues, Duties, Accompts, Sum'e and Sum'es of Money, Judgments, Executions, Extents, Quarrells, either in Law or Equity, Controversies and Remands; and all and every other matter, cause, and thing whatsoever, which against the said Samuel Symonds I ever had, and which I, my heires, executors, or administrators, shall or may have, clayme, presente, challenge or remand for or by reason or meanes of any matter, cause, or thing whatsoever, from the beginning of the world unto the date of these presents. In witness whereof, I have hereunto sett my hand and seale the twenty ninth day of April, in the thirty third year of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles, by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, Ffrance, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Annoq. D'ni 1681.

Elizabeth Milton.

Sealed and delivered in the pr'sents of
Jos. Leigh, Wm. Wilkins.

18. *Milton's Will*

Milton's nuncupative will was not admitted to probate. But it was presented by his widow together with testimony as to its authenticity, the documents being still preserved (though a few of them were not easily accessible in 1936) at Somerset House. It is clear that we have Milton's words accurately enough, although the circumstances were considered not sufficient to validate a nuncupative

will of this kind. See Masson, VI, 735 ff.

The version in the text is that written down from memory by Milton's brother, Christopher, on July 20, 1674. A later version, made by Christopher on Dec. 5, 1674, differed very slightly from this, and is probably less exact. The variants are:

P. 424. —18 having] but I have —19 but] and —21 disposall] the disposall

All the documents, including Christopher Milton's testimony of December 5, 1674, and that of the maid, Mary Fisher, and her sister, Elizabeth, ten days later, were published in Warton's second edition of *Milton's Poems*, 1791, pp. xxvii–xlii. The record of remarks of Milton there preserved is reprinted in the section of *Apothegms and Conversations* in this volume of the *Columbia Milton*.

Lost Legal Documents

Naturally, so busy a man as Milton must have signed many more legal documents than are now preserved. In two cases surviving documents, not signed by Milton, indicate the nature of lost documents he did sign, in a way that makes it seem best to include texts here.

19. *Indenture between Milton and his
father, and Anthony and Johane
Rudd, May 25, 1627*

The enrollment of this indenture between Milton and his father on the one part and Anthony Rudd and his wife on the other, concerning property in the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, London, is preserved in the Close Rolls of the Public Record Office (C54/2715/20). A transcript of the entry and a description of this and related transactions of Milton and his father were published by David H. Stevens, in his *Milton Papers*, Chicago, 1927, with a facsimile of the enrollment. Our text follows the facsimile, used by permission. It should be added that since Milton's father was a scrivener, it is not probable that the poet had anything to do with the composition himself.

This Indenture made the five and twentieth day of May in the yeare of our lord god one thousand six hundred twenty and seven And in the Third yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne lord Charles by the grace of god king of England Scotland France and Ireland defender of the faith &c Betweene Anthony Rudd Citizen and Pewterer of London and Johane his wife of thone parte And John Milton thelder Citizen and Scrivener of London and John Milton the younger of the Universitie of Cambridge sonne of the said John Milton thelder of thother part witnesseth that the said Anthony Rudd and Johane his wife aswell for and in consideration of the somme of Twoe hundred and fiftie poundes of Lawfull money of England to them at or before thensealing and delivery hereof by the said John Milton thelder and John Milton the younger or one of them well and truely paid whereof they the said Anthony Rudd and Johane his wife

doe by theis presentes acknowledge the receipt As also for divers other good causes and considerations them the said Anthony and Johane thereunto moving have given granted bargained sold enfeofed and confirmed And by theis presentes doe fully cleerly and absolutely give grant bargain sell enfeofe and confirme unto them the said John Milton thelder and John Milton the younger their heires and assigns forever All that mesuage or tenemente with thappurtenances scituate in the parish of St Martins in the feildes in the County of Middlesex betweene the now or Late dwelling house of the right honourable the Lady Adelyn Nevill on the east part and the mesuage or tenemente now or late in the occupation of John Reynoldes on the west the Covennte garden on the north and the Kinges high way on the south which said bargained mesuage or tenemente and premisses or the ground whereupon the same mesuage or tenemente and premisses now standeth was heretofore in the tenure or occupation of Peter Brickston or his assigns and since in the tenure or occupation of John Johnson Coachmaker or his assigns and now or late in the tenure or occupation of Mathew Lyster Doctor of Physick or of his assigns or undertenantes Together with all houses edifices buildinges shopps cellors sollers chambers romes lightes yards gardens easements profittes comodities and appurtenances whatsoever to the said mesuage or tenemente hereby bargained and sold belonging or in any wise apperteyning or with the same demised used or occupied as part or parcell thereof And the reversion and reversiones remainder and remainders and all the rent issues and profittes of all and singuler the before bargained premisses and of every part and parcell thereof and all thestate right title interest inheritance clayme and demaund of them the said Anthony Rudd and Johane his wife and either of them in and to the said mesuage tenemente and premisses and of in and to every part and parcell thereof with thappurtenances And all deedes evidences chartres and wringles concerning the said mesuage and premisses or any parte thereof To have and to hold the said mesuage tenemente houses edifices buildinges shopps cellors sollers yards gardens rentes issues profittes comodities and all other the premisses before by theis presentes bargained and sold or meant or mentioned to be hereby bargained and sold and every parte and parcell thereof with thappurtenances unto the said John Milton thelder and John Milton the younger their heires and assigns to thonly use and behoofe of them the said John Milton thelder and John Milton the younger their heires and assigns forever In witness whereof the said parties to theis present Indentures interchange-

ably have sett their handes and seales the day and yeare first above written./

Et Memorandum quod quartodecimo die Junii anno superscripto prefati Anthonius & Johanna Rudd venerunt coram dicto domino Rege in Cancellaria sua & recognoverunt Indenturam predictam ac omnia & singula in eadem contenta & specificata in forma supradicta./ Indentatam vicesimo tertio die Junii Anno prædicto./

20. Indenture to Richard Hayley, July 27, 1674

The indenture has never been discovered but must have at one time accompanied the bond for £40 from Hayley to Milton, of that date, now in the New York Public Library. The document, with other papers concerning the Milton family, was sold from the collection of John Anderdon in 1833 and was owned in 1857 by John Fitchett Marsh, who then published it in the first volume of *Chetham Miscellanies* with the title *Papers connected with the Affairs of Milton*. See that volume and Sotheby, p. 122. Our text is from a photostat of the original document.

Noverint universi per præsentem me Richardum Hayley de Idlestreete alias Ilstreye in Comitatu Hertfordiæ Yeoman teneri et firmiter obligari Johanni Milton de London Armigero in Quadringentis libris legalis monetæ Angliæ solvendis eidem Johanni Milton aut suo certo Attornato Executoribus vel Administratoribus suis Ad quam quidem Solutionem bene et fideliter faciendam Obligo me heredes Executors et Administratores meos firmiter per presentes Sigillo meo Sigillatas. Datas Vicesimo Septimo die Julii Anno Domini 1674 Annoque Regni Domini nostri Caroli secundi Dei gratia Angliæ Scotiæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regis fidei Defensoris & Vicesimo Sexto./

The Condition of th'above written Obligation is such That if th'above bounden Richard Hayley his heires Executors Administrators and Assignes and every of them doe and shall well and truly pay observe performe fulfill and keepe all and every the payments Covenants Graunts Articles Clauses Provisoos Conditions and Agreements which on his and their parts and behalves are and ought to be paid observed performed fulfilled done and kept mentioned specified and comprized in one paire of Indentures bearing the date above written Expressed to be made betweene the said Richard Hayley of th'one part And th'above named John Milton of th'other part And that in and by all things according to the purport true intent and meaning of the same Indentures. Then th'above written Obligation to be voyd or else it shall stand in full force and vertue./

Sealed and delivered in the presence of

Hen: Bosworth	{	Richard Haley [seal]
Joseph Beane		Servants to George
Jobe Bosworth		Peiyer Scrivener
Daniel Alford		

[Endorsed:] Mr. Richard Hayley his Bond to performe Covenants 1674

Other Documents Signed by Milton

In the text we have included all the known documents that can be considered even by the most liberal interpretation of the phrase as containing original composition of Milton or direct statement by him personally or through his attorneys. But there exist other documents which Milton signed as witness, recipient of money, or for some other reason. The list has been made as complete as possible for documents now known, and since the signature of Milton is an object of great value, specimens in public and private hands are likely to be recorded soon after they come to the attention

of scholars. In unsearched archives others may exist, however, or even in private collections whose owners are pleased to keep their treasures for themselves. We have not attempted, however, to list documents that merely mention Milton, except in one or two cases above, where they suggest the nature of documents Milton must have signed. See also the article on *The Autographs of John Milton*, in *ELH* for December, 1937.

20. *Marriage covenant of Edward Phillips and Anne Milton, November 27, 1623*

In addition to the signatures of the two principal parties, of Milton's father, and of various servants and apprentices, this document, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, contains the poet Milton's earliest known extant signature, which appears as "John Milton Junior." There is a facsimile in A. M. Broadley, *Chats on Autographs*, New York, 1910, p. 203, and a full description by J. H. Sanford in the *Review of English Studies*, IX (1933), 58-60.

21 and 22. *Signatures in the Graduation Book of Christ's College, Cambridge*

On receiving the degree of B.A., in January 1628/9, and that of M.A.,

in July 1632, Milton signed his name "Joannes Milton." See Sotheby's *Ramblings*, pp. 124-25, and the facsimiles on Pl. XVII.

23. *Will of William Blackborow*
Dated April 11, 1645, and proved
June 5, 1646.

This will, which is in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury at Somerset House, London (82 Twisse), is signed by three witnesses, one of whom is "John Milton." Though this might be the poet's father, the latter's feebleness at this date and Milton's known intimacy with the Blackborow family, whose house was the scene of his dramatic reconciliation with his wife (see above, p. 377), make it far more likely that the poet was the signer. The will is described in the *Athenaeum*, 1880, Part I, p. 566, and by William McMurray, *The Records of Two City Parishes* (1925), p. 213.

24. *Will of Richard Powell*
Dated December 30, 1646, and proved
March 26, 1647 (by Anne Powell),
and May 10, 1662 (by Richard
Powell, Jr.).

Signed by three witnesses, one of whom is "John Milton" (in this case undoubtedly the poet), this will is in Somerset House, London (52 Fines). See Masson, III, 635-37.

25. *Oath of office as Latin Secretary,
February 23, 1649/50*

In the Order Books of the Council of State in the Public Record Office (S. P. 25/64, p. 30) appears the following memorandum, which is given in Masson, IV, 224:

Memorandum That Mr. John Milton Secretarie for the forreigne languages Mr. Edward Dendie Serjeant at Armes and Mr. Gualter Frost the younger assistant to the Secretary did this day take the Engagement following, I beeing nominated by this Councell to be . . . for the yeare to come doe promise in the sight of God, That through his grace I will be faithfull in the performance of the trust committed unto mee And not reveale or disclose any thing in whole or in part directly or indirectly That shall be debated or resolved upon in the Councell, And Ordered to bee kept secrett by the said Councell without the Command direction or allowance of the Parliament or Councell.

Milton undoubtedly took similar oaths at regular intervals throughout his period of service, though this is the only published record of his doing so. But in the *Journals of the House of Commons* there are occasional mentions of such requirements, as for February 21, 1650/1 (VI, 537), where the form of oath "to be administred to such as the Council shall employ under them" is given.

26. *Receipt for salary, dated
February 13, 1654/5*

A warrant for salaries to be paid to numerous officers of the government, dated January 1, 1654/5, with their

signed receipts of the later date, is in the British Museum, MS. Stowe 142, ff. 60, 61. There are facsimiles in Sotheby, *Ramblings*, 1861, Plate XVII; in The British Museum *Guide to the Exhibited Manuscripts*, Part I (1912), No. 80; and elsewhere. The signature, probably by an amanuensis, reads "John Milton." This is sometimes called the Ashburnham document.

27, etc. *Mortgage deed between
Milton and Thomas Maundy*

Dated January 14, 1657/8, dealing with a loan of £500 by Milton to Maundy. There are several papers in this transaction, one of which is signed "John Milton." The others, being Maundy's counterpart and receipt, are not signed by him. The signature is probably in the hand of Milton's amanuensis, Jeremie Picard. A full description of these documents, now in the possession of the Rosenbach Company in New York, is given by J. H. Hanford in *PMLA*, XXXVIII (1923), 290 ff.

28. *A deed from John Woodman
and others*

Dated January 23, 1657/8[?], conveying the meadowland called "Es-kells" in Reigate, Surrey. Among the signatures of several witnesses is that of John Milton, who, however, did

not attest to the entry on the land. The signature is that of a blind man, written on a decided upward slant, but not otherwise unlike those noted above. The document is now in the collection of Roger W. Barrett, of Kenilworth, Illinois, to whom and to his father, Oliver W. Barrett, we are indebted for information about this document, not hitherto known in the literature on Milton.

29. *Assignment of the Maundy-Milton lands*

To Jeremy Hamey, June 7, 1665. There are two papers of this date, both signed by "John Milton" in the hand of Picard, in the possession of the Rosenbach Company.

30-32. *Bequests to Milton*

Here, for the sake of completeness, it may be recorded that at least three wills survive in which Milton is mentioned:

The first is that of John Jeffrey,

dated July, 1657, and proved September 21, 1657, which includes "Item I give to . . . John and Christopher Milton . . . each of them twenty shillings to buy each of them a Ring." P. C. C. 349 Ruthen; see *Athenæum*, 1880, Pt. I, p. 536.

The second is that of John Bradshaw, March 22, 1653, proved December 16, 1659, where in a codicil of September 10, 1655, is the bequest "To Mr. Marchamont Nedham Tenne Pounds, And To Mr. John Milton Tenne Poundes . . . If they bee living att the tyme of my decease." P. C. C. 549 Pell; see Masson V, 630.

The third is that of Sir Peter Wentworth, December 23, 1673, which includes the item "And alsoe I give to my worthy and verie learned Friend Mr. John Milton (who writt against Salmatius) one hundred pounds of like money." Wentworth survived Milton and the will was not proved until February 24, 1675/6. P. C. C. 26 Bence. See *N&Q*, March 3, 1877, and Masson, VI, 719.

COLLABORATIONS

Responsio of John Phillips, 1652

In discussing his uncle's life in the *Letters of State*, 1694, Edward Phillips wrote that instead of answering the anonymous *Apologia contra Johannis*

Polypragmatici, alias Miltoni Angli, Defensionem, which appeared at Antwerp in 1651, and was written by John Rowlands but commonly and absurdly attributed to Bishop Bram-

hall, "our Author [Milton] not thinking it worth his own undertaking, to the disturbing the progress of whatever more chosen work he had then in hands, committed this task to the youngest of his Nephews, but with such exact Emendations before it went to the Press, that it might have very well passed for his, but that he was willing the person that took the pains to prepare it for his Examination and Polishment, should have the Name and Credit of being the Author; so that it came forth under this Title etc."

The copy of one issue in the British Museum has an old annotation after the name of Phillips, "Miltonj Amanaensis," Bramhall wrote his son he thought it Milton's own work, and the conversations and letters with Mylius show how deeply Milton was interested in the matter. Masson remarks (IV, 473) that he thinks the matter of the book was Phillips's own, and it has indeed a certain juvenile enthusiasm in abuse that confirms this notion. Nevertheless, we have found the work collected by Toland, Birch, and most of the other editors, and have concluded it is necessary to include it, but we have (with some regret) concluded that it is not necessary to increase the bulk of our volume by adding a translation.

There are two different editions of the book, with different line division on the title page. One edition is a 16mo of 258 pages in very large type, (the British Museum copy bears the pressmark E. 1385) which is probably the first issue. We have reprinted this without change save that we have incorporated the corrections of the errata leaf, which reads as follows:

Errata Typographi sic corriguntur.

Pag. l. 4. ecce sine comma. p. 21. l. post favebant periodus. p. 48. l. 4. Claudii pro Neronis. p. 61. l. penult post invictæ insere illæ. p. 62. l. 3. leg. erant. p. 79. l. 10. leg. verba. p. 84. l. 2. mucosæ. p. 92. l. 4. leg. Christianos, p. 100. l. 7. leg. tuos. p. 112. l. ult. leg. publicâ. p. 113. leg. impediri. p. 117. post deterruerit comma solum. p. 169. l. 10. post habuerit ? p. 173. l. 2. post sacra insere quæ. l. 10. quid ita pro quidni. p. 193. Vespasianus. p. 202. pro At leg. An. p. 241. l. 6. leg. populus. 242. l. 11. leg. vobis. p. 255. l. 7. dele ego. l. 9. dele comma. p. 248. l. 10. barbarismis.

Variants are however given from the other issue (British Museum, 292. a.54) which is a 12mo of 112 pages. In this instance, since the work is not altogether Milton's, we have attempted to print what is practically a facsimile, keeping the u and v, i

and j, and even the superscript nasals of the original, using as printer's copy an original in rather battered shape which happened to be in our hands. The variants follow:

p. 427. Column i —24 palum] paulum p. 428. —i, 3 comiti] comisi —ii, 11 favebant] favebant periodus —25 Anonymo] Anonymo —35 conturbatis] contubatis p. 430. —i, 19 dicere] dicere —ii, 15 ab] ac —26 pulpitam] pulpitem p. 433. —i, 12 aïs] ait p. 435. —i, 6 *veræ*] *veæ* —16 oblatrat] oblatat p. 436. —i, 16 correptum] correptum p. 437. —i, 18 *Relionis*] *Religionis* p. 438. —i, 20 absque] asque —ii, 6 ineptè] ienptè p. 439. —i, 33 cæcus] cœcus p. 440. —i, 1 turpissimi] OMITTED —i, 20 disputat] dispucat p. 441. —i, 3 ea] àa —4 Cur] solum. Cur —9 Theocratian] Theocratiam —12-13 Atheocratian] Atheocratiam —ii, 10 *pedem*] *redem* p. 442. —i, 1 cras]

eras p. 444. —i, 30 à leatorem] aleatorem —ii, 7 *restituemur*] *restituamur* —10-11 *deificentur*] *deificentur* —12 *defessi*] *decessi* —29 Conjlce] Conjlce —30-31 *populum*] *copulum* p. 445. —i, 21 *facinorosorum*] *facinorosorum* —22 erat] etat —ii, 24-25 optaret] optares p. 446. —i, 26-27 cæcutire] cœcutire p. 447. —ii, 26 cælitus] cœlitus —30 habuerint] habuerit p. 449. —i, 2 evecum] evectus —24 quod] quo —ii, 30 succissio] successio p. 450. —ii, 33 Vespasianus] Vespasianus p. 451. —ii, 6 *Sed*] *Red* —14 struerit] stuerit p. 452. —ii, 4 *παμβασιλείαν*] *παμβασιλείας* p. 453. —i, 6 *ἀδίου*] *ἀδίου* —13 porcos] procos —27 ne] ut —35 nihili] nihil p. 454. —i, 29 tyrannica] tyrunica —ii, 18 subdititia] sudititia p. 455. —i, 18 reliquam] reliquum —ii, 5 absoleta] obsoleta p. 457. —i, 4 omnium quæ] omniumque p. 458. —i, 7 *rimari*] *imari* —17 *interpretarem*] *interpretarer*

COLLABORATIONS AND SUPPOSED COLLABORATIONS

Edward Phillips's Theatrum Poetarum

This work, published by Phillips in 1675, is a brief description of the poets of all countries and ages, arranged alphabetically according to the first names of the poets. In this

book various critics and Miltonic scholars have sought traces of the hand or rather of the voice of Milton. Warton (*History of English Poetry*, 1781, III, 440 particularly) and Todd following him (*The Poetical Works of John Milton*, I [1801], cxxix)

thought the articles on Marlowe and Shakespeare Miltonic. To these Masson (vi, 764-765) generously added Euripides, Ben Jonson, Drummond, Waller, Cowley, and Dryden, and some unspecified phrases in the preface. Stern (*Milton*, IV, 181) found Miltonic overtones in Jonson and Dryden, and further suggested Jacopo Gaddi, Hugo Grotius, and Corneille. The present editors confess that these attributions seem to them highly tenuous, except perhaps in the cases of Shakespeare and Dryden, but out of respect to our eminent predecessors, we include the texts of the four that have received more than one vote.

Mercurius Politicus

It has always been supposed that Milton had a hand in this periodical. Masson indeed thought he could recognize the firm hand of Milton in several places. But as was shown in *Studies in Philology*, XXXIII (1936), 236 ff., some of those very passages are from Marchamont Needham's *Case of the Commonwealth*, 1650. Nevertheless it appears Milton may have occasionally had a hand in the paper, and the passage given in the text, which fits ill with any known writings of Needham, sounds as if it may be a slip of Milton's own. It occurs in the 91st issue, dated Feb. 26-

March 4, 1651/2. Besides, the celebrated epigram on Morus and Bontia first seems to have appeared in *Mercurius Politicus*, no. 121, Sept. 23-30, 1652, and many have long suspected that Milton wrote that himself. See the Conspectus of Verse, p. 606.

Muddiman, in *A History of English Journalism*, by "J. B. Williams," 1908, p. 134, suggested that Milton edited the paper from the end of 1650 until the beginning of March, 1652. But he did not know of the material in Needham's book.

Smectymnuus

It has always been supposed that Milton assisted the authors of the pamphlets signed Smectymnuus about 1640 and 1641. But it is quite impossible in the present state of our knowledge to assign any particular passages to him. Masson (II, 238, 260) thought that the long "Postscript" to *An Answer to a Booke Entitled An Humble Remonstrance . . .* 1641 was virtually acknowledged by Milton in *Animadversions* (this edition, III, 173-174), and W. T. Hale in his edition of *Of Reformation* (Yale Studies in English, LIV, New Haven, 1916, liii-liv) accepted the view that Milton at least "compiled the examples from English History enumerated in

the Postscript". This material amounts to about twenty pages. Recently, however, G. W. Whiting, in *MLR*, XXX (1935), 506 ff., has shown that this is highly doubtful. The Postscript refers to Martin Bucer's *De Regno Christi*, a book which Milton did not know till 1644 according to a passage in his *Judgement of Martin Bucer* (this edition, IV, 13) and the passage cited by Masson is equivocal. Verbal similarities noted seem to be due to common sources. It is not impossible that Milton helped to collect the material, but even that is by no means certain.

Entry in the Order Book

A brief note in the Scroll Order Book of Council, rightly identified as in Milton's hand by Masson (IV, 225) is probably in a sense a collaboration. We have collected it, however, in this edition at XIII, 507, among the State Papers.

Drummond

In this connection we may mention that Masson (V, 265), in discussing Phillips's edition of Drummond's Poems in 1656, said that it was "not difficult to suppose that phrases about Drummond from Milton's own mouth were worked by Phillips into his prose preface" to the poems.

Sabaudiensis Narratio

Hamilton [see *Milton Papers* (Camden Society, 1859), p. 24] thought that a volume with the title *Sabaudiensis in Reformatam Religionem Persecutionis brevis Narratio; Ex scriptis Potentissimo Principi Olivero, Republicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, Protectori, Nuper communicatis desumpta, et In methodum digesta*. Londini: Typis Tho: Newcomb, Impensis Authoris. MDCLV and dedicated to the Protector, "if not entirely Milton's composition, probably contains some portion of his writing." It bears the initials B.M. which Hamilton thought might stand for Bradshaw and Milton. But we hear nothing of it from Phillips, and the presence of the initials seems to us strongly against Milton having had any major part in it. It is for that reason not thought worthy of being added to the Milton Corpus, though it must be noticed here among the supposed collaborations and contributions to the works of others. A copy is in the Public Record Office and another in the Thomason Collection in the British Museum.

Lawrence

The following rather fanciful passage from Todd's *Life* (1801, I, p. cxxxiii) must be given for completeness. "Of literary assistance, afforded

by Milton to literary friends, we have no anecdotes. I conjecture, however, that the younger Lawrence, to whom he has addressed an excellent Sonnet, had at least profited by his discourse; for Lawrence has given to the world a treatise on a subject, of which Milton was particularly fond: 'Of our Communion and Warre with Angels. Printed in 1646.' The Sonnet records their friendly visits. Lawrence lived in the neighbourhood of Horton."

Anthologies

Milton was not a favorite with anthologists of his own day. There are, however, numerous extracts from his poems in Joshua Poole's *English Parnassus*, 1657.

Borrowings from Milton

In addition to Milton's apparently considerable collaboration in the *Responsio* of John Phillips, which we have reprinted, it is stated by Wood that two publications of Edward Phillips, the *Enchiridion Linguae Latinae*, 1684, and the *Speculum Linguae Latinae* of the same year were in large part founded on the MS. collections of his uncle for the Latin Dictionary. See also Todd, 1809, I, 133.

The use of Milton's unfinished notes for a Latin Dictionary by Dr.

Littleton is referred to by us at page 543 of this volume.

In February, 1663/4, Thomas Brewster, Simon Dover, and Nathan Brooks were convicted of publishing the dying speeches of the Regicides and other seditious works. In the *British Chronologist*, 1775 (I, 260), Masson found the statement, "One of the libels was written by Milton to justify the murder of King Charles, and to maintain the lawfulness of subjects taking up arms against their sovereign." A little thought will convince the reader that this does not fit in well with what we know of any publication of Milton in 1663, but it is more plausibly suggested by some scholars that a fourth printer (tried with Brewster, Dover, and Brooks), a certain John Twynn, was concerned. One of the troublesome books, for printing which Twynn was executed on Feb. 20, 1663/4, was called

A Treatise of the Execution of Justice; wherein it is clearly proved that the Execution of Judgment and Justice is as well the People's as the Magistrate's Duty, and, if the Magistrates prevent Judgment, the People are bound by the Law of God to execute Judgment without them and upon them.

This title suggests familiarity with Milton's *Tenure of Kings and Magis-*

trates, and probably led to the statement in the *British Chronologist*. But J. B. Muddiman, in *A History of English Journalism*, 1908, after examining the excessively rare original pamphlet in the Public Record Office (S. P. Dom. Charles II, Vol. 88, No. 76), says it owes little to Milton, but advocates the assassination of the whole Royal Family in retaliation for the execution of the Regicides. Muddiman wrote under the name of J. B. Williams.

In Muddiman's work (just referred to) it is also pointed out that Gilbert Mabbott's letter requesting his discharge from the office of censor, published in *The Kingdomes Faithfull and Impartiall Scout*, No. 16, May 25-June 1, 1649, p. 143, and reproduced by Muddiman in his *History*, is based on *Areopagitica*. This Mabbott was probably a friend of Milton's.

Charles Blount's tract *A just vindication of Learning and the Liberty of the Press* is said to be in part conveyed with little or no acknowledgment from *Areopagitica*. See Horwood's edition of the *Commonplace Book*, Publications of the Camden Society, 1876, p. xiv.

Miltonic Indices

Milton wrote a fairly elaborate index to the *Commonplace Book*, given

at page 220 of this volume; a brief one to the Index Legalis, given at page 226; and had compiled for the Columbia MS. an index to his State Papers, given in Volume XIII at page 508. In his copy of Pindar now at Harvard, a good many MS. additions are made in his own hand to the printed index, but none of these entries include enough that is original to warrant our including them in the necessarily selective text of the Marginalia, but they deserve mention here. In addition to these indices known from MSS., two of Milton's printed volumes have indices in which Milton pretty surely had a hand.

Index to "Pro Populo," 1651

The index is found in editions 3, 6, 10, and 13 (Madan's bibliography) of the *Defensio*. Our text is that of the copy of no. 3 in the Columbia University Library, with the page numbers adjusted to Volume VII of this present edition. The text is reproduced exactly from the original version except for the usual adjustment of i, j, v, u, and s to modern usage and the extension of superscript nasal contractions. Three corrections of typographical errors or obvious slips of the pen have been made: "verbotenens" to "verbotenus" (*s.v.* "Carolus"), "Romanus" to "Romanis"

(*s.v.* "Domitianus"), and "homunculus" to "homunculus" (*s.v.* "Salmasius").

The language of the index often follows closely that of the text, but in many places it departs from it so far as to become a genuinely independent Miltonic composition. Sometimes the alteration is merely an adaptation in case or person, as "aïs" to "aït," or "hominem" to "homo." Again, it may be the substitution of a synonymous word; thus "*Cambyses, cum sororem in matrimonio habere cuperet*" in the text becomes "*Cambyses sororem in matrimonio poscit*" in the index. Occasionally a summarizing word or phrase is used to gather up the contents of a whole section, as "*Modus creandi Regem*," to which the text has no corresponding single phrase.

Index to "History of Britain," 1670

The first (and succeeding early separate) editions of the *History of Britain* contain an analytical index which bears the running head "The Table." This was not included in Vol. X, as it has been the practice of recent editors collecting the work to omit it. But the language is carefully harmonized, and in many cases differs from that in the actual text. And the care with which Milton himself entered items in the tables of his *Com-*

monplace Book; prepared an elaborate series of large letters for the Legal Index (which contained only seven entries when he abandoned it); his careful additions in his own hand to the index of his volume of Pindar; and his known zeal in collecting passages from the best Latin authors for his proposed dictionary—all argue, as do the characteristic entries that are not proper names (like Flattery and Virtue) that the work must have been supervised by Milton himself. Some of the work may indeed have been done by some pupil or other amanuensis, but Milton must be regarded as a part author at least. We have therefore followed the example of Toland, and collect the work separately. Birch incorporated it in his general index. Some of the synopses have some relation to the Plans for Poems from British History, and the work has a certain literary interest of its own. If not wholly the work of Milton, we may assume with some confidence that Edward Phillips may have helped in compiling it.

In the original edition of 1670, proper names and figures are printed in Roman type, the rest in Italic. This custom is not followed in the reprint. Three additions or corrections have been made editorially in brackets, and the page references have been changed

to agree with the pagination of the tenth volume of the Columbia edition.

But no effort has been made to correct the many inaccuracies or omissions.

PROSE WORKS ERRONEOUSLY ASCRIBED TO MILTON

In addition to the briefer pieces ascribed to Milton a good many pamphlets have been at various times ascribed to Milton on grounds of subject, style, the initials J. M., and even tradition. None of these are ascribed to him in the list of his uncle's writings prefixed by Phillips to his translation of the *State Letters* by Edward Phillips in 1694. And such omission is the strongest kind of presumptive evidence against considering any published work of any considerable size the work of John Milton. For the poet was highly self-conscious of his own importance both as poet and statesman and apparently anxious for his works to be preserved by "the art preservative of arts" and there is no doubt that Phillips enjoyed his confidence, and published his own list at a time when prejudice no longer made any concealment necessary. It will be observed that the material assembled in this edition which is not noted by Phillips consists only of official documents, brief things (chiefly from MSS) and works like the *Marginalia*, letters, and *Common-*

place Book, which were not intended by Milton for the Press.

Nothing in the following list is with any likelihood to be thought of as Milton's work, and yet it must be listed in a complete edition, lest we be supposed to be unacquainted with it. In our compilation of this list we have been greatly assisted by the titles given by Wynne E Baxter in his *Catalogue of Exhibits, Milton Tercentenary, 1908*, issued by the Stoke Newington Public Library, at pages 45-47. To this we have added a few titles from other sources, and after each is given any information such as some reason which seems to have led to the ascription, the author if known or plausibly suggested in such works as Halkett and Laing. We believe that a person searching the thousands of booksellers' catalogues of the last two centuries might add a few titles to this list. But Baxter's interest in Pseudo-Miltoniana was apparently enthusiastic, and he probably knew a very large proportion of the works ascribed to Milton even by the most irresponsible

writers, though it must be recalled that almost no work signed J. M. printed between 1625 and 1680 but has found at some time some advocate who wished he might think it Milton's! And such advocates may at times have printed their thoughts in very obscure places.

In this section we have also listed a few miscellaneous items which are to be roughly described as the results of errors of the learned of one kind or another. Doubtful poems and letters, etc., are dealt with in their proper places elsewhere in this volume, pages 535, 585, and 612. A list of works of Sir John Melton, sometimes confused with Milton's father, concludes the present section.

This is perhaps a proper place to apologize for the lack of fuller bibliographical details concerning these books. But it having long since been decided to leave the Bibliography of Milton for some other company of scholars than the editors of the *Columbia Milton*, we concluded not to attempt it for the descriptions either of books assigned to him or books from his library.

Among the latter a good many are of course inaccessible, and though in many cases the details could be filled in from bibliographies already com-

pared, anyone with even a slight acquaintance with the publications of the 16th and 17th centuries knows into what pitfalls one may be led by that method. The titles given are, we think, enough to identify the works meant except in one or two cases where they come to us in so imperfect a shape that we can merely pass on the fragments of information which we have. After all, the present section probably deals with nothing that Milton wrote, save no. 26, which is at best a mere reprint of part of a known work. Our item no. 1 is surely not Milton's work, though it has some kind of connection with him. The only other items which are accompanied by evidence which may demand more than a passing glance from a scientific bibliographer of Milton are nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 21 and the weight of evidence is overwhelmingly against them.

It is true, Halkett and Laing assign some of these books to Milton. But it is their custom to include any attributions they have met with, and their ascriptions, whether to Milton or to others, are not meant as authoritative.

1. *The Plot Discovered*, 1641. The copy of this volume in the Library of the General Theological Semi-

- nary, New York, bears on the title page in an old hand the note "J. . . . Milton Gent' " but in such a way that one is not sure if it is a mark of ownership, an attribution of authorship, or identification of Milton as the person addressed in the tract which takes the form of a letter. See our notes, in this volume, pages 533 and 580.
2. *A discourse shewing in what state the Three Kingdoms are in this present*. July, 1641.
 3. *Newes from Hell, Rome and the Inns of Court*. by J. M., Jan., 1641/2. [Stevens 2650, H. & L. 1738.]
 4. *A short view of the Prælatial Church of England*, 1641. [Assigned by H. & L. to John Barnard; by the Thomason Catalogue to Richard Bernard.]
 5. *Observations upon some of his Majesty's late answers*, 1642, 4to. [One edition of 32 pp., another of 47 pp. are known. H. & L. assign it to Henry Parker.]
 6. *A Reply to the Answer. . . .* by J. M., 1642. [This is a part of the same controversy as the last, and is noticed by Todd, 1801, I, p. cxxxii, who however immediately rejects it because of a passage in praise of monarchy. This we, too, regard as decisive evidence against the attribution to Milton. But H. & L., having apparently met with no other ascription, record that to Milton. The Thomason Catalogue attributes it to Sir John Spelman.]
 7. *A Treatise of Monarchy*, 1643. [Now attributed to Philip Hunton.]
 8. *Novæ Solymæ libri sex*, 1648. [This long prose romance was translated and issued by Walter Begley in 1902, with an ascription, on largely romantic grounds, to Milton. Professor Saintsbury once told us he thought little of this, and most scholars have agreed with him. The book is ascribed to Samuel Gott.]
 9. *The Archbishop of Canterbury's Dreame; in which the apparition of Cardinall Wolsey did present himselfe. . . .* 1641. [See Peck, *New Memoirs*, 1740, p. 431. The Thomason copy has the Pressmark E. 158. (3.)]
 10. *A true description or rather a Parallel betweene Cardinall Wolsey, Archbishop of York, and William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 1641. [See last reference. Thomason E. 168.(9.)]
 11. *The Life and Reigne of King Charls, or the Pseudo-Martyr discovered*, 1651. [Attributed in *N&Q*,

- III, iv, 355. This seems to be an English work based on the *Eikono-klastes*.]
12. *A copy of a Letter from an Officer of the Army*, June 20, 1654. [See *N&Q*, II, x, 306, and xi, 142, 205. Milton was never an officer in the army. H. & L. assign it to Richard Goodgroom.]
 13. *An Argument or Debate in Law of the Great Question concerning the Militia*, 1642. [This was attributed to Milton by the Earl of Bridgewater (the elder brother in Comus) and by William Oldys. See Todd, 1801, I, cxxviii, and *N&Q*, III, ii, 382. Despite this, the attribution is improbable. H. & L. assign it to John Marsh.]
 14. *The Rights of the People over Tyrants*, 1644 (?) [Also assigned to Milton by Oldys, according to *N&Q*, III, ii, 382.]
 15. *Jus Populi*, 1644. [Another form of the last? See Todd, 1809, I, 128, who says the Lambeth Collection assigned it to Milton. H. & L. assign it to Henry Parker.]
 16. *A Sovereigne Salve to Cure the Blinde*, 1643. [According to Todd, 1809, I, 128, the Lambeth Collection ascribed *Salve for the Blinde* to Milton. This has led H. & L. to give the same attribution. The absence from Phillips is strongly against this attribution. In October, 1869, an article describing the work appeared in a New York periodical, *Hours at Home*, IX, 532 ff. See also *Book Prices Current*, XV (1901), 588.]
 17. *Plain English to his Excellencie the Lord General Monck*, 1659/60. [This pamphlet dated March 22, 1659, is attributed to Milton by the author of a reply called *Treason Arraigned*, 1660. See Masson, V, 664.]
 - 18, 19. *Historiæ Parliamenti Angliæ Breviarium . . . authore T.M.*, 1650. [This and the English version, of which the second edition, *A Breviary of the History of the Parliament of England*, 1655, bears a portrait of Thomas May, have nevertheless been assigned to Milton. See *N&Q*, clxi, 129 ff. (1931).]
 20. *A Letter to a Gentleman in the Country*, 1653. [This work, signed N.L.L., was thought Milton's by Thomason, and assigned to him reservedly by Masson IV, 520 f., but is known to be the work of John Hall.]
 21. *The Grand Case of Conscience*, 1650. [Wood thought this Milton's. See Darbishire, p. 43.]
 22. *Reasons why the Supream author-*

ity of the three nations is not vested in the Parliament, 1653. [We have not met with any ascription of this to Milton in print, but believe it exists, for a letter to the editors in 1934 inquired about it.]

23. *Memoirs of the Life of Cromwell in three Panegyrics . . .* by F. Peck, London, 1740. [These were attributed to Milton by Peck. His book reprinted a Leyden pamphlet of 1654 called *Panegyrici Cromwello scripti: unus à Legato Portugallici Regis, alter à quodam Jesuita*, of which the British Museum has a copy [Pressmark E. 231. (1.)]. This is itself a reprint of two London pamphlets of the same year [B.M. E. 1069.4 and B.M. 837. m. 6. (14.)], on the first of which Thomason wrote an ascription to the "Chaplain to the Portugall Ambassador" (a certain João Rodriguez de Sá e Meneses). Peck's book contains still a third panegyric, translations of all, and notes. The Miltonic connection is chimerical in the highest degree, except for the third panegyric, which is an extract from *Defensio Secunda*.]

24. A Safeguard in Thurloe, I, 385 f. was assigned to Milton by Masson, IV, 424, tentatively, but this is a distinct document from that now known to have been Milton's work,

given in XIII, 470, and there is no evidence as to the authorship of any save that which Masson had not identified at the time he wrote the *Life*.

25. Masson also assigned to Milton the Declaration against the Scots, but this is now known to have been assigned later to another hand. See our notes, XIII, 642. This is perhaps a good place to remark that occasionally other Latin Declarations of the Parliament and the Protector have been assigned to Milton (e.g., in Maggs's Catalogue 620 [1936], item 265). Such ascriptions may in some cases be correct, but except for those against the Dutch and Spain collected in this edition, no definite evidence of such authorship is available, and we have therefore omitted further reference than this to them.

26. Peck, *New Memoirs*, 1740, p. 431, speaks of the *Fable of the Head and the Wen* as if a separate work, but this is in *Of Reformation*. Perhaps Peck had seen a separate (broadside?) publication of it.

27. [J. B. Muddiman, in *A History of English Journalism* by "J. B. Williams," 1908, suggests at page 136 that the French translation of *Eikonoklastes*, published by Dugard, in 1651, was the work of Milton

himself. His argument that Milton *could* have translated it is convincing but does not show any reason for thinking he did it. The work is usually assigned to John Durie.]

28. *Lord Bishops none of the Lords Bishops*, Nov. 1640. [Mentioned as possibly Milton's in the 620th Catalogue of Maggs, item 126, where the more probable authorship of William Prynne is also recorded.]
29. *The True Character of an Untrue Bishop*, 1641. [Also mentioned in the Catalogue referred to above, item 132, as "possibly by Milton."]

VARIOUS PERSONS NAMED

JOHN MILTON

We have found references to about twenty persons of the name John Milton, more or less contemporaries of the poet. Most famous is Major John Milton, referred to in Sotheby's *Ramblings*, 1861, p. 134. None of them were authors, but some of the doubtful Bibles may have been connected with them, and the petition printed in Hamilton's *Original Papers*, 1859,

at pp. 132-34, which is certainly not by the poet nor, probably, by his father, John Milton, Sr.

MILTON AS A PSEUDONYM

There is an instance of the use of "Milton" as pseudonymous signature on a letter written by Sir George Carteret to Sir Edward Nicholas, June 9/19, 1651. See *The Nicholas Papers*, Camden Society, N.S. XL (1886), 261.

WORKS OF JOHN MELTON

Sir John Melton was author of *A Sixe-folde Politician*, 1609, and *Astrologaster, or the Figure-caster*, 1620. The former is entered in the records of the Stationers' Company as by John Milton, and has been assigned erroneously to the poet's father. (See Hayley, *Life*, Dublin, 1797, pp. 6-7; and *S.T.C.*, No. 17804 and 17805.) To him may also be assigned confidently the manuscript notes in the Bible described as bearing the name of John Melton, but attributed to Milton by Captain Jaggard in the *Athenæum* and dealt with in our notes at page 564.

ADDITIONAL CONVERSATIONS AND MARGINALIA

Conversations with Mylius

The text of this series of extracts is edited by Dr. Lübbling, of Oldenburg, in Old., Germany. We have printed our discussion of it among our notes to the Conversations of Milton, above, at p. 611, to which the reader is referred. We should like to thank Dr. Lübbling again here for his handling of the really extremely difficult MS of which enough has already been said in our notes on the correspondence

with Mylius, in XII, 406 ff., and remark that we believe practically everything of Miltonic interest has now been recovered from it.

Marginalia on Malvezzi

This text, because of its length and peculiar nature, has been placed in a special section of the Appendix. For notes on it the reader is referred to page 594, above.

ADDENDA

Advantage has been taken in the present volume of the opportunity to include readings of a few Miltonic texts which became available too late for inclusion in the earlier volumes and to correct errors therein. The material is arranged according to the volumes of this edition, and references are to those volumes. Material has been contributed by a number of friends and reviewers, as well as by some of the editors themselves.

Volume I

LYCIDAS

In addition to the texts collated for the notes on *Lycidas*, there are some

corrections in Milton's hand in a copy of the 1638 edition in the British Museum, described in 1861 and illustrated by Sotheby, p. 105. While these are very like the corrections in another copy at Cambridge, already treated in Volume I, we record the variants here for the sake of completeness. See also pages 550 and 655.

—10 he knew] CHANGED TO he well knew —51 lov'd] CHANGED FROM lord —67 use] CHANGED FROM do —157 whelming] CHANGED FROM humming —177 In the blest Kingdoms meek of joy and love] ADDED IN MARGIN AS in the blest kingdom [PAGE TRIMMED HERE] of Joy, and Love.

Latin Poems

It has been pointed out that several notes on this section were written in ignorance of a peculiar custom of 17th century printers, who sometimes made a dieresis by breaking the top off a circumflex accent. In several places we were misled by this. Occasionally it affects the text itself where Milton clearly meant to use a dieresis, and the imperfect breaking of the type has led us to read a circumflex accent, or give an unnecessarily elaborate description of what we saw in our notes. This affects the text, the notes, or both at the following places: *El.* II, 23; *El.* IV, 27; *El.* VI, 26; *In Bomb.* II, 1; *In Bomb.* III, 1; *In Quint. Nov.*, 1 and 203; *De Idea*, 27, and 37; *Mansus*, 37, and 46; *Ep. Dam.*, 114.

Epigrams on Leonora

A copy of the long-sought volume *Applausi poetici alle glorie della signora Leonora Baroni*, Bracciano, 1639, edited by Francesco Ronconi, has been located at Harvard, and we can now be sure that no poems by Milton appeared therein.

Epitaphium Damonis

The following additions should be made to our notes, Volume I, p. 593 ff.

On August 18, 1932, Professor Leicester Bradner announced in the *London Times Literary Supplement* that he had identified a copy of the first edition of this poem, privately printed at London (1639 or 1640 ?), without name of author or printer.

The only copy of the book at present known is happily in the British Museum (Press Mark C. 57. d. 48, acquired July 7, 1857.) The book is a small quarto of four leaves, without pagination, but signed A, A₂, and A₃ on the first three leaves. The recto of the first leaf has the title EPITAPHIUM / DAMONIS. This is followed by the ARGUMENTUM. The catchword, the heading of the poem itself on A₁ verso, and the running title throughout is DAMON. The text runs from A₁ verso to A₄ verso, 33 lines to the full page. At the lower corner of the last page is the word "Londini," and below all the word FINIS. While the text is verbally the same as that of the later printings, in several cases the diphthong "æ" is represented by an e (with subscript), not usually present in other early editions of Milton's poems and accounting for the odd, or even wrong spelling in later editions of the word "læta" in line 216. This form occurs also in lines 42, 162, 180, 197 (formæque), 203 (æthera), 209, 211, 216, 217, and 219. Our variants,

as recorded from a photostat copy of the little book, follow. The reading after the bracket is that of the first edition. We believe a corrected copy of the volume was used as printer's copy for 1645.

The variants are:

PP. 294 FF. —1 Thyrsis] Thyrsis, —1 Pastores] pastores —2 pueritia] pueritiâ —3 plurimum] plurimùm —3 causa] causâ —3 peregrè] peregre —6 persona] personâ —7 Paterno] paterno —7 oriundus] onundus

TITLE: EPITAPHIUM DAMONIS.] DAMON. —1 Hylan,] Hylan —3 carmen:] carmen —6 recessus,] recessus —12 Thyrsis;] Thyrsis, —16 verò] vero [AS 1645.] —17 Cæpit] Cæpit —19 mihi!] mihi —19 cælo,] cælo? —20 Damon;] Damon! —23 aureâ] aurea —28 sepulchro] sepulcro [AS 1645.] —30 pastores: Illi] pastores, illi —33 piúmque,] piúmque —38 comes,] comes —39 fæta] fæta —40 herbis?] herbis —42 lupos] lupos, —42 præsepibus] præsepibus —53 nymphæ.] nymphæ, [AS MASSON AND WARTON EMENDED.] —55 risus,] risus —58 oberro,] oberro —63 quam] quàm —66 iuvant;] iuvant, —67 Mœrent] Mærent —75 notârat] notarât —80 plumbo.] plumbo —90 fluenti;] fluenti, —94 iuvenci,] iuvenci —102 volitet,] volitet

—107 Gens] Gens, —107 homines] homines, —107 discors,] discors —114 aëreas] aereas —118 sodale,] sodale —127 Damon,] Damon. [AS 1673 AND 1695.] —141 hædos] hædos —147 retardat,] retardat —153-154 [THESE LINES ARE IN PARENTHESES IN 1639.] —161 agni,] agni —162 æquora] æquora —163 Inogeniæ,] Inogeniæ —164 Belinum,] Belinum [THE BEST READING IS SURELY THAT OF THIS FIRST EDITION. APPARENTLY MILTON ATTEMPTED TO INSERT A COMMA, AND THE PRINTERS OF 1645 AND 1673 MISUNDERSTOOD THE CORRECTION, CAUSING THE TEXT TO BE A PUZZLE TO LATER EDITORS.] —166 Jögernén] Iogernén —167 Gôrlois] Gorlois —170 camænis] camænis —180 Hæc] Hęc —180 lauri,] lauri —181 Hæc] Hęc —183 dedit,] dedit —184 circùm] circum —188 Cæruleùm] Cæruleum —191 Amor,] Amor —191 pharetræ,] pharetræ —192 pyropo;] pyropo —197 formæque] formęque —202 and 203 lacrymæ] lachrymæ —203 æthera] æthera —204 Æthera] Aethera —204 arcum;] arcum —205 perennes,] perennes —206 Æthereos] Aethereos [BUT 1639 IS NOT CONSISTENT IN THIS SPELLING.] —208 quicunque] quicunque [AS 1645] —209 æquior] æquior —211 Cælicolæ] Cēlicolæ —211 nōrint] norint [AS 1645] —214 honores;] honores, —216 Letáque]

Lętaque —216 umbracula] umbtacula —217 Æternum] Aeternum —217 hymenęos;] hymenęos; —218 beatis,] beatis —219 Sionęo] Sionęo —219 Orgia] Orgia [AS 1645] AFTER THE LAST LINE 1639 ADDS LOWER IN THE CORNER Londini. AND BELOW ALL IN THE CENTER, FINIS.

IN THIS POEM AT LINE 82 THE VERY PROBABLY CORRECT EMENDATION OF C. S. JERRAM, "quid de te" FOR "quid te" SHOULD HAVE BEEN NOTICED.

Ad Joannem Rousium

—51 curę] APPARENTLY CORRECTED FROM curas

Asclepiadean Verses

The discussion of the shorter of the two poems found with the *Commonplace Book*, at pp. 597-98 of the first volume may be supplemented. A friendly controversy in the columns of *N&Q* in 1932 brought out much intelligent criticism of line 4 imperfect in the manuscript. Our restoration of the last word as *strato* is wrong as far as Milton's intention is concerned. He must have meant to write *toro*. The original objection to this still stands, the fragment of the initial letter seems neither to the editors nor to Mr. J. A. Herbert of the British Museum, to be "t." It is possible that Milton wrote *toro* in a very unusual

way, or, as a reviewer has suggested, *thoro*. It is also probable, as Mr. Vernon Rendall suggests, that Milton under the influence of the neighboring *stratus* wrote *strato*, which we printed, when he meant *toro*.

Volume II

PARADISE LOST

The full publication from the original MS of the first book of *Paradise Lost* in the Pierpont Morgan Library allows us to give a few additional variants for that part of the poem. For further information the reader is referred to Miss Helen Darbishire's *The Manuscript of Paradise Lost, Book I*, 1931.

—15 Mount,] MS Mount; —16 Rhime] MS rhyme BUT h IS DELETED BY A VERY FINE STROKE, INVISIBLE IN THE PHOTOSTAT. —21 Abyss] MS Abyss, —42 God] MS God, —45 Ethereal] MS ethereal CHANGED TO ethereal —49 th'] MS the BUT LAST LETTER CROSSED OUT AND AN APOSTROPHE INSERTED ABOVE. —71 those] MS these —71 Prison] MS prison WITH AN APOSTROPHE OVER THE o —75 fell!] MS fell. CHANGED TO fell! —81 th'] MS the CHANGED TO th' —84 he;] MS he? CHANGED TO he, —87 Myriads] MS Muriads BUT u IS CHANGED TO y —97 lustre;] MS lustre, —157

Fall'n] MS Fal'n CHANGED TO Fall'n
 —261 reign] MS raign CHANGED TO
 reign —362 memorial,] MS memo-
 rial; IS THE UPPER MARK A BLOT, NOT
 MAKING A SEMICOLON? —369 Creator,]
 MS Creator CHANGED FROM creator
 —408 Hesebon] MS Hosobon CHANGED
 TO Hesebon —432 those] MS these
 —499 riot] MS riott CHANGED TO riot
 —756 Capital] MS Capitoll CHANGED
 INTO Capitall

Samson Agonistes

In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 3
 Ser., II (1866), 332, is a description
 of a manuscript copy of this drama,
 with corrections said to be in Milton's
 hand, sold at Sotheby's in 1866. This
 showed a new version of lines 1532–
 33, not embodied in any printed copy.
 While the hand can hardly have been
 Milton's, it is possible that this copy
 does preserve a revision made by or
 for the poet. The lines, according to
 the *Gentleman's Magazine*, read as
 follows:

For God of old hath for His people wrought
 Things as incredible; what hinders now?

No recent reference to the manuscript
 has been found.

Volume III

CORRECTIONS

P. 99 —13 deify'de] SHOULD READ
 dēify'de P. 267. —1 Cor. 3.] SHOULD BE

Cor. 2. P. 277. —18 until] SHOULD
 BE until:

Volume IV

CORRECTIONS

P. 223. —26–27 *Phimostonus*] SHOULD
 BE *Phimostomus* P. 358. —1–2, etc.
 NO NOTE IS NEEDED ON *perswatton*, THE
 TEXT IS *perswasion* BUT A PECULIAR
 LIGATURE FOR “si” IS USED.

Volume VI

A LETTER TO A FRIEND OCCASIONED BY THE RUPTURES IN THE COMMONWEALTH

In the Columbia MS (Phillips 3993)
 described elsewhere in this edition is
 a MS copy (made by the usual amanu-
 ensis) of this brief tract, in a form
 which suggests that it is closer than
 the version printed in 1698 to the let-
 ter actually sent. The variants from
 the text of Toland, given in our Vol-
 ume VI, are as follows, except that
 the usual use of “their” for “thir” is
 not recorded.

TITLE] NOT IN C P. 102. —3 harmles]
 blamelesse —16 thir] the —19 for]
 for the —19 nine] of nine —22
 on] upon —25 sure] confident P. 103.
 —18 when] which —22 Judgment]
 judgments —28 close] INSERTED WITH
 A CARET OVER CANCELLED SECRET P. 104.
 —1 thir] the —10 Affairs] offices —15
 Management] managing —18 The

Terms] BEGINS A NEW PARAGRAPH —18 to be] NOT IN MS —27 Reconcilement] a reconcilment P. 105. —11 Parliament] parlement men —13 any] either —17 underneath] working underneath —21 not to me] too nice —24 That it be] NEW PARAGRAPH —26 two] NOT IN MS —27 forenam'd] afore nam'd P. 106. —5 at] NOT IN MS —5 many] many other —10 once] 1st —12 these] all these —13 Thoughts] thoughts on —15 you] which you —27 20.] 20th AFTER THE DATE IN THE MS ARE THE INITIALS J.M.

Volume X

Further collation of several copies of the *History of Britain*, by Professor Harris Fletcher, yields the following list of corrections and additions:

P. I. HEADING THE FIRST BOOK] BOOK I. P. 50. MARGIN *Solimus*.] *Solinus*. P. 117. MARGIN *Bod*.] *Bed*. P. 119. —19 *Clamorganshire*.] *Glamorganshire* —28 form] from P. 121. —10 *Whippeds*] *Wippeds* P. 138. —15 *Ignesham*] *Ignesham* (MODERN *Eynsham*) P. 142. —10 Children] Childern P. 161. —4 feated] seated P. 168. —16 his] him P. 170. —20 about year] about a year P. 179. —10 towards] toward —12 than] then P. 208. —24 fight;] flight; (error in *errata*, cf. p. 215) P. 212. —14 *Cuthrun*.] *Guthrun*, P. 215. —24 flight]

fight (error in *errata*, cf. p. 208) P. 216. —10 this] thir P. 217. —6 hundred] hunderd —22 *Shobcrie*] *Shoberie* P. 222. —18 the] he P. 229. —27 for] sore P. 240. —11 Children,] Childern, —23 *Amancus*] *Amancus* —25 not] nor P. 241. —28 of] to P. 242. —25 Convents] Covents P. 249. TOP. INSERT *Edward* the Younger. UNDER "THE SIXTH BOOK." P. 256. MARGIN (1000) *Dun*.] *Duu*. P. 272. —14 wafted,] wasted P. 286. —4 Citizens,] Cittizens, P. 294. —23 *Cyrtha*,] *Gyrtha*, P. 299. —27 seats] feats

THE DIGRESSION

P. 317. —2 come] com —2 page 114] page 110 —6 government] goverment —14 soo] soe P. 318. —6 show] shew —9 Empire,] empire, —19 those] these —23 sway'd] swayd —23 troubles,] troubles —24 suffice. They] suffice, they —27 Brittans,] Brittans P. 319. —2 bird] brid (?) PERHAPS FOR bridl, WITH THE L CUT OFF IN BINDING. 1681 READS bridle. —8 defeects] defects —12 call'd,] calld —15 behoof] behooff —18 part,] part P. 320. —1 call'd] calld —2 counceles] council —21 show] shew —28 ravening] ravning P. 321. —12 account,] account P. 322. —11 those] these —13 themselves,] themselves; —28 zealous,] zealous P. 323. —13 alienated,] alienated —16 Church-

men,] Church-men —20 gaine,] gaine; —20 seem'd] seemd —22 predecessors,] predecessors, —24 cold] cold, —25 leudness,] leudness —26 scandalis'd] fowlely scandalis'd —27 extoll'd] extoll'd P. 324. —10 Neither] neither —13 the bad] yet (?) bad P. 325. —3 field] field, —5 want,] want —12 conquer'd,] conquerd, —13 otherwise, unless] otherwise unless, —25 gave] gave us (?) ONLY THE U IS VISIBLE, THE REST BEING SEWED INTO THE BINDING —25 to] of

The *History of Britain* was first issued in quarto form, with a title-page dated 1670. Another title-page, for a different bookseller but with the same printing of the text, is dated 1671. The second edition, in octavo form, appeared in 1677, issued also with a second title-page dated 1678. In 1694 Toland published in folio a text from a "copy corrected by the Author himself," usually found in his three-volume edition of the *Prose Works* with an inclusive *Prose Works* title-page, dated 1698, but always with a separate 1694 title-page for the *History of Britain*. This is really the third edition. In 1695 a reprint of the second edition, in octavo form, appeared, and, except for differences in type, in exactly the same format. There are two different title-pages for this reprint, both dated 1695. In the mean-

time, the so-called "Digression on the Long Parliament" had appeared in print in 1681; but it is not found in any other seventeenth-century printing, being incorporated in the text for the first time in Birch's edition of the *Prose Works*, in 1738. The Digression should be accepted (with some caution), and the Columbia text, printed in Volume X from a unique MS, has been supplemented in this volume by the text of the 1681 edition; for the two texts differ greatly. There are, therefore, three seventeenth-century editions, one reprint of the second edition of the whole work, one seventeenth-century printing, and one MS copy of the Digression. Only the first and third (Toland) editions are of textual importance, the latter solely for its additions.

The first edition exists in various states, which are dependent on the date of the title-page, 1670 or 1671, and upon the occurrence of certain errors or corrections of them in the printing. A list of these errors and corrections follows. The pages and lines first mentioned are those of any copy with either the 1670 or the 1671 title-page.

P. 8. —28; COLUMBIA, P. 8. —27, Bee't IN SOME COPIES, Bee IN OTHERS. P. 68. MARGIN; COLUMBIA, P. 70, MARGIN, 62. IS FOUND IN SOME COPIES AND NOT IN

OTHERS. P. 121. —14; COLUMBIA, P. 126. —8, mention'd IN SOME COPIES, mention'd; IN OTHERS. P. 124. —22; COLUMBIA, P. 129. —20, truth is IN SOME COPIES, truth is, IN OTHERS. PP. 142 AND 143 ARE INCORRECTLY NUMBERED 140 AND 141 IN SOME COPIES, AND CORRECTLY NUMBERED IN OTHERS. P. 143. —21; COLUMBIA, P. 148. —19, Dmothus IN SOME COPIES, Dinothus IN OTHERS. P. 161. —7; COLUMBIA, P. 167. —15, winved, IN SOME COPIES, Winwed, IN OTHERS. P. 202. —17; COLUMBIA, P. 210. —1, Orisons, IN SOME COPIES, orisons, IN OTHERS. P. 202. —19; COLUMBIA, P. 210. —2, 3, Erazus AND Regericus IN SOME COPIES, Ivarus AND Regnerus IN OTHERS. P. 202. —32; COLUMBIA, P. 210. —13, Evacus IN SOME COPIES, Ivarus IN OTHERS. P. 202. MARGIN; COLUMBIA, P. 210. MARGIN, FIRST REFERENCE, *Pontan. hist. Dan.* L. 4 OCCURS ON P. 202 IN SOME COPIES, AND ON P. 203 IN OTHERS. P. 207. —32; COLUMBIA, P. 215. —11, landing; Three IN SOME COPIES, landing; three IN OTHERS. P. 278. —2; COLUMBIA, P. 286. —4, wast IN SOME COPIES, and wast IN OTHERS.

The observed states of the first edition are as follows:

STATE 1 [*hypothetical*], 1670 TITLE-PAGE. NO CORRECTIONS STATE 2, 1670 TITLE-PAGE. CORRECTION ON PAGE 8

ONLY. STATE 3, 1670 TITLE-PAGE. CORRECTIONS ON PAGES 8 AND 68. STATE 4, 1670 TITLE-PAGE. CORRECTIONS ON PAGES 142, 143 (BOTH PAGINATION AND Dinothus ARE CORRECT), 278 ('and wast'). STATE 5, 1670 TITLE-PAGE. CORRECTIONS ON PAGES 8; 202, LINES 17, 19, WITH MARGINAL REFERENCE; 207. STATE 6, 1670 TITLE-PAGE. CORRECTIONS ON PAGES 8, 68, 207. STATE 7, 1670 TITLE-PAGE. CORRECTIONS ON PAGES 68, 121, 161. STATE 8, 1670 TITLE-PAGE. CORRECTIONS ON PAGES 68, 121, 124, 141, 143, 161. STATE 9, 1670 TITLE-PAGE. CORRECTIONS ALL MADE EXCEPT ON PAGE 8. STATE 10, 1671 TITLE-PAGE. CORRECTIONS ON PAGES 68, 121, 124, 142, 143. STATE 11, 1671 TITLE-PAGE. SAME AS STATE 8, EXCEPT TITLE-PAGE. STATE 12, 1671 TITLE-PAGE. SAME AS STATE 9, EXCEPT TITLE-PAGE.

Volume XII

Additional information about Milton's correspondence is given elsewhere in the present volume, beginning at p. 520.

The following additions should be made to the textual notes.

P. 46. —14 quos,] MS quos —omnes,] MS omnes P. 48. —20 enim] MS enim, —23 istic] MS illic P. 288. —7 robore] THE TEXT SHOULD BE colore P. 323. —25 word] MILTON'S MEANING IS WORLD BUT THE SPELLING OF THE MS AND OUR TEXT IS PERHAPS MIL-

TONIC. THE THIRD MRS. MILTON WROTE
wordly goods IN HER WILL.

Volume XIII

Additional information about the first publication of the *Literæ* of 1676 is contained in the following passage extracted from an unpublished letter in the Public Record Office (S.P. 84/202, ff. 389-390) written from "Nimmegen 23 Octob. 1676" by John Ellis to an unnamed correspondent, probably Sir Joseph Williamson.

"These Letters of Milton's being newly come out of the Press and printed hard by us, I have taken the Liberty to send them to your Honour as a peice new, and so comprehended in that Generall command of your Honours upon which I found myself for your Honours pardon of the frequent troubles I presume to give of this Kind . . ."

The following advertisement was issued by the Elzevirs, when they planned to print Skinner's MS, and was published by Hamilton from the Public Record Office, where it is S. P. 84/204, and is reprinted from a photograph presented by Professor Maurice Kelley. The editors regard the denunciation of the 1676 edition rather as a result of trade rivalry than anything else.

Innotescat omnibus cum in Academiis, tum in Londino literatis, Bibliopolis etiam, siqui sint qui præter solitum Latine sciunt, necnon exteris quibuscunq; Quod *Literæ JOANNIS MILTONI*, Angli, *interregni tempore scriptæ*, quas Bibliopola quidam Londinensis, secum habita consultatione quantam in rem famamque quantam imperfectissimum quid & indigestum ex operibus tanti Viri sibi pro certo cederet, nuper in lucem irrepit fecit (præterquam quod à contemptissimo quodam & perobscuro preli quondam Curatore, qui parvam schedarum manum vel emendicaverit olim abs Authore, vel, quod verisimilius est, clam supplaverit, perexiguo pretio fuerunt emptæ) sunt misere mutilæ, dimidiatæ, deformes ex omni parte ruptoque ordine confusæ, præfatiunculâ spurcâ non minus quam infantissimâ dehonestatæ, cæterisq; dein à numerosioribus chartis nequiter arreptæ: Quodq; vera Literarum exemplaria, locupletiora multum & auctiora, composita concinnius & digesta, typis elegantioribus excudenda sunt in Hollandia prelo commissa. Quæ una cum Articulis Hispanicis, Portugallicis, Gallicis, Belgicis in ista rerum inclinatione nobiscum initis & percussis, pluribusque chartis Germanicis, Danicis, Suevicis scitissime scriptis, ne ex tam spuris libri natalitus, & ex tam vili præfatore læderetur Author, brevi possis, humanissime Lector, expectare.

After Volume XIII appeared, Professor Wilbur Cortez Abbott and Mrs. C. D. Crane most courteously made available to us the collection of photographs made for their edition of the *Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, of which the first volume was published in 1937 by Harvard University Press. Made from the point of view of Cromwell's work, this collection includes much that we did not seek, since proof of Miltonic authorship of almost all documents not included in Milton's own collections is lacking. However, they were fortunate enough to find a few definitely Miltonic documents which had es-

caped us, especially those in the French Archives, which we were unable to search by correspondence.

In the Bodleian Library are two MSS, once the property of Richard Bridgman, now called MS. Rawl. A. 260 and 261. The first is described as "Copies of Latin letters sent by Cromwell to foreign states and princes, from 10 Feb. 1653/4 to 19 Oct. 1655, and consequently, without doubt, the compositions of John Milton." The letters include many not claimed by Milton himself, however. The second MS includes most of material in the first, and many more letters, both Latin and English, indubitably Cromwellian, but most doubtfully Miltonic. Many surely Miltonic letters of the period are missing from both collections.

In the following notes, dates of interest are given from the Bodleian MSS, but variants are collected only from the original documents located by Professor Abbott. All references are to Volume XIII.

In Milton's time the English began the year on March 25, and were often inconsistent, sometimes using the double dates like 1651/2, sometimes merely the old year 1651, while continentals usually wrote merely 1652, during the first three months. Our own practice was not uniform in cor-

recting the dates in the translation. It may be added that Milton's dates are often confused, and further study will probably lead to the correction of other dates. However, long periods often elapsed between his preparation of a draft and the despatch of the official copy of a letter abroad.

LETTER 36 TEXT L (original letter at Venice as printed in *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, . . . in . . . Venice*, XXIX, p. 13, ed. Allen B. Hinds, 1929. The MS was overlooked by the authorities at Venice because the date differs from the one used by Milton, and falls in 1653. The version has been printed by Berchet: *Cromwell e la Repubblica di Venezia*, pp. 44-5 and Barozzi e Berchet: *Relazioni, Inghilterra*, page 351).

HEADING DUCI] etc. L Salutem] Salutem: Serenissime Princeps L P. 104. —1 Celsitudinis] Ser. L —2-3 *Palutium*] Paulucium L —3 & Senatus] at Senatus L —4 prospiciat] perspiciat L —6 ac] et L —11 Celsitudini & Reipublicæ] Ser. Reiquepub. L —12 præcatur] precatur L —13 *Datis . . . 1652*] *Datis Vuestmonasterio viii die Januarii Anno Dom. MDCLII. L —14 imponendum*] imprimendum L

LETTER 40. The official text was printed by Th. Ischer, *Die Gesellschaft der protestantischen Schweiz*

bei Cromwell usw. . . . 1652/54, Bern, 1916, pp. 104 ff.

LETTER 44. July 29, 1654 RAWL. A. 260; June 29, 1654 RAWL. A. 261. [AS OUR NOTES AT XIII, 644 SHOW, THE LATTER IS CORRECT.]

LETTER 45. AS #44.

LETTER 46. August 29, 1654 RAWL. A. 261.

LETTER 48. October 27, 1654 RAWL. A. 261.

LETTER 49. AS #48. A COPY IN BM. ADD. MS. 4156, F. 117, BEARS THE SAME DATE, AS DOES THE ORIGINAL, DESCRIBED AT XIII, 610. NO. 154 IS MERELY A DUPLICATE OF THIS. SEE THE NOTES BELOW.

LETTER 52. May 31, 1655 RAWL. A. 261. PREVIOUSLY ONLY DATED TO May 1655.

LETTER 56. TEXT L (ORIGINAL LETTER AT PARIS; FROM A PHOTOSTATIC FACSIMILE LENT BY PROFESSOR W. C. ABBOTT).

P. 180. HEADING. *Serenissimo* . . . Regi.] NOT IN L —8 vestris] et Vestris P. 184. —11–13 *Majestatis* . . . 1655.] Dab: ex Aula Nostra Westmonasterij 31^{mo} Julij An. 1655. [NOT SIGNED.]

LETTER 57. THE ORIGINAL IS NOT AT PARIS, BUT A LETTER WHICH MAY BE A REVISION OF IT IS THERE PRESERVED (AFF. ETR. COR. POL. ANGLETERRE, 66) AND IS HERE PRINTED FROM PROFESSOR ABBOTT'S PHOTOSTAT.

Eminentissime Cardinalis

Cùm è re visum fuerit harum exhibitorum Georgium Downing Armerum ad Christianissimum Regem cum Literis (quarum exemplar his inclusum est) ablegares, eundem Eminentiam vestram meo nomine salutare jussi, nec non quædam vobis communicanda ipsi credidi, in quibus ut fidem ei adhibeatis, cùm is sit cui omnimodo confido, Eminentiam vestram multùm rogatam habeo. Sum

Ad Eminentia vestra in
serviendum paratissimus.

[signed] Oliver P.

Ex Alba Aula
Westmonasterij 31^{mo}
Julij 1655.

LETTER 73. SINCE THIS ACCOMPANIED LETTER 74, THE DATE MUST BE September 25, 1656.

LETTER 74. TEXT L (ORIGINAL LETTER AT PARIS; FROM A PHOTOSTATIC FACSIMILE LENT BY PROFESSOR W. C. ABBOTT).

P. 234. HEADING. OLIVERIUS . . . Domine] Eminentissime Cardinalis. —18 *Ægidio*] *Ægidio de la Roche* P. 236. —11–13 *Eminentia* . . . 1656.] Ex Palatio Nostro Westmonasterij die Septemb: 25^{io} An. Dom. 1656. Eminentia Vestra studiosissimus. Oliver P.

LETTER 75. TEXTS L (ORIGINAL LETTER AT THE HAGUE; FROM A PHOTO-

STATIC FACSIMILE LENT BY PROFESSOR W. C. ABBOTT) AND COPY (CONTEMPORARY COPY AT STOCKHOLM; FROM A PHOTOSTATIC FACSIMILE LENT BY PROFESSOR W. C. ABBOTT).

P. 236. HEADING. OLIVERIUS . . . S D.] NOT IN COPY OR IN L —16 defendendâ] defendâ COPY P. 238. —6 suspectos] suspectas L animatos] animatas L. —12 utrinque] utrisque COPY —13 veruntamen] Veruntatem COPY —14 sane] hanc COPY —15 dissensionis] dissensiones COPY —18 quanta] quando COPY —20 usumque] usu COPY solertissimum] solertissimam COPY P. 240. —17 expectatione] expectationes L —18 planè] NOT IN COPY P. 242. —3 atque] et COPY —6 icta] ista COPY —8 *Regemque*] Regem COPY —9 *Europa*] Europâ L —9 tota] totæ, LATER CHANGED TO totius COPY —10 immanium] NOT IN COPY —objicerentur] penitùs objicerentur COPY —13 utque] ut COPY eandem] eadem COPY —16–17 *Succiaque* Regem] Regemque Succiax COPY —18 usus ullius] usui ulli COPY —19 vos] utrosque COPY autoritate] auctoritate COPY —23 utrinque] NOT IN L OR IN COPY P. 244. —3 offensum] offensum, CHANGED OVER CARET TO offensium COPY —5 *Reipubl.*] Reique publicæ L AND COPY —6 sit vobis] Vobis sit COPY —12–14 *Vestrarum* . . . 1656.] Ex Palatio nos-

tro Westmonasterij die vicessimo primo Augusti Anno 1656. Vester bonus Amicus. Oliver P. L. Ex Palatio nostro Westmonaster. d. 21 Aug. 1656. Vester bonus Amicus. [NOT SIGNED.] COPY L BEARS THE NOTE AT THE TOP: d. 20. Aug. } 1656.
r. 22. 7br. }

AT P. 238 —6 COPY AGREES WITH L.

LETTER 97. See p. 654.

LETTER 103. The text of the official version was printed in 1931 in the *Calendar of State Papers . . . in . . . Venice*, xxxi, pp. 123–124, by Allen B. Hinds.

LETTER 110. TEXT CH (TEXT IN V. E. P. CHASLES, *Olivier Cromwell*, PARIS, 1847, PP. 326–329; PROBABLY FROM ORIGINAL LETTER AT PARIS).

P. 354. —5 inducta] inductæ —6 pacis] paci —19 ego] ergo P. 356. —5 profiteantur] profitentur —6 mitissimo] mitissimi —22 avitam] avitum —22–23 quàm . . . possit] NOT IN CH P. 358. —3 te] NOT IN CH —6 permoveri] te moveri —7 illibata] illimitata —10 atque] et —11 Max. ad] ad max. —12 vestrumque] vestrorumque —14 *Westmonasterio* . . . 1658] Majestatis Vestrae studiosissimus Oliverius, Protector reip. Angliæ, etc. Westmonasterio, maii 26^o die, anno 1658.

LETTER 112. TEXT L (ORIGINAL LETTER AT PARIS; FROM A PHOTOSTATIC

FACSIMILE LENT BY PROFESSOR W. C. ABBOTT).

P. 366. HEADING. *Eminentissimo* ... SALUTEM.] NOT IN L P. 368. —17 *Eminentia Vestra Studiosissimus*.] Dab: ex Aula Nostra Westmonasterij 25¹⁰ Maij An. 1655. Oliverius P.

LETTER 122. July 18, 1654 RAWL. A. 260; November, 1654 RAWL. A. 261.

LETTER 140. TEXT T (*A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, IV [1742], 415).

HEADING] Serenissime rex T P. 444. —16 alioqui] alioqui Vessius T cœpisset] cepisset T —24 West. Jan: 1655.] Quod reliquum est, majestatem vestram Deo opt. max. commendatam in primis volo. Dab. è palatio nostro Westmonasterii 13 Januarii, an. 1655-6. Majestatis vestræ bonus amicus. T

LETTER 143. This letter, a companion to 144, should be dated July 1, 1658, in accordance with the revised dating of that letter.

LETTER 144. TEXT L (ORIGINAL LETTER AT PARIS, FROM A PHOTOSTATIC COPY LENT BY PROFESSOR W. C. ABBOTT).

P. 452. —14 magistrum] nobilissimum Virum Dominum Sanguin magistrum L —21 summâ] summâ L P. 454. —4 mea] nostra L —4-7 cùm putat] sicuti ex ijs

quæ hactenus fecimus constare poterit quantâ religione fœdera nostra colamus, ita in posterum siquid suæ existimationis Eminentia vestra in nostrâ fide repositum esse putat, experietur L —9-10 Illa . . . cum] ut quum L —12 spero . . . auguror] NOT IN L —14 non] fortassis non L ut] NOT IN L —16 percipiat] perepiat L —17 West. Junii 1658] Dab. e Palatio nostro Westmonasterij 1^o die Julij Anno 1658. Eminentia Vestra Bonus Amicus Oliverius P Ex mandato Celsitudinis Suæ Jo: Thurloe. L L BEARS AN ENDORSEMENT AT THE TOP: M^r Leprotecteur a son Eminence du 1^{er} Juillet 1658. THE SALUTATION READS: Eminentissime Domine. L THE LETTER SHOULD BE DATED July 1, 1658, IN THE TRANSLATION.

LETTER 145. Since this is a companion to 146, it should be dated April 14, 1656, in the translation.

LETTER 146. TEXT L (ORIGINAL LETTER AT PARIS, FROM PROFESSOR ABBOTT'S PHOTOSTAT).

HEADING] Eminentissime Cardinalis. L P. 456. —19 et jam] etiam L —22 West. Aug. 1658] Alba Aula decimo 4to. die Aprilis 1656. Oliverius P. L THE ORIGINAL IS ENDORSED AT TOP: Mr. Leprotecteur a Son Eminence du 4 [sic] Auril 1656. THE DATE OF THE ORIGINAL, April 14, 1656, SHOULD BE SUBSTITUTED IN THE TRANSLATION.

LETTER 154. This is merely a duplicate copy of our Letter 49, and was surely crossed out by Milton's amanuensis upon discovery that it had been previously included. It should have been dealt with under 49.

165 bis. *Translation of a letter from Princess Sophie*

Our Letter 165, in Volume XIII, was identified by an addition in Milton's own hand, as being at least partly his work. In *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts*, Part IV, 1868, no. 48, is reproduced a similar translation, preserved in the P.R.O., without Miltonic correction, but apparently closely connected with the other document. Stern (III, 257) noticed this, but saw no reason to connect it with Milton. It has recently again been noticed by Mr. Maurice Kelley of Princeton. While the case is not proven, there is a probability that Milton may have had a hand in this document, for at the time he was apparently doing much of a kind he later turned over to assistants. The two changes, cancelled "thy" preceding "they" in line 16, and cancelled "B" before "Presbyterians" in line 19, suggest that the writer was taking dictation. As in 165, the address is copied in a different hand, which may be Bradshaw's.

Most deere Brother

Wee have not any newes concerning Rupert the Devil unless what comes out in print, for no man receaves any letters from you. My Brother the Prince Elector is now heere, and cares now no more for those cursed People in England. for he hath don his duty to the K: which otherwise he might have avoyded by reason of the affaires which requir'd him at Cleave. Heare also are the Scotch Commissioners who every day bring some new proposal to the K. full of impertinency, for they would not that the King should keep about him any honest men, for which they are in great favour with the Princess of Orange, who declares her selfe much for the Presbyterians and says that Percy is the honestest man the King hath about him. But I beleive you care not much to know the intricacies heere for which cause I shall not trouble you farder, beside that you have other buisnes to doe then read my Letters. onely I intreate you to take notice that I remaine
your most affectionate sister
and Servant

Sophie

(A Monsieur) Aprill the 13th
(Monsieur le) 1649.
(Prince Rupert)

167C-F. SEE ALSO THE PRESENT VOLUME, PAGES 80 FF.

LETTER 170B. March 27, 1654. RAWL. A. 260 AND 261.

LETTER 97. TEXT L (ORIGINAL LETTER, LÜBECK).

P. 316. HEADING. OLIVERIUS...S.P.D.] NOT IN L —I Jepsonus] Jephson, L —11-12 *Westmonasterio* . . . 1657] Dab: è Palatio Nostro Westmonasterij 20^{mo} die Augusti An. 1657. Vester bonus Amicus. Oliverius P. L SIGNED AT BOTTOM OF PAGE ALSO: JO: Thurloe.

Volumes XIV-XVII

The notes on the *De Doctrina* were prepared from a photostat of the original MS, in which the editors found a number of cancelled words illegible. Recently Professor Maurice Kelley spent several months in London studying the original MS in the Public Record Office. He has been able to read a large part of the troublesome passages, and the interested student is referred to his forthcoming volume on the development of *De Doctrina*.

Volume XVIII

In rechecking the lists of variants a few previously omitted were found which may be conveniently listed here.

Commonplace Book

P. 138. —4 aut] OUR NOTE REFERS TO THE FIRST aut P. 168. —5 thing] OUR NOTE REFERS TO THE SECOND thing P. 184. —15 Car. 9] THE NUMBER IS BLOTTED P. 200. —15 403] WRITTEN ABOVE CANCELLED 131

Outlines for Tragedies

P. 236. —3 6] CHANGED FROM 7 —21 31] CHANGED FROM 34 (?) MASSON PRINTS 30

Changes in Harvard MS

The following variants, with references to page and line of volume X, should be added to those given above at pp. 515 ff.

X, P. 320. —8 ordinances] CHANGED FROM ordonnances P. 321. —9 long] CHANGED FROM longe P. 322. —28 P. 323. —1 upon . . . they] ADDED WITH CARET.

Lost State Papers

In addition to the references collected at page 543, the following records of Milton's work from the Orders of the Council may indicate writings by him.

May 30, 1649 (Masson, IV, 88). "That Mr. Milton take the papers found with Mr. John Lee and examine them."

June 23, 1649 (IV, 89). "That Mr. Milton do examine the papers of Prag-

maticus, and report what he finds in them to the Council." This probably refers to Marchamont Needham's *Mercurius Pragmaticus* of May 29-June 5, 1649, which is still filed in the P. R. O., and perhaps other papers of Needham.

August 14, 1650 (IV, 228). "That Mr. Thomas Goodwin, Mr. Byfield, Mr. Bond, Mr. Nye, Mr. Durie, Mr. Frost, Mr. Milton, or any three of them, of which Mr. Frost or Mr. Milton to be one, be appointed to view and inventory all the records, writings, and papers whatsoever, belonging to the Assembly of the Synod, to the end that they may not be embezzled, and may be forthcoming for the use of the Commonwealth."

February 10, 1651/2 (IV, 231). "Mr. Milton . . . be appointed to attend the Committee at their meetings" with the Portuguese Ambassador, Guimaraes.

Corrected Copy of "Lycidas"

6D. In William H. Robinson's 65th Catalogue, 1938, item 80, is a copy of the first edition (*Iusta Edovardo King*, 1638), with two corrections apparently in Milton's hand: line 66, "strictly" for stridly; line 67, "use" for

do. This should have been given at page 550 had the information reached us in time.

A Note on Edward King

Immediately following the general title page of the *Iusta Edovardo King*, Cambridge, 1638, is printed a Latin inscription which Warton ascribed to Milton or Henry More, the Platonist. While the latter is more probably the author, it seems best to reprint the text here, from a photostat of the original volume in the New York Public Library.

P. M. S.

EDOVARDUS KING, F. JOANNIS, (FOUITIS AURATI, QUI SSS. RRR. ELISABETHÆ, JACOBO, CAROLO, PRO REGNO HIBERNIÆ A SECRETIS) COLL. CHRISTI IN ACADEMIA CANTEBRIG. SOCIUS, PIETATIS ATQUE FRUDITIONIS CONSCIENTIA ET FAMA FELIX, IN QUO NIHIL IMMATURUM PRÆTER ATATÈM, DUM HIBERNIAM COGITAT, TRACTUS DESIDERIO SUORUM, PATRIAM, AGNATOS ET AMICOS, PRÆ CÆTERIS FRATREM, DOMINUM ROBERTUM KING, EQUITEM AURATUM, VIRUM ORNATISSIMUM; SORORES, FOEMINAS LECTISSIMAS, ANNAM DOM. G. CAULFIELD, BARONIS DE CHARLEMONT; MARGARETAM DOMINI G. LODLR, SUMMI HIBERNIÆ JUSTITIARIU UXOREM, VENFRANDUM PRÆSULEM EDOVARDUM KING, EPISCOPUM ELPHINENSEM, A QUO SACRO FONTE SUSCEPTUS, REVERENDISSIMUM ET DOCTISSIMUM VIRUM GULIELMUM CHAPPELL, DECANUM ECCLESIAE CASSLIENSIS, ET COLLEGII SANCTÆ TRINITATIS APUD DUBLINIENSES PRÆPOSITUM, CUJUS IN ACADEMIA AUDITOR ET ALUMNUS FUERAT, INVISENS, HAUD PROCUA A LITTORE BRITANNICO, NAVI IN SCOPULUM ALLISA, ET RIMIS EX ICTU FATISCENTE, DUM ALII VECTORES VITÆ MORTALIS FRUSTRA SATAGERENT, IMMORTALEM ANHELAN, IN GENUA PROVOLUTUS ORANSQUE, UNA CUM NAVIGIO AB AQUIS ABSORPTUS, ANIMAM DEO REDDIDIT; IIII ID. SEXTILEIS; ANNO SALUTIS MDCXXXVII; ETATIS XXV.

BOOKS FROM MILTON'S LIBRARY

White

The Rare Book Department of Scribners, New York, has a copy of *The Middle State of Souls* ... By Thomas White of Essex, Gent., 1659, which bears on the flyleaf what seems to be a Miltonic "J:M." and a price entry, beginning "6" with two or three cancelled marks after it. It has a later owner's mark "D.P 1771—" and contains no marginalia. Scribners has owned the book for over twenty years.

Gill

One more book Milton must have owned, as is pointed out under item 280 in Maggs Catalogue 620 (1936), although Milton's copy is not known. This is a textbook used at St. Paul's School while Milton was there, Alexander Gill's *Logonomia Anglica*. It is thought that the second edition, 1621, was probably used by Milton, rather than the first edition of 1620, which probably was quickly exhausted.

Miscellaneous Books

We have listed as books of Milton's library only volumes definitely named as being in his possession, connected with him by direct evidence, or by cross-references in the marginalia that seem to imply *ownership*, rather than mere familiarity with a particular book (such as is implied by quotation in his published works and *Common-place Book*). One assumes Milton owned copies of all his own works, but it is almost as certain that he received copies of the three books to which he contributed acknowledged complimentary verses. We may confidently add to our list of his collection: *Choice Psalmes*, by William and Henry Lawes, 1640; *The Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane*, 1662; and the second folio of Shakespeare, 1632. Masson (I, 2nd ed., 236) romantically but not unreasonably suggested that he owned also a first folio, and wrote his celebrated epitaph in his copy of it.

FINIS.

